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EDITORIAL

Interdisciplinarity and the Pulses of Nigerian Studies during the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

Interdisciplinary scholarship is very vibrant in Nigeria despite the Covid-19 pandemic. The outcome of this issue of *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* is solid evidence of the resilience and resourcefulness of Nigerian scholars during the global pandemic that has wrought havoc everywhere in the world. All the articles submitted for consideration and accepted for publication in *the quint 13.4* were subjected to rigorous evaluation. Using diverse but appropriate methodological tools, the contributors speak to various issues that confront Nigeria and Nigerians both at home and in the diaspora. This volume indexes the rich interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary outlook of the humanities in Nigeria as an animated hub of the 21st century's global scholarship.

Introduction

The call for interdisciplinarity became pronounced in the 20th century and the focus was on teaching alone. But in the 21st century, this has been expanded to include research. Thus, today many are talking of interdisciplinary education (Akoh, 2020, p.34). This statement bears relevance given the state of scholarship in Africa, about Nigeria, particularly during the Covid-19 experience. Nigeria and Nigerians have been associated with many things in the world. This issue of *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* explores the intellectual endowments of Nigeria and Nigerians in their pulsating interdisciplinarity, inventiveness, and originality that have come to characterize what may be called *Nigerian Studies* in the global space of knowledge production and dissemination. By *Nigerian Studies* I mean studies about Nigeria by Nigerians within the borders of Nigeria's geo-cultural location and by Nigerians in the diaspora. It also includes works on Nigeria by non-Nigerians who have abiding research interests in Nigeria.

Nigeria is a nation of many parts. In a sense, the vastness of Nigeria as a geo-cultural entity is expressed in the limitlessness of its academia. Nigerian scholars are determinedly involved in bold research endeavours that reflect academia's relentless methodical approach to finding solutions by integrating arts and humanities with the sciences and technology in their research for the socioeconomic, sociopolitical and sociocultural development of Nigeria. The issue speaks to the diversity of Nigeria with over 500 languages spoken by its multiethnic and multireligious peoples (Crozier, Blench, & Hansford, 1992; Grimes, 2000; Omo-Ojugo, 2004; Blench, 2020). The country is the most populous black nation on earth, with over 200 million people (Onwubere, 2019; Omoera & Bardi, 2020), and is expected to provide leadership for the continent of Africa.

Nigerian Studies: Highlights of Offerings in the Issue

This issue was prepared under Covid lockdown. We had high-quality submissions that led to the making of loaded and diverse content. Taofiq Olaide Nasir and Lillian Eguriase Bakare's "Potentials of Applied Drama in the Rehabilitation of Drug and Substance Abusers: The Situation of NDLEA, Akure in Nigeria" empirically examines the preponderance of drug and substance abuse among Nigerian youths and discusses the positive effect of applied drama on drug and substance abusers in the custody of National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Akure division, Nigeria. The study recommends the use of drama not only as an enlightenment strategy but also as part of therapy for drug abusers. Françoise Ugochukwu reflects on the issue of untimely death in traditional Igbo society through her "Premature Death in Igbo Oral Genres (Nigeria) – A Contribution to the Study of the Ogbanje." The article that is based on nine folktales recorded between 1972 and 1987 in Anambra, Enugu and Imo States of Nigeria, considers the traditional attitude towards untimely deaths, especially repeated children's deaths as presented in oral literature. Deploying literary method, the article focuses on three of the folktales, told by the same storyteller from Umuida, in Enugu-Ezike (northern Igboland) and recorded in September-October 1986 and March 1987, which provide a clear picture of the phenomenon.

Nkiruka Jacinta Akaenyi's "The Patriarchal Roof: Woman, Marriage and Family in Olu'Dolapo Ojediran's *Omolewa*" considers how family imposes restrictions on individual freedom and the subordination it subjects women to, by upholding the values of patriarchy, Olu'Dolapo Ojediran's *Omolewa*. Family as a discourse is gendered and the article attempts to study inscriptions of family in the selected play text. Feminist readings of familial structures provide the guidelines in examining the inscriptions of family in Olu'Dolapo Ojediran's *Omolewa*. It is found that as the prevailing tradition maintains and safeguards the secondary position of a woman, women writers like Olu'Dolapo Ojediran attempt to do away with the secondary position ascribed to women. In Saint E. T. Gbilekaa and Olympus G. Ejue's "Rethinking the Humanities in the Context of Intertextuality and Adaptations within the Diasporic Construct" we see how radical socio-political and economic changes in the world have led to global mass migration, transcontinental transport or scattering of people away from their established or ancestral homelands. It demonstrates neatly how diaspora formations have influenced theatre practice in Nigeria and indeed Africa through play-texts adaptation paradigms as vehicles that can be supportive of constructing peaceful societies.

Christabel Chinedu Onyema in her "A Linguistic-Stylistics Study of Joseph Ushie's Selected Poems" focuses on a stylistics analysis of selected poems by Joseph Ushie: *Popular Stand and other Poems* (1992); *Lambs at the Shrine* (1995); *Eclipse in Rwanda* (1998); *Hill Songs* (2000); and *A Reign of Locusts* (2004) and how the creative works bemoan the long-sufferings of Nigerians under tyrannical leadership as well as the destruction of the ecospace. The article spotlights Ushie's creative utilization of the resources of language in deliberate linguistic choices he makes and evaluates the significance of such choices in foregrounding the diverse messages in his poems. Edorodion Agbon Osa in his "The Benin Royalty in the Filmic Imagination of Edo Language Video Filmmakers" explores the deregulation of the global media landscape and how marginalised groups such as Benin (Edo) rally around familiar identities and figures to find their bearing in a fast-changing world. The article interrogates Edo language video filmmakers' use of the symbolism of the Oba of Benin to respond to the largely Western global media messages and shows how Edo language video filmmakers contribute to the transmission of global media messages by mobilising the imagery of the Oba of Benin to create a uniquely Edo identity that embraces the core Edo people and those who trace their ancestry to the old Benin Kingdom.

Mohammed I. Umar-Buratai and Markus Dudu's "Uhola Cultural Festival as Platform for Communicating Development in Zuru Emirate, Kebbi State, Nigeria" dwells on the use of indigenous communication forms such as Uhola as alternative means of communicating development in northern Nigeria. Employing quantitative and qualitative methods, the study affirms that the involvement of community members in the design, planning and implementation of communication processes that are considered familiar, credible, accessible or affordable to the people such as Uhola is one of the sure ways of utilizing indigenous idioms of communication for greater participation of communities in sustainable community development, especially in rural Nigeria. In "Cybertech: Towards a Virtual Theatre for Development," Anthony Nnalue Chukwuemeka and Alex Asigbo consider the survival of theatre for development (TfD) in a technologically changing world. They posit that TfD and virtual theatre can effectively be married to

birth a mediatized platform that is capable of reaching audiences in the comfort of their homes. The article experimentally demonstrates that the streaming of a TfD project expands the viewership to a wider audience than just the stage performance and also solves the problems of the host communities, thereby, leaving the communities better than they were.

Maureen Ndu's "A Nativist Reading of Traditional Worship and Superstition in *Song of a Goat* and *Dilemma of a Ghost*" examines how African dramatists have used drama to regain aspects of the African traditional values and universalise the distinct identity of African value system. The paper uses J.P. Clark's *Song of a Goat* and Ama Ata Aidoo's *Dilemma of a Ghost* to X-ray values relating to the worship of gods, belief in ancestors and superstition. In "Social Exclusion and the Poverty Paradox in Nigeria's Niger Delta: A Household Livelihood Assessment" by Jackson T.C.B. Jack and Better Jack, the issue of social exclusion and poverty in oil-producing communities of the Niger Delta in Nigeria is investigated. The study uses the household livelihood assessment (HLA) survey approach to assess 610 households in selected oil-producing communities in Rivers, Delta and Bayelsa States and finds that most households in the sampled communities are impoverished as they possess poor livelihood assets as well as poor human and infrastructural development outcomes.

Kolawole Taiwo Olabode and Leji Temitope's "Infants' Feeding Practice in Nigeria: Issues and Problems" empirically look at infants' feeding practice among nursing women in Nigeria. Deploying a mixed method of research, the article uses two purposively selected towns, Ado-Ekiti and Ikorodu in Ekiti and Lagos States respectively as fulcra of

analysis and discussion and finds that the indices measuring the socio-economic status of the nursing mothers strongly agree that they are capable of affecting infants feeding practice. Daniel Nosakhare Osariyekemwen and Samson Ogheneruemu Ukweku's "Recycling Ceramic Sanitary Wares' Wastes as Raw Materials for Reproduction in Ceramics and Development of Metal Polishes in Nigeria" examines the physical and chemical properties of ceramic wastes and the possibility of being recycled into useful means for ceramic reproduction and for the development of bar polishing compounds for finishing in creative metal works, office furniture and household utensils. Drawing inspiration from Osariyekemwen's research on ceramics wastes at the Centre for Energy Research at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and Ukweku's Development of Ceramics Shads into Metal Polishing Compounds for Surface finishing metal artworks, the article demonstrates that raw material form of ceramic waste, when analyzed elementally and composed into bodies with adequate and agreeable ball clay, can be used successfully to reproduce ceramic items that can vitrify well with transparent and opaque glazes as an interface when gloss fired.

In "Forensicity and Dialectism in Chimamanda Adichie's *Americanah*," Onyeka Ike applies New Historicism as a theoretical anchor to examine how the author utilizes the instrumentality of her novelistic enterprise as a veritable tool for forensic inquiry into certain past thorny societal issues which till date continue to generate public concern, debate and even controversies in Nigeria. The article further points out that for anyone to understand and appropriately interpret the current situation of the Nigerian society, a grounded knowledge of the past is necessary, and that literature can, among other

things; function as a vital investigative instrument. Catherine Enoredia Odorige's "A Wholesome Method to Engaging Human Trafficking as against Victim-Centred Policy Approach in Nigeria" probes the vexatious issue of illegal migration/human smuggling/trafficking in Nigeria. It uses historicocritical and key informant interviews (KIIs) to contend that efforts have been focused largely on the victims and the traffickers to the detriment of the real push factors that influence illegal migration and re-migration of returnees such as poverty and lack of social safety nets. Hence, the article suggests that the Nigerian government should adopt and implement some policy initiatives to address glaring social challenges in society.

In "Liberal Humanitarian Ideology in Femi Osofisan's *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* and *Twingle Twangle: A Twynning Tayle*," Ikotinyie James Eshiet raises the question of the egocentric nature of human beings. The article argues that the issue of corruption today bedevils even the most down-to-earth democracies of the world and that the ideology of liberal humanitarianism, with its principle of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) is not devoid of egocentric tendencies. It uses a literary analysis of the motives behind the actions of such characters as the Minstrels in *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* and Taye and Kehinde in *Twingle Twangle: A Twynning Tayle* to draw attention to the despicable and hypocritical nature of humans, especially, when politically empowered, is brought to the fore. In "The Use of Multimedia Tools in English Teaching in Nigeria," Itohan Ethel Ekhator uses a literary method to surmise that regardless of its many advantages multimedia should not be used blindly in teaching English in Nigeria. The paper illustrates the necessity of multimedia in English teaching and elaborates the advantages and disadvantages of multimedia teaching concerning the Nigerian environment and offers some strategies on how to properly use multimedia to obtain quality education in Nigeria.

Urowoli Christiana Ebobo and Olufunke Ayilara Aje-Famuyide's article "Socio-Demographic Profiling of Female Murderers in Lagos State, Nigeria" uses the Self-Control theory to investigate the socio-demographic profiles of females that have been arrested, detained and convicted for murder in Lagos State, Nigeria. The study reveals that female murderers in Nigeria are mostly married within the age brackets of 28-32 years, influenced by anger, secondary school/tertiary institution certificate holders and most often impulsive rather than premeditated. It recommends, among other things, that females should learn to control their emotions and actions when faced with challenges. Austine Emifoniye's "'Humanity on the Red': Covid-19 and Atiku Jelili's Advocacy through Performance Art in Nigeria" claims that the emergence of Covid-19 has brought to fore the vulnerability of human society to pandemics and other forms of disaster, which may not have come as a surprise to activists engaged in one form of advocacy or another for a better society. In this context, it posits that the performance art of Jelili Atiku is a human rights advocacy art in the Nigeria ecospace that should be given attention. The article highlights how the artist articulated the 'In the Red' series of performance art spanning 10 years (2008-2018), using costume and his performance technique to create awareness and tell the story of impending doom before Covid-19.

In "Traditional Festival Performances as Source Materials for Nigeria's Socio-Economic Development" by Jibril Imam Mohammed-Kabir and Musa Salifu the point

is made that apart from resources such as petroleum and others, the Nigerian nation is rich in traditional festivals that can be utilized to generate wealth and employment opportunities for the masses. The article uses evaluative and descriptive research methodologies to examine Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals as paradigms that underscore Nigerian festival performances as source materials for Nigeria's development. Bifátife Olufemi Adeseye and Joseph Agofure Idogho's "Drama and Theatre as Tools for Critical Pedagogy and Development Communication: Appraisal of Freire's and Boal's Praxis" explores drama as a form of critical pedagogy, empowerment and emancipatory tool with emphasis on applied drama/theatre. Using Critical Theory as intellectual scaffolding, the article assesses Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed and the value they bring to contemporary cultural science and submits that applied drama/ theatre is a veritable tool for a critical pedagogy that should be adopted as a teaching methodology in Nigeria.

In "Dearth of Dance Libretti and Dance Films in Nigeria: A Stagnation of Dancers' Stardom," Steve James Itsewah and Emmanuel Paul Idakwo claim that stardom and fame are not only embedded in wealth and riches, but also subsist in one's ability to articulate and galvanise one's potentials to excel in what one does, and project oneself through mediated communication platforms (television, print, the Internet, etc.). In this context, the article reawakens the consciousness of dance scholars in Nigeria to endeavour to mitigate the challenge faced by choreographers, dance students, and other professionals in the industry who depend on them for practicable dance scripts (libretti) to produce so that they too could achieve stardom like their counterparts in drama. It also considers the significance of the mass media in promoting an artiste's sturdiness to stardom. Christian T. Diri's "The Value of Development and Participatory Communication in Public Policies for Nigeria's Good Governance" examines the value of development and participatory communication in public policies for Nigeria's good governance. It suggests that government should build capacities in the various communication mechanisms and tools and deploy a combination of appropriate technologies and impressive skills in supporting their own public service delivery systems; government should invest in the human resources and infrastructure necessary to consult, inform, and persuade citizens – processes that, in turn, enable constituents to engage in meaningful and informed participation.

Erimma Gloria Orie and Ernest Ugbejeh in "Covid-19 Crisis and Female Gender-Based Violence: Issues and Challenges for Nigeria" inform that across the globe there are reports of increased gender-based domestic violence (GBV) since the onset of the Covid-19 crisis and that the situation in Nigeria reflects the global trend. Hence, the article preliminarily reveals that from 24 states in Nigeria shows that in March 2020, the total number of GBV incidents reported was 346, while in the first part of April 2020, incident reports spiked to 794, depicting a 56 percent increase in just two weeks of lockdown. Drawing from global best practices, therefore, the paper recommends the establishment of a comprehensive law for managing Covid-19 and effective enforcement of laws to fight GBV in Nigeria. The two book reviews in this issue: Million John's *Shadows of the River Nun* by Saviour Nathan A. Agoro and Paul Ugor's *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* by Tunde Onikoyi speak to Nigerian scholars'

response to the complexity of the challenges that Nigeria and Nigerians are confronted with, particularly to its youthful population, which is potentially a 'goldmine' waiting to be explored and deployed in the sociocultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic transformation of Nigeria.

Conclusion

Despite the devastation and fear that Covid-19 has foisted on the world generally and on Nigeria and Nigerians in particular, many Nigerian scholars in different parts of the globe have demonstrated resilience and tenacity in their academic enterprises, indicated in concrete terms in the quantity and quality of papers submitted for publication consideration in this issue of *the quint*. From when the call for papers (CFPs) was on the internet sometime in mid-2020 till July 2021, thirty-eight articles were received, which we have been able to prune to twenty-five as a result of the standard peer review mechanism that we deployed. I herewith express my thanks to the members of the editorial board of *the quint*, particularly its managing editor, Prof Sue Matheson, for their cooperation and support. I wish to thank all the contributors to this issue for their commitment and steadfastness while it was under preparation. The complexion of the contributors is a great mix of established and emerging Nigerian scholars and researchers.

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Potentials of Applied Drama in the Rehabilitation of Drug and Substance Abusers: The Situation of NDLEA, Akure in Nigeria

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Abstract

Drug and substance abuse among Nigerian youths is becoming alarming. Research has shown that many youths in Nigeria get into the habit of drug abuse for various reasons ranging from parental neglect to unemployment. Several attempts have been made to reduce this menace to the barest minimum but the results have not been significant. This article discusses the positive effect of applied drama on drug and substance abusers in the custody of National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Akure division, Nigeria. This study adopts the homestead approach which is an applied drama methodology. The population of the entire inmates is 20 comprising 13 males and 7 females. Using descriptive analysis, it discovered that (75%) of the drug abusers agreed that drama made them aware of the dangers of drug abuse, (50%) strongly agreed that through role playing, they were better equipped about dangers of drug abuse, (65%) agreed that drama gave them the opportunity to express themselves, while (80%) strongly agreed that in rehearsals, they have realized that drug abuse is more injurious to their health. Also, (55%) agreed that drama enabled them to purge their emotions and be better persons while (65%) of the respondents strongly agreed that each rehearsal creates a new chapter in their lives Most of the participants agreed that through drama they could overcome their challenges and more determined to stop abusing drugs. Majority of the participants (70%) strongly agreed that drama had to a large extent contributed to their wellbeing and determination to quit drug. The study recommends the use of drama not only as an enlightenment strategy but as part of therapy for drug abusers.

Keywords: Applied drama, Rehabilitation, Drug and substance abusers, NDLEA, Nigeria.

Introduction

According to Okoye, 2001, and Njeru & Ngesu, 2014, a drug is a substance that brings about changes in biological functioning through its chemical actions. Ghodsa, however, (2003) observes that a drug is any substance other than those required for maintenance of normal health, and when taken into the living organism, may modify one or more of its functions. Fawa (2002) states the medical use of drugs when he defines drug as any substance with the potential to prevent or cure disease. Drug abuse refers to non-

medical use of drugs. A substance is considered abused if it is deliberately used to induce physiological or psychological effects or both. This use contributes to health risk and complications and explains why Abdulahi (2009) defines drug abuse as 'the use of drugs to the extent that it interferes with the health and social function of an individual'(p. 52), while Lakhanpal and Agnihotri (2007) define it as 'the arbitrary overdependence or misuse of one particular drug with or without a prior medical diagnosis from qualified health practitioners (p. 59).

Drug and substance abuse have been known to have tremendous adverse consequences on the health of individuals and on society at large. The consequences of drug abuse may be placed into three categories: physical, psychological, and social. Efforts ito curb drug abuse have met with many challenges, because the problems associated with illicit trade in narcotic drugs result from the promotion of a drug dependency syndrome in the society and its attending physical and psychological effects on the individuals that use the drugs. This is compounded by the illicit narcotic trade targeting the youth that constitutes the productive force and future of every society. This study offers a dramatic approach as a viable method to reach these youths who are most vulnerable.

The international and borderless nature of illicit drug and substance trafficking underpins the danger of illicit drugs, especially for youths who are the bedrock of any society. This danger has contributed in no small way to Nigeria's partnership with international agencies to counter trade in and use of illicit drugs. Iin 1989, the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency was established to combat the illicit trafficking and abuse of drugs in Nigeria. But despite government's efforts, the rising rate of illicit trafficking and drug abuse is alarming—its devastating effects especially prevalent youth within the ages of 12-

21 years. Some resort to self-medication without reference to professional advice. Others take substances for performance enhancement, some because of peer pressure, and some to keep themselves awake during examination periods and to enhance memory, while others take drugs to keep them high. The most abused drug is cannabis, also known as Indian hemp, pot, marijuana, hashish or 'igbo' as it is known and called in the Nigerian local parlance (Omoera & Aihevba, 2010). Depressants such as alchohol (liquor, beer, spirit, etc.); inhalants (solvents, aerosol, etc.) that are sniffed; aphrodisiacs (manpower, paraga, sepe, opaeyin, etc.) are also consumed for performance enhancement. In the same vein, stimulants like cocaine, caffeine, nicotine, and amphetamines (for example, tramadol) are also drugs of choice.

It is estimated that about 14.3 million people in Nigeria use drugs outside prescription. The report of the national drug survey use shows that the number of drug users in Nigeria is higher than the entire population of some European countries. The survey, from which the report was written, was conducted by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), in collaboration with the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and Center for Research and Information on Substance Abuse (CRISA). Headed by the European Union. (EU), the survey demonstrates that the rate of drug abuse in Nigeria in 2018 is more than twice the global average of 5.3 percent (UNODC, 2018). The statistics show that people involved in drug use are mainly between 15 and 64 years of age. One in every four is a woman.

Overview of Drug Abuse in Nigeria

According to Paul Eric (2017), the history of drug abuse in Nigeria predates early trends in civilization which took place as man settled down from being a gatherer to a

farmer. Some of the early crops cultivated included intoxicants such as grapes for wine (alcoholic) and strong tobacco, as well as opium, and other harder substances. The advent of Christianity in the South and Islam in the North somehow reduced the intake of this harmful substance. He posits further that contemporary Nigeria has witnessed drug abuse since the return of the World War Il veterans who fought in Malaysia and Burma (Myanmar). On returning after the war, they brought with them Indian hemp as souvenirs. Consequently, this led to an unprecedented increase in the cultivation of cannabis which was illegal.

Initially, drug abuse is seen as the problem of a few in the society. But recent studies and research have shown that it is a major societal phenomenon: the vast majority being the youths who are the promising leaders and future of Nigeria. Exposure to internet, social media, adverts and modern technology has had adverse impact on the youth, who know new techniques of mixing chemical substancesto be used as drugs. For example, 'gutter water' (meaning dirty concoction) is a mixture of drugs like codeine, tramadol, rohypnol, and cannabis with juice or water. Some users prefer other alternatives such as sniffing and use petrol, glue, sewage, and urine as inhalants.

The socio-economic effect of drug abuse among Nigerian youth cannot be overemphasized. Eric (2019) asserts that "a society predominantly made up of young persons who indulge in drug abuse cannot be regarded as a healthy and a developed one, since the abusers lose their potentialities to this activity' (p. 201). The resulting effect of this can be easily imagined. Several hardships, ranging from suicides, crimes, and accidents, which lead to societal impoverishment, occur. Drug abuse results in broken homes, shattered dreams, and wasted manpower as the abusers cannot sustain their habits and eventually became a danger to themselves and a threat to the society. Unfortunately, youth who are the supposed leaders of the future and hope of the nation are often found deep neck in this anti-social activity. Craig (20-21) remarks that The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) carried out a study in 2018 on drug abuse in Nigeria. He reports the statistics on the prevalence of drug use in Nigeria by geopolitical zones and states, as follows:

North-west zone Prevalence: 12.0% Numbers: 3,000,000

North-central zone Prevalence: 10.0% Numbers: 1,500,000

North-east zone Prevalence: 13.6% Number: 2,090,000 South-west zone Prevalence: 22.4% Numbers: 4, 382,000 South-south zone Prevalence: 16.6% Numbers: 2, 124.000

South-east zone Prevalence: 13.8% Numbers: 1,550,000

The Nations Office on Drugs and crime (UNODC) from its key findings reported that in Nigeria, one in seven persons aged 15-64years had used a drug (other than tobacco and alcohol) in the previous year, 2017. In 2017, the prevalence of any drug use is estimated at 14.4 per cent (14.0 per cent -14.8 per cent), corresponding to 14.3 million people aged 15- 64 years who had used a psychoactive substance in the past year for non-medical purposes. Several types of drugs were being abused by youths. These ranged from common drugs such as cigarettes and alcohol to more dangerous ones like cocaine and heroin. Most recently, deadlier drugs such as cough syrups and tramadol are in high demand among Nigerian youth. Kazeem (16-18) lists the drugs as follows:

Cigarettes — These are probably the easiest that are available to youth. Their nicotine levels qualifies them to be classified as hard drugs. Aside other

physical effects it has on the body, nicotine is addictive and can cause lung disorders such as cancer.

Alcohol — Beer, wine, brandy and spirits are included in this drug category mainly because of their chemical contents and potential for addiction. Alcohol has a toxic and sedative effect on the body and is available without prescription. It is a central nervous system depressant, and its consumption can cause a number of marked changes in behaviour.

Tobacco — This is usually abused through the excessive chewing of cola-nut or concentrated coffee. It is the active ingredient of coffee, tea, and some bottled beverages. Tobacco products (for example, cigarettes, cigars, chewing tobacco, etc.) are popular among Nigeria's youth.. People cite many reasons for using tobacco including pleasure, improved performance, and vigilance, relief of depression, curbing hunger and weight control. The primary addicting substance in cigarettes is nicotine though cigarette smoke contains a number of chemicals that damage health.

Marijuana — It is a hallucinogenic stimulant and is usually produced locally. It is basically a Cannabinoid, also known as Indian hemp, grass, pot, weed, herb, and hashish. Marijuana, which comes from the plant Cannabis Sativa, produces delta-9tetrahydro cannabinol (THC) which determine it's potency varying from 0.2% to 20%. It is an active ingredient associated with intoxication. The drug is usually smoked, but it can also be eaten. Common effects of marijuana use include pleasure, relaxation, and impaired coordination and memory. It is often the first illegal drug that people use. It is associated with the increased risk of progressing to more powerful and dangerous drugs such as cocaine and heroin.

Hydrocarbons — They are usually inhaled or sniffed and they include glue, gasoline, varnish, cleaning solutions, nail polish remover, and even lighter fluids distilled from petroleum and natural gas.

Cocaine — This drug is one of the most potent stimulants of natural origin. It is extracted from the leaves of cocoa plant in the Andean highlands of South America. Illicit cocaine is usually distributed as a white crystalline powder, often diluted by a variety of ingredients. This drug is usually administered by snorting through the nasal passages, smoked, injected, or swallowed. It is a powerful stimulant. The intensity and duration of the drug's effects depend on tthe taking of it. The desired effects include pleasure, and increased alertness, while the side effects include paranoia and irregular heartbeat. This drug is also known as crack, coke, snow, and rock.

Crack — This is a street name for a chemical directive of cocaine in hard, crystalline lumps. It is heated and inhaled as a stimulant. Youth usually go for this, because it is less expensive than cocaine.

Heroin — Heroin was first synthesized from morphine with a bitter taste. Illicit heroin may vary in both form and colour, from white to dark brown. Heroin is about three times more potent than morphine, and it is readily available in Nigeria. The effect of heroin intoxication includes drowsiness, pleasure and slowed breathing. Overdose of this may result in death from respiratory arrest.

Methamphetamine — It is also known as meth, crank, ice, speed, and crystal. This drug is a stimulant that shares most of the toxic effects of cocaine; the

drug can be injected smoked, snorted or eaten.

Ecstasy — This drug is also known as MDMA, or 3,4-methylenedioxy-methamphetamine. Ir is a stimulant and hallucinogen used to improve mood and to maintain energy often for all-night dance parties. Long term use may cause brain damage.

GHB (gamma hydroxybutryrate — This drug is also called liquid XTC, G, and blue nitro. Its effects rage from mild relaxation to coma or death. It acts a powerful sedative.

Rohypnol — It is also called roofies or roche. This drug is another sedative. Its effects include low blood pressure, dizziness, abdominal cramps, confusion and impaired memory.

Ketamine — This drug is also called special K. This is an anesthetic that can be taken orally or injected. Ketamine can impair memory and attention.

LSD — It is also called acid, microdot and mushrooms, peynote, and buttons. LSD and hallucinogenic mushrooms can cause hallucinations, numbness, nausea, and increased heart rate.

PCP — This drug is also known as angel dust, hug, and love boat. It is another powerful anesthetic. Its effects are similar to those of Ketamine but often are stronger. Its anesthetic effects are so strong that you can break your arm but not feel any pain.

Others drugs include Cold medications (for example, Sudafed, Benadryl); Inhalants (for example, gasoline, and ammonia); Depressants (for example, barbiturates, and benzodiazepines).

Causes of Drug and Substance Abuse

While it is necessary to reduce drug and substance abuse to the barest minimum (with the possibility of extinction), it is pertinent to examine causes for possible eradication from the roots. The causes of drug and substance abuse cannot be pinned to one but to a combination of many factors because of the vulnerability of youth. Scholars such as Hemy, Smith & Caldwell, 2007; Abudu, 2008; Igwe, et al., 2009; Oshodi, Aina & Onajole, 2010; Desalu et al., 2010; Ajibulu, 2011; and Fareo, 2012 have identified the causes of drug abuse. Their findings include:

> **Environment:** this is a major factor that contributes to the causes of drug and substance abuse. Many people live in communities that suffer from multiple deprivations with high unemployment, low quality housing units with the surrounding infrastructure of local services splintered and poorly resourced. In such environments, drug and substance supply and use often thrive as an alternative economy often controlled by powerful criminal groups. As well as any use that might be associated with the stress and boredom of living in such communities, young people with poor job prospects recognize the financial advantages and the status achievable through the business of small scale supply of drugs.
>
> **Promotion and Availability:** there is considerable pressure to use legal substances and pain relieving drugs that are regularly advertised on television and radio. These promotions include cigarette advertising which encourages young people to start and reinforces the habit among existing smokers. Despite legislation, children and adolescents have no problem

obtaining alcohol and tobacco from any number of retail outlets. Breweries refurbish drinking joints with young people in mind, bringing in music, games, and more sophisticated décor, while the general acceptance of these drugs is maintained via sports sponsorship, promotions, and other marketing strategies.

Lack of Parental Supervision: many parents have no time to supervise their children. Some parents have little or no interaction with family members, while others put pressure their children to pass exams or perform better in their studies. These problems initialize and increase drug usage.

Socio-economic Status of the Parents: by implication the socio-economic status of the parents may influence adolescents to abuse or not to abuse drugs even if the parents have very low income, low income average, high or very high income.

Applied Drama

Applied drama is a bit difficult to define because many dramatic forms are practiced under that the umbrella of that nomenclature. What binds them together, however, is that these plays are performed in a non-conventional way. Their performance could be done with minorities, challenged individuals, children, drug addicts, people in specialized institutions, and homes as well as by adults with the intention of creating awareness with the participants or members of the audience on certain topics which people usually take for granted. Before the advent of applied drama, the nomenclature that was used for different socio-cultural theatrical forms was participatory theatre. These socio-cultural theatrical forms were created outside of the conventional theatre, in most cases to give voice and recognition to arginnalized groups.

The basic characteristic of applied drama is its workshop-like approach to the participants. The workshop usually ends with a play performance to which all the participants may have contributed. With a clearly defined goal and tasks for each activity, the facilitator accepts any changes that may occur in the planning process. The major objective of the workshop is to exhibit the issues and problems being faced by the group through their creative abilities, using games and role playing. Certeau (1984) remarks hat applied drama usually works in contexts where the drama created and performed has a specific resonance with its participants and its audiences. Applied theatre is relatively inexpensive to practice. It does not require special equipment, elaborate lighting,, expressive set construction, or costume design which may attract huge financial burdens. The main equipment needed is just a space which could be anywhere—a courtyard, classroom, backyard—but most importantly, the willingness of the participants to subject themselves to the use of their bodies, since the body is the basic tool the catalyst needs. Among the widely accepted forms of applied drama are Social drama. The Theatre of the Oppressed, Image Theatre, Forum Theatre, Newspaper Theatre, Invisible Theatre, Legislative Theatre, and Theatre for Development.

Methodology

For an experimental study such as this, Nasir et al. (2019) claim that there are two basic approaches open to the researchers. They are the Migratory and Homestead approaches.

> **Migratory:** this approach is a situation whereby the researchers (catalysts) go to the target community, obtain information, get their data, and return to their base where they embark on scenario formulation, andrehearsals When the play is ready, they return to the target community and perform

it. In this type of approach, the audience's only involvement is during the question and answer interaction which comes at the end of the production. This type of approach is usually used in specialized institutions due to the peculiar nature of the inhabitants. It is also known as an outside-in approach.

Homestead: This is a situation whereby the catalysts mingle with the target audience and together form the play from scenario formulation to performance. This is the best approach to adopt if the catalysts have the opportunity because the outcome is usually a product of both the catalysts and the target community. This is because the catalyst remains with the targeted people after their problem identification; they rehearse and perform with them. In doing this, they are able to gain the trust and confidence of the target community and thereby are able to effectively dissect and suggest solutions to the problem at hand. This is also called an inside-out approach.

Practice: The Case Study

The researchers visited the Nigeria Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Akure, Ondo State, Nigeria, which is about 40 kilometers from their base, going twice a for about 6 weeks. After getting clearance from the comptroller, the researchers adopted the homestead method and were allowed to have interactions with the drug offenders under rehabilitation, in the presence of two NDLEA officials who understood the researchers' concept. The first two weeks were used to break the ice, which is getting familiar with the offenders so they will feel free and interact with one another without any hindrance. Fortunately, the researchers didn't encounter many problems in this regard, because most of the prisoners were literate and are interested in drama. The researchers then proceeded

to scenario formulation based on their stories. A script finally evolved, and it received the input of everyone which made it well accepted. The last two weeks were spent putting finishing touches during the rehearsals, and the performance was staged in the 6th week iat the NDLEA. All the participants and the members of the audience were elated with the play and the performance of the artists. While questions and answers were entertained at the end of the performance, questionnaires were also given to the drug offenders in order to determine the success of the experiment. The data was collected and analysed with the results presented below.

Instrumentation

Questionnaire: Drug Drama Personnel Scale (DDPS)

The researchers developed DDPS. The instrument consisted of two parts: Sections A and B. Section A elicited from the subjects, personal information on sex, (variable 1), educational attainment (Variable 2), marital status (variable three), age (variable four and occupation (variable 5) while section B was made up of seventeen (17) items on various aspects of drug-drama / personal drama beside a five point scale in which subjects were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement to each of the items. Responses on this section were treated as variable 6. The subjects were 20 drug abusers in the custody of NDLEA, Akure. They were13 males and 7 females.

Validity

The questionnaires were prepared and shown to colleagues for their comments and inputs. They were also shown to drama experts and NDLEA officials

for their opinions on its validity. Observations made were well-taken and corrections were effected in the process of producing the final draft.

Data Collection and Analysis

The instruments were administered personally to the subjects by the researcher with the assistance of four (4)) research assistants who were members of staff of NDLEA. The completed questionnaires were collected on the field to ensure the accuracy of the data collected. This was done to check for errors in the form of missing data, inconsistent data, and out of range values. A data entry guide was also prepared for the coding of the questionnaires.

RESULTS

Frequency Tables

SEX

Gender		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MALE	13	65.0	65.0	65.0
	FEMALE	7	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	SECONDARY	1	5.0	5.0	5.0
	OND/NCE	13	65.0	65.0	70.0
	HND/UNIVERSITY DEGREE	6	30.0	30.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

MARITAL STATUS

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MARRIED	17	85.0	85.0	85.0
	DIVORCED	2	10.0	10.0	95.0
	WIDOW/WIDOWER	1	5.0	5.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

AGE

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	25-35 YEARS	10	50.0	50.0	50.0
	36-45 YEARS	8	40.0	40.0	90.0
	46-55 YEARS	2	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

OCCUPATION

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	STUDENT	8	40.0	40.0	40.0
	WORKER	10	50.0	50.0	90.0
	BUSINESS MAN	2	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama made me to be more aware of dangers of drug abuse

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	1	5.0	5.0	5.0
	AGREE	15	75.0	75.0	80.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	4	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Through role playing, I am better equipped about dangers of drug abuse.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	5	25.0	25.0	25.0
	AGREE	5	25.0	25.0	50.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	10	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama gave me the opportunity to express myself.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	3	15.0	15.0	15.0
	AGREE	13	65.0	65.0	80.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	4	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

In rehearsals, I have realized that drug abuse is more injurious to my health.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	DISAGREE	1	5.0	5.6	5.6
	INDIFFERENT	1	5.0	5.6	11.1
	STRONGLY AGREE	16	80.0	88.9	100.0
	Total	18	90.0	100.0	
Missing	System	2	10.0		
Total		20	100.0		

Drama enabled me to purge my emotion and be a better person.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	2	10.0	10.5	10.5
	AGREE	11	55.0	57.9	68.4
	STRONGLY AGREE	6	30.0	31.6	100.0
	Total	19	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	5.0		
Total		20	100.0		

Each rehearsal creates a new chapter in my life.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	1	5.0	5.0	5.0
	AGREE	6	30.0	30.0	35.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	13	65.0	65.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Through drama, I am able to overcome some challenges and more determined to stop abuse of drugs.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	12	60.0	60.0	60.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	8	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Through drama performance, I have grown to understand and tolerate people more.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	7	35.0	35.0	35.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	13	65.0	65.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama gives me feelings that it is a productive venture which I can focus on later in life.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	7	35.0	35.0	35.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	13	65.0	65.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama made me more confident to speak without using drugs.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	5	25.0	26.3	26.3
	STRONGLY AGREE	14	70.0	73.7	100.0
	Total	19	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	5.0		
Total		20	100.0		

Being active in drama rehearsals gave me sense of direction and confidence.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	9	45.0	45.0	45.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	11	55.0	55.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama helps me to connect with people from different age groups and cultural background for self and national development.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	INDIFFERENT	1	5.0	5.0	5.0
	AGREE	12	60.0	60.0	65.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	7	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Attending rehearsals and performance have given me something to look forward to, and I think less about drugs.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	8	40.0	40.0	40.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	12	60.0	60.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Through drama, I have become a more disciplined and dependable person.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	8	40.0	40.0	40.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	12	60.0	60.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Through drama, I experienced and value activities that are much more beneficial than drug abuse.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	7	35.0	35.0	35.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	13	65.0	65.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Drama had to a large extent contributed to my well being and determination to quit drug.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	5	25.0	26.3	26.3
	STRONGLY AGREE	14	70.0	73.7	100.0
	Total	19	95.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	5.0		
Total		20	100.0		

Through drama, I have a feeling about a better tomorrow.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	4	20.0	20.0	20.0
	STRONGLY AGREE	16	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	20	100.0	100.0	

Discussion

The descriptive analysis done on the socio-demographic information of the 20 drug abusers sampled in the study shows that 13(65%) were males and 7(35%) were females. The distribution of educational attainment of the drug abusers shows that the majority of them (65%) had Ordinary National Diploma or National Certification of Education, followed by 6 (30%) with Higher National Diploma or University degree, and 1 (5%) had secondary education. It was further discovered that majority of the participants (85%) were married, 1(10%) divorced, and 1(5%) was either a widow or widower. In addition, it was revealed that the majority of the drug abusers, which constituted half of the same 10 (50%), were within the ages of 25-35 years, 8 (40%) were within the age group of 36-45 years and 2 (10%) were within the age range of 46-55 years. This indicates that the majority of the drug abusers sampled in the study were young individuals. The distribution of drug abusers' occupations shows that the majority (50%) constituting half of the sample were workers, 8 (40%) were students, and 2 (10%) were into business.

Perceived Therapeutic effects of Drama on Drug Abuse

Demonstrating the therapeutic effect of drama on drug abuse, the results showed that 15 (75%) of the drug abusers agreed that drama made them aware of dangers of drug abuse, 4 (20%) strongly agreed to it, and 1 (5%) was indifferent. Majority of the respondents (50%) strongly agreed that through the role playing, they were better equipped with knowledge about the dangers of drug abuse, while 5 (25%) of them were equally agreed and indifferent. The majority, 13 (65%) of the participants, agreed that drama gave them the opportunity to express themselves, while 4 (20%) strongly agreed, and 3 (15%) were indifferent. Most of the drug abusers (80%) strongly agreed that in rehearsals, they realized that drug abuse is more injurious to their health, while 1 (5%) of them equally either disagreed or was indifferent.

The results further show that 11 (55%) of the respondents agreed that drama enabled them to purge their emotions and be better persons: 6 (30%) strongly agreed, but 2 (10%) of them were indifferent about this. Also, 13 (65%) of the respondents strongly agreed that each rehearsal created a new chapter in their lives: 6 (30%) agreed and 1 (5%) was indifferent. It was also found that most of the participants (60%) agreed that through drama they could overcome some challenges and became more determined to stop abusing drugs, and 8 (40%) strongly agreed. The majority of the participants (65%) strongly agreed that through drama performance, they had grown to understand and tolerate people more and 7 (35%) agreed, indicating that all agreed to this. Similarly,

the majority of the participants (65%) strongly agreed that drama gave them the feeling that it was a productive venture on which they could focus later in life, and 7 (35%) agreed, indicating that all of them agreed to this.

It was also found that 14 (70%) of the participants strongly agreed that drama made them to be more confident to speak without using drugs, and 7 (35%) agreed to it, and 1 (5%) was indifferent. In another result, 11 (55%) of the drug abusers sampled strongly agreed that being active in drama rehearsals gave them sense of direction and confidence, while 9 (45%) agreed. In addition, 12 (60%) of the participants agreed that drama helped them to connect with people from different age groups and cultural backgrounds for self- and national development, 7 (35%) strongly agreed, and only 1 (5%) was indifferent.

Most of the participants (60%) strongly agreed and 8 (40%) agreed that attending rehearsals and performance had given them something to look forward to and think about. Likewise, many of the participants 12 (60%) strongly agreed and 8 (40%) agreed that through drama they had become more disciplined and dependable persons. It was found that 13 (65%) of the participants strongly agreed that through drama they experienced and valued activities that were much more beneficial than drug abuse, and 7 (35%) agreed to it. Majority of the participants (70%) strongly agreed that drama had to a large extent contributed to their wellbeing and determination to quit drugs, 5 (25%) agreed, and 1 (5%) was indifferent. Consequently, it was found that 16 (80%) agreed, which constituted the majority strongly agreed that drama is of importance to them.

Conclusion

As could be observed in the experiment, the practice of theatre for development using home stead method with the clients is much more beneficial to them. Aside from its entertaining values, the homestead method is equally educative, informative and therapeutic. There is no doubt that if it is extended to correct other vices, the society will be a better place to live.

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Premature Death in Igbo Oral Genres (Nigeria) – A Contribution to the Study of the Ogbanje

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Abstract

This study, based on nine folktales recorded between 1972 and 1987 in Anambra, Enugu and Imo States of Nigeria, considers the traditional attitude towards untimely deaths, especially repeated children's deaths as presented in oral literature. The article focuses on three of these folktales, told by the same storyteller from Umuida, in Enugu-Ezike (northern Igboland) and recorded in September-October 1986 and March 1987, which provide a clear picture of the phenomenon. Traditional Igbo society has always explained these untimely deaths as having a supernatural cause, and oral genres, especially folktales, embed this explanation in narratives centred around young characters described as *ogbanje* (*o gba nje* 'traveller') children who come and go and cannot/choose not to stay in this world. The article also considers the suggestion equating the *Ogbanje* phenomenon and other causes of child mortality, and reveals the specificity of the *Ogbanje*.

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Introduction

Igbo names given to children in Nigeria—*Nwakamma* [a child is more valuable than everything], *Nwakaego* [a child is more valuable than money], *Nwabueze*[a child is king] —express the conviction that children constitute what is considered the most desirable wealth; they are also the most sought after fruit of marriages. The desire to have children manifests itself early in the morning in the father's traditional prayers and in the pressures placed on all newlyweds. It is a desire to grow the clan and the town. For women, this desire is equally born out of the need to secure her status in the husband's family, as childless wives are often repudiated or forced to accept a co-wife, while childless widows or those whose sons have not reached adulthood[1] lose their deceased husband's estate. The arrival of a child is therefore an occasion of rejoicing, tempered by the fear that this child may not live.

New-borns therefore pass through a probation period that is expected to reveal whether they will 'stay', centred around the way they are called: 'bomboy' for boys, 'baby' for girls, their naming ceremony being traditionally postponed until several weeks after birth. This precaution has proven to be necessary, as before 1950, medical reports estimated that infant mortality in Igboland was between 200 and 900/1000 (Basden, 1938 : 180)—in Port-Harcourt for example, on the coast, infant mortality was 249/1000

(Leith-Ross 1939 : 60)[2]. This study, based on nine folktales[3] recorded between 1972 and 1987 in Anambra, Enugu, and Imo States in south-east Nigeria, consider the Nigerian attitude towards child death, especially repeated deaths as they appear in folktales. Three of these folktales, recorded in September and October 1986 and in March 1987 from the same storyteller, from Umuida in Enugu-Ezike, near the northern border of Igboland, will be considered in detail to learn more about the presentation of this recurrence.

Folktales as loss management

The Igbo proverb (Igwe 1986:7), comparing parents' deaths and children's deaths, says that

| [when] a child buries his/her mother, there is anger | *Nwa lie nne, o bu iwe* |
| [when] a mother buries her child, there is fury | *Nne lie nwa, o bu onuma* |

Most of the folktales which serve in this study are woven around the death of a child. They report deaths due to maltreatment of a co-wife, or to jealous sisters, or to a servant (Tales 9, 16, 19, 26 and 27); to disobedience or extreme risk-taking (Tales 11, 15 and 17); or to accidents via wild animals (Tale 6) or to poisonous mushrooms (Tale 7). Folktales present a caring God[4] who gives her child back to the victim; however, the story might also end with the victim being avenged, or with the other baby's death, or reveal the author of the crime and allow the culprits to be put to death. In Tale 31 for instance, the child is ritually killed, and his mother's reaction is not the fury noted by the proverb but an overwhelming despair. According to Igwe, "when a mother loses her child, she

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1. In Anambra, tradition allows widows ho have a son, no matter how small, to keep the deceased husband's estate, but in other parts of Igboland, the son's rights are only recognised if he reached adulthood. The widow has no personal rights to the husband's estate.

2. According to statistics published by the World Bank, in 2019, it had fallen to 74.2 deaths per 1,000. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN?locations=NG
3. All folktales studied here are taken from the same publication (Ugochukwu 1992) whose pages only will now be quoted.
4. *Chukwu*, the Almighty God of Igbo traditional religion.

is doubly wounded : she loses the one who was expected to support her in her old age, while suffering the humiliation of being deprived of an honourable burial—especially when the death is that of a boy" (1986: 142).

The little boy in Tale 31, who lives alone with his mother, is struck with a strange illness, and his desire to find his father, whom he learns is a spirit, is facilitated by the *dibia*[5]. The text, mostly sung, is wholly occupied with the description of the mother and son's long walk towards the river which helps the boy realise his dream, and is followed by the widow's long, lonely lament: "you know what a mother feels when her child leaves.... When they reach the riverbank, the woman starts singing [her pain]" (Ugochukwu 1992 : 228). She had time to prepare herself for that moment: she has long known that she cannot escape it, and now, resigned to her fate, she breaks into the traditional lament that so many have sang before her:

> Little Notobe leaves for the spirit world
>
> O be ya o be
>
> Little Notobe leaves for the spirit world
>
> O be yaya o be […]
>
> An old tortoise planted a bean seed inIja
>
> O be yaya o be
>
> The bean paste did not even amount to a spoonful,
>
> not even a basketful
>
> O be yayaya o be […]
>
> Little Notobe, wait for your mother ! […] (*ib.* **: 229-231**)

5. The *dibia* (Igbo) or *babalawo* (Yoruba) is a traditional practitioner, the equivalent of a pastor and a doctor/herbalist. Within this profession, there are various specialties, such as osteopathy, but all rely on traditional religion and recognize that their powers and knowledge come from a particular deity. Many of them also practice divination, white magic and sometimes even witchcraft.

The *Ogbanje* and its Treatment in Folktales

Although the death of a child always causes a deep grief, repeated deaths which strike at the fecundity of a couple are far more feared, because they are both unpredictable and irrevocable, and have a lasting impact on the affected couple and their future. The tales also show that these deaths are not limited to the neonatal period and infancy: death can also mow down the young until the end of adolescence; it is, however, extremely rare for such individuals to survive beyond the birth of their firstborn[6]. Traditional society has always sought a spiritual explanation for these untimely deaths, and oral forms, especially tales, pass on this knowledge in stories presenting the cases of young people described by story-tellers as *ogbanje*[7] (*o gbanje*, 'traveller'), the children who leave and come back, because they cannot or feel unable to live in this world despite their best efforts[8]. Onwuejeogwu (1981: 42), in his study of Igbo culture, categorizes *ogbanje* as 'bad spirits' and defines them as"the spirits of children who died during the neonatal period or in childhood, and who cannot reach the spirit world. They stay in this world and return to visit their mother's womb to be reborn and die again. If no ritual is performed to prevent them, they will continue to die and be reborn[9]."

Folktales present these children—a boy sometimes, a girl most often—as individuals who have chosen in advance the dates of their deaths. They are destined to die young,

6. These details conveyed by oral forms often correspond to the reality on the ground: cf. Lainé 2004 : 109.
7. Igbo words here are not tone-marked for graphic compatibility reasons. Cf. Ugochukwu & Okafor 2004 : 20..
8. The definition that can be inferred from the tales studied corresponds again to that which arises from the field study and can only be understood in the light of the Igbo belief in reincarnation. For more details on this, see Basden 1938 : 282-283, Jell-Bahlsen 2008 : 131-132 and especially Christie Achebe (1986), the only in-depth study of the phenomenon so far fromthe viewpoint of psychopathology. C. Achebe (1986 : 59) warns her readers, however, against a complete fit between *ogbanje* and premature deaths. Note that the word *ogbanje* refers to both the disease and its victim.
9. In Igbo cosmogony, the dead man who had time to marry and have at least one male child, lived to a 'respectable' age and received a statutory funeral (first and second funeral, 'the weeping of the corpse', *ikwaozu,*returned at the end of life to rest 'at home', in the world of ancestors, until his reincarnation in a child of the same sex. On the contrary, the one who dies before his time is condemned to wander at the border between the world of humans and that of spirits.

usually without warning (in tales in particular) but sometimes after years of fragile health.

At the center of their personal history is the spirit group to which they belong and with whom they entered a death pact concerning the precise moments of their deaths, fixed at a key stage in their lives (before/at birth, at one year, when entering school, on the day of their traditional wedding, etc.). This pact, made before birth and which must be broken to block the cycle of death, is difficult to destroy because it is spiritual. In their descriptions of this belief, the tales studied offer a spiritual reading of the phenomenon; however, they do not cover the entire syndrome: they point only to certain aspects, which are often revealed only at the time of crisis in which the life of the child or young person will be threatened. Here are the summaries:

Tale 2 (ib.: 32-36)

A group of *ogbanje* makes a pact before being born and disperses. The folktale follows the journey of one of them, who decided to die at the birth of her first child[10]. When the time comes, she takes pity on the child and decides to stay. She then hides to escape her group who ends up finding her through the gossip of a jealous co-wife. They come for her and, knowing that she cannot resist them, she follows them, but her husband manages to break the spell, and she comes back to life.

Tale 4 (ib.: 41-45)

This is a terrible child's account where the boy, although never mentioned as *ogbanje,* displays similar behavior. He will not die before his time but instead brings wealth to his family after being forced to flee from his village with his mother for killing one of his

10. This scenario finds a parallel in the fact noted by Lainé (1990: 90) among the Yoruba of Benin and Nigeria, where "even though an adult may be an unconscious *abiku*, his status nevertheless affects his earthly life. He is deemed to fail both socially and professionally, and he gets into the worst trouble if he decides to marry: the other *abiku* will not forgive him for letting them down and betraying his oath."

friends.

Tale 8 (*ib.* : 71-78)

After many years of childlessness, a couple goes to consult a *dibia* on the recommendation of their friends. The child, a girl, is subsequently born from a yam, but her life is linked to a ban: she must constantly wear a belt of amber beads. One day, her mother, having exhausted her provisions, decides to sell one of the beads and loosens it from the belt while the child has gone to play. "Just as his mother pulls a bead off this belt, the child begins to become a spirit again" (p. 77). However, she first returns and questions her mother before fleeing, yet nothing and no one can stop her, and she returns to the land of spirits.

Tale 10 (*ib.* : 88-92)

The *Ogbanje* group comes out of the water and disperses. The tale then follows the journey of one of them, born of childless parents. She chooses to die on the day of her first visit to her boy-friend, and when the day comes, prepares for death. She dies as agreed, but her father, a hunter, who had witnessed the *ogbanje's* swearing-in during one of his solitary bush hunts, manages to bring her back to life.

Tale 31 (ib. : 227-231)

A woman lives alone with her little boy. He has a difficult relationship with his friends and spends his time fighting. He gradually discovers that he is afflicted with a mysterious disability, and, suffering from the mockery of other children, he ends up asking to meet his father, whom he is told, is a spirit. His mother then takes him to the *dibia*, who guides them to the river where the child drowns in front of his mother.

Tale 39 (ib. : 269-272)

A couple has only one daughter, whom they spoil while giving all the chores to the maid. One day, the maid decides to take revenge and sends the other to look for dead wood. The *ogbanje* dies—it is only at this moment that the tale announces that she was an *ogbanje*—and turns into a bird to go and reveal everything to her mother. The maid then confesses to the 'murder'.

The Syndrome and its Characteristics

If we compare the two main tales (2 and 10), we find, beyond the differences, the same basic pattern:

1) Presentation of the *ogbanje* group before they enter human existence and their swearing in;

2) Birth and gradual integration of the *ogbanje* into a village family;

3) Arrival at the deadline set by the oath - deadline denied in the first case and accepted in the other;

4) Rites of preparation for death: anointing of cosmetics, carefully selected clothes worn one by one[11];

5) Death and the mourning by the entourage and return of the body, brought back to the family;

6) A rescue animal (lizard, bird) serves as a medium to reveal both the secret of death and the means to reverse the situation;

7) Ritual to break the spell, using the rifle and presented as the killing of the supernatural side of the victim, in the forest, at the border between the world of humans and the spirit world;

8) Return of the *ogbanje* to life, no longer as an *ogbanje* but as a full member of the community.

Tale 2 (pp. 32-36) presents a couple who have already lost six children one after the other. The storyteller explains these repeated deaths right at the beginning, emphasizing the pact that determines the cycle of the *ogbanje*:

> [This woman] had seven children. But his children were all *ogbanje,* and all girls. Before they were born, they all said what they would do when they were born. The first says that she would die on the very day of her birth. Another said that she would not be born, that she would die before. Another said that she would die when she would have grown up, at the time her mother would be very attached to her. Another said she would die on her fiancé's first visit. Another said she would die the day she moved in with her husband. Another said she would die after her wedding when she had her first child... This is all they decided before they were born, and they all swore to do what they had said *(ib.: 32)*; [the same scenario appears in in tale 10].

> The *ogbanje* children came out of the water and climbed the riverbank, where they removed their *ogbanje* skin and turned into human beings. After that, everyone started saying where they were going to go. The last to speak, a little girl whose name was Agbaya, said she was going to the Ngwu's house. Then, they all said what they were going to do on arrival:

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11. Beauty products are generally believed to be related to aquatic spirits, and their use has the effect of renewing/ strengthening the pact with them.

some said they would grow up and die once they had grown; others said they would die after their marriage. Agbaya said that when she arrived, she would grow up, have a friend, and die the first time she would visit him; but that if something prevented her from dying on that day, she would have nine children and lead a life of suffering. After speaking, boys and girls separated and each left to go where they had said they would go (ib.:88).

This tale explains that before being born,the *ogbanje* bonded with an oath[12]in front of the group and knew the time of their deaths. This pact, which the tales present as being established under pressure by the group, usually provides only one outcome: premature death. From this point of view, tale 2 stands as a model. Tale 10, on the other hand, offers an alternative, little known in the culture : Agbaya, from the beginning, senses an impediment to her consented death, thus acknowledging the existence of a life power superior to the power of death at work in the group: "[i]f something prevented her from dying on that day, she would have nine children and lead a life of suffering *(ib.:* 88)".

In written literature – as in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1982: 56) – the first tell-tale of the *ogbanje* syndrome is the occurrence of mysterious, repeated bouts of illness that resist treatment. If the problem is not detected at this stage – a frequent case, due to the complex and changing nature of the *ogbanje* and the huge variety of symptoms recorded– it can often remain in a latent state for years, and its manifestation depends in large part on the decision of the affected persons to hide or reveal their true identity. In the tales studied, it is the premature, sudden, and unexplained death of the person, which in the end, reveals or confirms the young person's nature. Little Obeta, in tale 39, only reveals

her *ogbanje* nature through her sudden and unexplained death—triggered by her being sent for the first time to collect firewood, a task she perceives as unfair. Agbaya does not reveal her true nature either (tale 10) before her death: the day she moves to the house of her future husband, as soon as she arrives, "she had hardly sat down before she shouted: 'My head! My head! My head!' She then stiffened and died. Mmm!" (*ib.*: 91).Her father is the only one there who knows the truth, because his status as a hunter. Being an initiate allowed him to stumble on the *ogbanje* group and overhear part of their discussion. As for Ashawanawana's husband (tale 2), he does not seem to be aware of his wife's nature and finds himself caught off guard when she falls dead in front of him and his children, in her pretty dress, the meal barely finished: "he stood there, dazed, watching the children crying and unable to console them" (*ib.*: 35).

How to Detect an *Ogbanje*

The *ogbanje* walk around the markets in invisible groups—tale 2 (ib.: 33) tells us that they spend their time there, looking for a woman to be selected as a mother or searching for fellow *ogbanje* overstaying their time in the world of humans[13]. This society is predominantly female and linked to the cult of water spirits seen in tale 10, quoted above, where *the ogbanje* came out of the water before dispersing. Folktales, however, recognize two types of *ogbanje*, some related to the worship of water spirits as in tale 10 (it is in this group that the girls are the most numerous), the others related to those of the ancestral land as in tale 2, a pattern equally mentioned by Christie Achebe (1986).

Ogbanje are most often born of a previously childless couple[14], a target of choice since

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12. This oath is usually sealed in front of an object that serves as witness and seal - often an ordinary-looking pebble, then buried in the bush, in a deserted place kept hidden by the group.

13. The market is always dedicated to one of the traditional intermediate deities (Alusi) whose role is to ensure the success of the transactions that take place there. Market spaces are therefore very busy spiritually. Achebe's novels and short stories signal the presence of water spirits (*otummiri, ezenwanyi / mammy water*) among customers.
14. This is the case in the tales that concern us, but it is far from being always the case.

this couple is better prepared, by their long frustrated desire, to focus their attention and lavish their love on these children, all the more precious as they are unique, and to better tolerate their whims. Many folktales present this category of couples, but only a few feature children who later turn out to be *ogbanje*. Usually quite secretive under their pleasant manners, these children usually do not reveal their condition until the fateful day; both endearing (tale 2) and extroverts, they seem friendly but do not easily make real friends—the girl with the belt likes to play but has only one friend (*ib*.: 73), and Agbaya, towering among her friends, is "like a queen" (*ib*.: 89) who enjoys being attended to. These girls often try to discourage suitors—one may wonder if some of the difficult girls in folktales are not *ogbanje*. This delay in getting engaged in life could probably be explained by the pleasure these young people take in the easy life described by folktales, and by the desire to enjoy this time until the last second. Other explanations have also been proposed, such as the pleasure of simply being alive, or the desire to torment their parents as long as possible. Agbaya, pursued by a spirit bird who asks her whether the day of her death has arrived, begs her friends to hunt it because she thinks that "the bird was going to betray her" (*ib*.: 90).

The typical *ogbanje,* especially those related to water spirits, share the characteristics of aquatic spirits described in Igbo culture: the girls are often incredibly beautiful, "like the morning sun" (ib.: 89), light-skinned, with abundant hair. But they are prone to severe seizures, brutal bouts of sickness that threaten their life. Boy or girl, the *ogbanje* often combine beauty and keen intelligence with a bad temper born of the permissiveness of parents, as the spoilt children we meet in tales 4, 10 and 39, whose laziness and selfishness are encouraged by their parents' constant fear of them falling sick[15]. The first, the only

15. In Igbo culture, girls, participate in household chores from an early age; the boys, on the other hand, are assigned to sweep the yard and cutting grass. Protecting children from work that integrates them into the community has always been frowned upon.

son of a couple who had been seeking help from a *dibia* after many years of childlessness, threatens his parents daily: "[i]f people would annoy him or beat him, if he cried, [he said] he would die" (*ibid*: 41). Lest he carries out his threat and leaves them alone, his parents avoid correcting him, and he quickly becomes impossible, capricious and selfish: "[h]e behaved very badly. He was stubborn and did nothing he was told. If we asked him to do a little favor, he wouldn't" (*ibid*.: 41).The other "didn't touch anything, she didn't do any work: the girls her age filled the house and whatever she wanted, they did for her. It was like that every day"(ib.: 89). As for Obeta's mother, "she didn't want her daughter to work, and left all the chores to the maid" (ib. 269). These precautions prove useless: the *ogbanje* still die.

Several variants of the *ogbanje* myth have been found among the Yoruba (Nigeria, Benin) and the Fon (Benin, Togo) where these children are known as "born to die"/ *abiku*, and oral forms from several other West African countries such as Ivory Coast andSenegal try to explain similar phenomenons. The rare studies on the subject, however, seem to confirm that this belief originated in Igbo culture, since "the belief and rituals associated with it get weaker as we move westward away from the Gulf of Benin and the Nigeria region" (Lainé, 1990: 94 note 13). The ccharacteristics of *ogbanje* described in folktales and identified in the Igbo culture, though superficially similar, are in reality quite different from those of the child-ancestors (*nitkubon* in Wolof) observed in Senegal and studied by child psychiatrists, psychologists, and educators (Zempleni & Rabain 1965; Guedeney 1986; Gueye 2002: 105; Aina & Morakinyo 2011; O'Reilly & al 2017). Although born as the *nitkubon* in the context of significant infant mortality and seemingly masters of their own death and destiny *and* often identified as "a child who is not a good person" (Duret 2005: 153), the *ogbanje* distinguish themselves from the child-

ancestors by several traits. First, the Igbo case is that of children who has never managed to access the world where their ancestors rest, since they are by definition wandering spirits. Secondly, folktales tend to prove that despite appearances, the *ogbanje's* destiny does not lie in their hands: they are remotely led by their group who often forces them to accept a death that they probably did not want—we saw this in tale 2. Moreover, if the *ogbanje* are mostly presented as gifted and talented, they do not show any symptoms of mental illness—unlike the *nitkubon*—and although often capricious, they prove quite sociable, as illustrated by all the tales studied.

Initiation and prevention

Presenting the threat to the *ogbanje's* life, folktales list the recipes of traditional medicine, and, after trying the usual potions on the sick, turn to divination, given that spiritual cures have always been given preference in Igbo society for both prevention and healing. The first part of the treatment is preventive and consists in giving the newborn a name that can stop the mortifying process. Tales 2*(ib.*: 32) and 10 (*ib.*: 88) feature girls: Ashawanawana and Agbaya, whose names are impossible to decipher, since unlike the usual names, they have no meaning[16].In the first of these two folktales, the name was given in order to hide the girl from her spiritual group, and this ploy seems to have succeeded, since she finally makes the decision to stay alive. The same preventive use of the name can be found in Nigerian written literature with this difference: that on that occasion, the names are addressed to Death. In Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* for example, Ekwefi "had born ten children and nine of them had died in infancy, usually before the age of three" despite the names attributed to them:

⸻ One of them was a pathetic cry, *Onwumbiko* – 'Death, I implore you'.

16. This case seems to be confined to folktales and there is no trace of this practice in the culture.

But Death took no notice : *Onwumbiko* died in his fifteenth month. The next child was a girl, *Ozoemena* – 'May it not happen again'. She died in her eleventh month, and two others after her.Ekwefi then became defiant and called her next child *Onwuma* – 'Death may please himself'. And he did (Achebe 1982 : 54).

The *ogbanje* herself an cooperate in her deliverance, as in tale 2 when Ashawanawana, attached to her children, lingers on, taking pity on them**.** She is thus able to escape her spirit group for a time, even though they start hunting for her when she misses the agreed upon deadline. The folktales, however, reveal that this victory remains temporary. Once everything has been done to avoid death, the storytellers detail the second part of the cure, in a key moment intended to separate the individual *ogbanje* from their group and destroy the seal of the death pact. First of all, the family and community need to recognize the true nature of the *ogbanje*, via signs known only to initiates, for the *ogbanje,* fearing the fury of their groups, do everything to deceive their worlds by carefully concealing their identities. In tale 10, the father is the only one aware of his daughter's impending change of situation, not because of their blood bond but, as highlighted by the storyteller, because as a hunter, he went through an initiation[17] :

This man was a hunter. [...] They had no children. This man spent all his time on the riverbank. One day, he was there, at the top of a tree when the *ogbanje* children came out of the water. [...] The hunter heard it all. He quietly climbed down from the tree where he was and left. When he returned home, he called his wife and told her she was going to be pregnant. [...] It made a lot of noise in the city because her mother was already old! People talked and

17. He "heard what the bird was saying and understood what it meant." (p.90)

talked about it everywhere! (*ib.*: 88-89)

Ashawanawana's husband (in tale 2) is also initiated and can understand the lizard's language and thus save his wife.

Breaking the Pact for Life to Continue

Each culture provides a solution to cure the *ogbanje* by destroying its seal: this ceremony is conducted by the *dibia* and its effectiveness is linked to the cooperation of the *ogbanje*. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe (1982: 53-61) describes this ceremony in detail, drawing on the Igbo custom. Half-persuaded, half-forced, the child plays a leading role in this ceremony, since she is the one leading her parents and the traditional practitioner to the place where she buried the pledge of her pact. The exhumation of the object then allows the *dibia* to break the covenant of death and the association of the sick child with the *ogbanje* group. In folktales, that role is symbolically played by the father or husband—the two people having, one after the other, turn the property rights over the girl. Ashawanawana's husband does what the lizard tells him: he takes his gun[18], he leaves, he gets to the place [...], he climbs into the tree and waits. He aims down and looks attentively. Suddenly he sees all the sisters walking behind each other. When they pass under the tree, he shoots in the middle. They flee in all directions, their group disperses, and Ashawanawana's soul returns to her. She comes back to life and gets up (*ib.***:** 36).

In tale 10, it is Agbaya's father, who sees her come out of the water at the beginning of her earthly life, and who will deliver her, when she dies before her wedding:

He took his gun and left. He went to the riverbank, where he had seen his daughter for the first time; he climbed into the tree and waited. Almost immediately, his daughter's friend arrived and began to wait for Agbaya's arrival as well[19]. Then Agbaya came in sight, walking slowly just the wayshe did when she was leaving for her friend's house. [...] When she got close, her father shot her with his gun. She started screaming, shouting that God had killed her, that God had killed her! His father shot again. She was continued screaming. He shot her a third time. Then her soul came back into her. She got up from where she was lying, at home [...](*ib.* : 91-92)

In tale 2, it is in the center of the group that the shot is fired (*ib.***:** . 36), the goal being the dispersal of the *ogbanje*, the break-up of the group. This severing is a liberation that gives her life back to Ashawanawana. The second story focuses more on the father's solitary struggle: it is his daughter that he aims for, after all[20]. The description of the battle waged by her father to bring Agbaya back to life reveals the double personality of the daughter, who does not wish to return and resents her father's efforts as a murder and not as a deliverance. The ritual deliverance ends with the abolition of her dual nature by the killing of its supernatural side and the separation of the girl from her spirit group. This separation is experienced as what it is: not the work of the father or husband (who are only instruments here), but of Chukwu, Creator and almighty God. That explains why when the father shot her, "she started screaming, screaming that God had killed her, that God had killed her!" (*ib.*: 92). The cessation of the shouting corresponds to the

18. Rifles, imported by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, became a symbol of power and a talisman, and the Nigerian courts still use them today for swearing-in, alongside the Bible and the Koran.

19. In this tale, the *ogbanje* group is a mixed group, made up of boys and girls. The boy chosen as husband by Agbaya turned out to be an*ogbanje* too: immediately after Agbaya's death at home, he went to hang himself and the two fond themselves on the same way back to their group.

20. The Igbo believe that at death, the person's spirit still remains by his side for two or three days, which makes a 'resurrection' always possible. Today, the small local Spiritualist Churches, which in many cases tend to replace traditional practitioners in the region, also recognize the existence of the *ogbanje* and offer parents fasts and sacrifices. The Catholic and Pentecostal Churches, equally confronted with the phenomenon, practice exorcism and deliverance, which I have personally practiced and found successful.

culmination of the ritual, signaling the return of the girl to life, confirming the success of her deliverance and the separation of the girl's two incompatible natures. What remains at the end of that experience is the girl's cry of anger and despair as she realizes her own successful amputation and laments her now incomplete nature and family: "It is you who are dead!" (*ib*.: 92).

One, however, cannot conclude, despite appearances, that the original oath was indeed broken by the ritual deliverance. The second folktale explicitly says that the girl's survival was planned and prepared: it was in fact only the implementation of the second alternative, envisaged and now presented to the family, once the funeral crowd was dispersed:

> [Agbaya] stood there, and said that she was going to get married, but that she would marry a poor man. A man who had nothing came to marry her.[21] They got married and lived together. She had children, nine children, as she had announced. But her husband was very poor and had nothing, so, she was in a lot of pain and it was by depriving herself that she raised her children. No one helped him! She just kept suffering. (*ib*.: 92)

Conclusion

In an attempt to explain repeated infant deaths and get the general public to consult medical doctors instead of traditional practitioners, Western medicine has long blamed the *ogbanje* syndrome on sickle cell anemia. This hypothesis, made by Isichei (1976: 26), is now abandoned. Christie Achebe (1986: 59) and Edelstein (1988: 96) have since, each in his specialty, highlighted the lack of correlation between the *ogbanje*. Their folktales offer reflections on this phenomenon still poorly being managed. In the event of the failure of the process detailed by the tale and the death of the *ogbanje,* the family seeks above all to separate itself from the dead child, so as to avoid his or her return: in tales 8 and 34, once death is confirmed and accepted as inevitable, life resumes, and the tale ends. Research fieldwork confirms that same pattern: once the *ogbanje's* death is confirmed, life resumes to normal. In precolonial and colonial days, it was customary for the body of the dead child to be laid in the bush or destroyed; the mother would then be led out of her home so that the spirit of the dead child could not find her and reincarnate. It could happen, as a last resort, that a family, considered cursed, would be forced to abandon their home and concessions to move elsewhere[22]. It is this ultimate and painful solution that tales seek to avoid, drawing the attention of their audiences to the presence of the *ogbanje* in the community and facilitating the dialogue between them and their families.

What emerges, in the end, from the folktales studied, is, first, the crucial importance of the family nucleus. This nucleus is presented here in a fight against another group, that of the *ogbanje*, welded together by the given word and the desire to force the other to share their loneliness and their unfulfilled destiny. Unsurprisingly, because of the didactic nature of Igbo folktales, it is the father of the family, the representative of the patriarchal society, who prevails and is presented to us as the rescuer of the *ogbanje:* if father and husband agree to play their roles as protectors, the child can be delivered and the curse broken. Lastly, though folktales suggest that traditional *dibia* and initiation can provide a respite, fieldwork, moving beyond oral literature, proves that the key to the lasting eradication of the *ogbanje* curse lies in the ability of an external person to discern the spirits involved in the case.

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21. This situation runs counter to parental and familial expectations, as the man is the one paying the dowry, and the girl's family expects compensation from him.

22. This was the case of Mrs. Amankeli, in Nnewi, Anambra State, who moved to a new home around 1924, after losing fifteen children one after the other, and finally had five children alive. She died in childbirth at the birth of the twentieth.

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The Patriarchal Roof: Women, Marriage and Family in Olu'Dolapo Ojediran's *Omolewa*

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Abstract

This article explores how family imposes restrictions on individual freedom and the subordination of women by upholding the values of patriarchy. In a bid to understand the current trend of family relationships and to comprehend the significance and importance given to the institution of family in Africa, Olu'Dolapo's Ojediran's *Omolewa* has been chosen for this study. Family as a discourse is gendered in nature and the present article attempts to study inscriptions of family in the selected text. The choice of a text by a female writer is intentional. Women's perspective of family, it is hoped, will provide an alternative to the patriarchal concept of family that has hitherto proven greatly detrimental to the interests of women by its categorical denial of equality of women with men. Feminist readings of familial structures provide the guidelines in examining the inscriptions of family in Olu'Dolapo Ojediran's *Omolewa*. It is found that

as the prevailing tradition maintains and safeguards the secondary position of a woman, women writers like Olu'Dolapo Ojediran attempt to do away with the secondary position ascribed to women.

Keywords: Feminism, Gender, Identity, Marriage, Equality, Subjugation.

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Introduction

A review of the literature on family, and the Nigerian family in particular, shows that the discussion mostly centers on the structural changes in the institution of the traditional family in consonance with the coming of modernizing forces into Africa. The status of women all over the world also has been undergoing rapid changes in the recent decades. This phenomenon has drawn the attention of literary artists, theorists and sociologists. According to Ruby Davaseeli:

> The change in the position of women in any society is a reliable pointer to social change in general. The modern woman has awakened into a new realization of her place and position in family and society, is conscious of her individuality. She has been trying to assert and ascertain her right as a human being and is determined to fight for equal treatment with men. (30)

It is important to focus on women writers' preoccupation with familial themes since the major thrust of this study is to identify a female perspective of family. The major difference between male and female conceptualizations of family needs to be recalled in this context. Davaseeli claims that "while family provides a space for self-

asserion, affiliation, as well as authority for male writers, it invariably evokes a sense of patriarchal domination and discrimination in women writers" (19). Feminists emphasize the dismantling of all barriers – cultural, social, economic, political and spiritual – that hinder women from realizing their full potentials using their plays. The emergence of the 'new woman' in Nigeria is seen in the works of most female writers, such as Tess Onwueme, Irene Agunloye, Osita Ezenwanebe, Julie Okoh, and Tracie Utoh-Ezeajugh. Their empowered characters erase from the stage patriarchal norms, which had restricted the development of female characters. As Agunloye observes, "in reversing this trend, women writers have resorted to portraying the 'New African Woman' who they present with new portraiture eliminating the old one from the stage. As they do this, they are gradually restoring dignity to African womanhood in the theatre" (123). In light of the 'New African Woman,' women's ugly experiences in Olu' Dolapo's plays are particularly significant, because they concentrate on women's social lives in relation to men's. In short, Olu' Dolapo's work serves to perpetuate an almost outdated male viewpoint about women.

Feminists' Views on Family

Feminists play a significant role in the debates concerning the ideology of the family, as they provide an alternative view to patriarchal concepts of the family. According to Karen Offen, feminism is "a concept that can encompass both an ideology and movement for sociopolitical change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society" (151). As Offen argues, feminist consciousness is the consciousness of victimization. It attempts to identify and change the causes of women's oppression. Radical feminists believe that the family is symmetrical and both husband and wife have joint conjugal roles, which make the family a functional institution.

The radical feminist Anne Oakley points out that

> [t]he creation of the housewife role is a social construction and is not inevitably linked to the female role. This housewife role ensures that women stay subordinate to men, making it difficult for them to pursue careers and this role which is exclusively allocated to women, has no status, is unpaid and alienating and yet it takes precedence over all other role. (129)

Accordingly, women can gain freedom and develop fully as individuals in society if they abolish the role of housewife, the sexual division of labour, and the family itself as it is currently understood and structured (Omoera 32). Oakley affirms that the radical steps must be taken to liberate women: first, the housewife role must be abolished. Oakley rejects less radical solutions such as payments for housework, which, she argues, will simply reinforce the woman equals housewife equation. Second, the family as it now stands must be abolished. This proposal follows from the first since the housewife and mother roles are part and parcel of the same thing. Abolishing the family will also to serve to break the circle of daughter learning her role from mother, son learning his role from his father. Third, the sexual division of labour must be eradicated in all areas of social life (129).

Oakley also asserts that 'anatomy is not destiny' and presents evidence to show that gender roles are culturally, not biologically, determined. Several radical feminists believe that divorce may allow women to escape the threat of male violence. Some of them prefer single parent families. Functionalists feel that in the family, the role of the woman is functional when she plays a necessary 'expressive' role providing care and affection for members in a more subordinate role than that of the bread-winner husband.

Many liberal feminists see the role of house wife as the primary factor in limiting the potential of women. They believe that marriage is particularly beneficial for men as they are more likely than single men to have successful careers, high status occupations, and high incomes. Notably, wives are found to express marital dissatisfaction more frequently than men, since they gain the least.

Theoretical Frameworks

From 1975 onwards, critcal interest focused on women writers has been influenced by Ellen Moers' *Literary Women*, Elaine Showalter's *A Literature of their Own* and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's *The Madwoman in the Attic*. These works situate women writers within a specifically female literary tradition. Their study of a female tradition in literature was more than a methodological choice: it was part of an urgent political necessity to undo the patriarchal strategy of defining biological femaleness as "feminine" regardless of individual differences and avoid patriarchal notions of aesthetics, history and tradition. Moers was the first to attempt to describe the history of women's writing as a "rapid and powerful undercurrent" in literature (42). Elaine Showalter then pointed out the transience of female fame and its impact on generations of writers and how each generation found itself without a history and was forced to rediscover the past over again. Gilbert and Gubar provided us with a new theory of women's literary creativity; when they claimed that patriarchal ideology presents artistic creativity as a male quality, that is when the writer "fathers" his text, in the image of the Divine Creator, he becomes the "author". According to Gilbert and Gubar, the female artist's self-definition is complicated by patriarchal definitions of herself. Accordingly, the woman writer suffers from an anxiety of authorship.

On the whole, these early feminist critics see women's texts as feminist, embodying

'female rage' against patriarchal oppression, and picture the female writer as integrated and whole. They interpret the contradictions and divisions of women characters as illustrating 'patriarchal distortion' and study how the female authors simultaneously conform to and subvert the order and literary standards of patriarchy. With this in mind, Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* and Elaine Showalter's theory of Gynocriticism provide the foundation for this paper's analysis of relations between genders, which utilizes Millett's feminist perspective to provide a detailed exposition of how the man-woman relationship is deeply embedded in power-structures with political implications.

Here it should be noted that Millett submits that "male and female are really two cultures" and to her, the "life experiences of both sexes' are utterly different – and this is crucial" (53), demonstrating that both sexes exist in the binary of 'self' and the 'other' that writers like Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* and Rudolph Otto in *The Idea of the holy* have explored. An important document of second wave feminism, Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970) argues that patriarchy is a political institution which relied on subordinate roles of women, and that Western social institutions are covert ways of manipulating power. Like De Beauvoir, Millett believes that women are subjected to artificially constructed ideas of the feminine, and that all aspects of society and culture function according to sexual politics that encourage women to internalize their inferiority until it becomes psychologically rooted in them. Millet sees the task of the feminist critics and theorists as one which exposes "the ways in which male dominance over females constitutes the most pervasive ideology of culture and provides its most fundamental concept of power" (25). Particularly concerned with the processes by which men seek to maintain dominion over women, Millet insists that literature should be understood in relation to its socio-cultural context.

In *The New Feminist Criticism* (1986), Elaine Showalter gives a broad assessment of writings by women and sums up female art as having "its own unique character" because it draws on female body images, using a 'woman's language' to express the female psyche or reflect women's cultural position" (14). According to Showalter, women's writing demonstrates elements of self determination, if not self affirmation, silence is banished into oblivion, and speech. **G**ynocriticism, a term coined by Showalter in the Seventies, has encouraged gynocritics to construct a female framework for the analysis of women's literature. Expanding the historical study of women writers as a distinct literary tradition, gynocritics have sought to develop new models based on the study of female experience to replace male models of literary creation, and so 'map territory' left unexplored in earlier literary criticism. Mabel Evwierhoma (2002) contends that women, as writers, readers and characters, are not far from "achieving dominance in literature" (p. 11). As Evwierhoma observes , gynocriticism "proposes a general shift in emphasis and paradigms from a male-centred literature to a female-pivoted one (p.12). Showalter's critic-creative stance (gynocritics), Evwierhoma says, "offers the most exciting prospect for a coherent feminist literary theory and the opportunity to break away from dependency on male models in forging a criticism of our own" (12). Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh also expect gynocritics to construct a female framework for the analysis of women's literature, by developing new models based on the study of female experience. They argue that gynocriticism begins at the point when we free ourselves from the linear absolutes of male literary history, stop trying to fit women between the lines of male tradition, and focus instead on the newly visible world of female culture (95).

Synoptic Analysis of Olu Dolapo's *Omolewa*

Omolewa by Olu'Dolapo is a feminist play that revolves around the love affair between

Omolewa and Alhaji. In it, Omolewa's economic empowerment through formal education is clearly emphasized. Omolewa's mother is worried about her daughter because even though she appears to have a perfect life, she is yet to be married. The play examines the challenges confronting unmarried women in a patriarchal society. Omolewa is constantly reminded of the importance of marriage by everyone around her. In fact, she is seen being attacked by her mother. When she scolds Omolewa in Movement 6, her reprimand is so scathing and so raw. She says "Yes, work, work, work. All you know and think about is work. No man in your life, you hardly think about it and that is even if you are thinking about it (55). The burden and horror that comes with being a 35-year-old single woman in a patriarchal society is aptly captured here. In this play, Olu Dolapo shows that as far as culture is concerned, unmarried women are unfulfilled, being women who are expected to meet a particular requirement before they are regarded as fully complete. Omolewa's mother illustrates this when she blurts out:

> Mrs Lawson: I will, I will ooo, but listen my dear *(she relaxes in a sober mood)*
> Every woman is born to fulfil a purpose, every woman who is a mother
> wants to see her daughter get married, have children and be a responsible
> woman in the society; They should be able to contribute their own quota
> to the upkeep of the house these days. (25)

This passage resonates with Irene Salami's view that in a patriarchal society "a woman's importance revolves around her child-bearing role. In African tradition, only motherhood confirms the gender identity of a woman, granting her cultural legitimacy. These are parameters defined by patriarchal ideology, which women have learned to live with for their personal survival" (97). Many African women and scholars like Ezeigbo and Ezenwanebe lament the number of contemporary Nigerian women who mandatorily and cheerfully lose their names upon marriage. According to Ezenwanebe "gender relations between husband and wife are unequal. Women as wives lose their personal identity and assume the names associated with their social roles as wives and mothers; for example, "Nwunye John", that is, "John's wife" or "Mama Ada", that is, "Ada's mother", and that opens the door to further powerlessness and oppression" (268).

In *Omolewa*, the eponymous heroine, Omolewa, even though she is an economically empowered woman is seen to be unfulfilled because she has no husband. Mrs. Lawson begins to question her own daughter's womanhood as she cries to her husband "a lady of her caliber ought to have someone in her life" (24). Here, Mrs. Lawson reiterates the issue of marriage and its capacity to influence respect and recognition for women. She is convinced that what matters in a woman's life is her ability to marry and bear children. In fact, she does not waste timewhen making it clear to Omolewa that a woman must be addressed as someone's wife or mother, otherwise she is not fit to associate with womenfolk. Mrs. Lawson's tantrums throw Omolewa into a state of confusion and frustration. Her feeling of incompleteness makes her to become emotionally distressed.

Perhaps, more than any other feature of gender relationships, the phenomenon of marriage has engaged the attention of Africa's women writers as part of what has been described as the almost congenital "experience of marginality" that is the woman's lot. As a subject of literary treatment, the marital relationship has received close attention in such memorable works as Osita Ezenwanebe's *Adaugo* and *Shadows on Arrival*, Tracie Utoh-Ezeajugh's *Nneora: An African Doll's House*, Irene Salami's *Sweet Revenge* and more recently, Olu Dolapo's *Omolewa*. Many feminist scholars have ialso dentified marriage as a site for some of the virulent battles of gender conflict. Irrespective of what sort of feminism

they cling to, Africa's women playwrights have consistently probed the difficulties of marriage for women. Emeka Aniagor says that conflicts in the family are "generated by clash of modern and trado-cultural ideologies" (388). Chukuma Helen claims that "[m]odern African women's works do not show the romantic aspects of marriage. They rather portray the stresses and problems aimed at sensitizing women to the harsh reality" (82). Osita Ezenwanebe has examined the problems of barrenness in *Egg Without a Yolk*. Tracie Utoh-Ezeajugh has pointed out the ways in which marriage simultaneously defines and depersonalizes women in *Nneora: An African Doll's House*; **in** *So Long a Letter*, Mariama Bâ has explored the agonizing experiences of the abandoned wife. The consistency of the focus upon marriage in African women's writing is a clear indication of its pre-eminence as a site of gender relationships and the conflict that is its inevitable corollary.

Much of the debate surrounding the issues of marriage in modern African women's plays has to do with the way concepts of biology and gender are implicated within and impinge upon marriage as a social institution and as a specific type of relationship. Harry Olufunwa says that

> [m]arriage is an arena in which biology and gender, the sexual and the social, interact in extremely complex ways. Perhaps the most obvious demonstration of this complexity is the way in which marriage simultaneously affirms and interrogates patriarchy. Marriage is founded upon both the biological distinctiveness and the biological complementarity of men and women. In other words, it exists because men are men and women are women, "opposite" genders for whom the marital relationship is the ultimate demonstration of an organic correlation decreed by God, confirmed by nature and entrenched in tradition. As a complementary relationship,

marriage is the basis of procreation, and assumes the essential co-equality of men and women in the sense of interdependence rather than in the sense of equivalence: neither sex can produce offspring without the help of the other. Simply put, marriage is perhaps the only social institution where, biologically at least, men are as dependent on women as women are on men (2-3).

This biological codependence is the source of considerable crisis in many societies and counteracts the influence of marriage as the great leveller. Olufunwa says that "[i]f men and women are intended to come together in a marital relationship, the rules under which they may do so are often more arbitrary than natural; it is here that the essential co-equality of marriage is transmuted into its opposite, that of dominance and subordination" (3). Gender roles, the division of roles and responsibilities based on perceived notions of sexual difference, are inextricably intertwined with marriage and are, in fact, mutually constitutive of each other. These roles are handed down to men and women in a process of acculturation that is designed to prepare them for the various rites of passage, of which marriage is arguably the most important. Marriage is consequently the site of affirmation of the efficacy of such roles; it is the place of their complete realization, the location where men and women display their social status as husbands and wives by fulfilling the expectations placed upon them by society.

In *Omolewa*, Olu' Dolapo proposes marriage is an institution made for the regulation of sexual relations and the family. Indeed, her central metaphor of marriage is that of confinement, encompassing restricted physical space, corporeal entrapment, emotional isolation and cultural imprisonment. The married women in her play, *With or Without*, lack the support structures which would have enabled them to discuss their problems

in an empathetic environment. Omolewa is deeply convinced that patriarchal values lock women within the gender stereotypes that simultaneously justify and maintain their oppression. In fact, this is clearly buttressed in the words of Eliza:

> Then you get it all wrong. Not every woman wants a man anymore. Some of us want to be mothers without the tag of being called a wife. Some of us want to be career motivated rather than family tied down. Some of us want to be in the public domain instead of taking care of a man's needs that might not even be appreciated. And also, some of us just want to be us (41).

The rejection of marriage and all it stands for runs through the play. Omolewa becomes pregnant with Alhaji and decides to have the child outside wedlock, because she is not ready to compromise her rights in the name of marriage. She wants to have children without really getting married, because she suspects Alhaji wants to use marriage to silence her. She is not ready to become a wife. Referring to Alhaji, she makes it obvious that "…the day I enter his house as a wife that will be the last day he sees my career" (36).

In the face of what may be regarded as a violation of cultural values, Mrs. Lawson, serves as a voice of reason. She condemns Omolewa's rejection of marriage in fierce terms. This is clearly seen from her discussion with her husband:

> **Mr. Lawson**: Please, madam; Let us have some peace after my retirement.
> **Mrs. Lawson**: Every mother wants to see her grandchildren
> **Mr. Lawson**: And if they don't?
> **Mrs. Lawson**: You think that way, because you are a man. Do you want people to see me as a failed mother? (52)

The cultural traditions, which nurture women, also provide them with an outlook on life that often normalizes their predicament as being inescapable. The physical assertion of dominance and subjection of women by men in the family is exemplified in the silence of Farouk's wife, who refuses to be part of the ongoing conversation, since she cannot be involved without her husband's permission. Future possibilities for women are instead ascribed to Omolewa. Omolewa points out that as long as marriages are made uneven, they will never be conveyors of happiness to women no matter from which class they originate:

> **Lewa**: As I have always said…I will repeat it again…I need my freedom friend. I see marriage as a form of self-slavery. Selling myself into a life of bondage. Whereby I can't think on my own. I will be forced to change my identity, my name. They tell you how to dress, speak and interact. Instruct you when and where to talk. You no longer have the jolly jolly self. You become a doomed cook. Life becomes limited to the domestic domain. Children become your identity. You will only be seen from your husband's perspectives. And then, thank your stars if you do not have the modern machines to wash, cook, iron, that can ease your work loads. Then, you will know you are doomed. (35-36)

Omolewa's decision to remain unmarried is a conscious attempt to destroy the patriarchal family, which she sees as the bedrock of women's oppression. The traumatic plights of women in the family, for Olu'Dolapo, point to the arbitrariness of the gender roles, which shape and are shaped by marriage, the framework within which they function that consequently validates them. It is for this reason that Omolewa decides to lead her

life outside marriage. Significantly, Omolewa who has no intention of suppressing her femaleness will raise the child herself. Her willful alliance with Alhaji questions the status of marriage as the primary means of ordering and legitimating sexual and social relations.

In the play, the primacy of marriage as a social ideal is replaced with a new emphasis on self-worth and the recognition that married or not, women should be able to realize and define themselves beyond wifehood. Throughout, Olu'Dolapo condemns the arbitrariness of gender roles by showing their stability being open to question. By extension, marriage is also open to question because it is the site for the performance of those roles.

Conclusion

In *Omolewa*, marriage, offered as a suitable yardstick for the assessment of gender relations, is an important way by which social relations between men and women are regulated. Concerned with the issue of women's equality, Olu' Dolapo uses drama as a medium to bring to light the experiences of women and their feelings of repression, dejection, alienation, and loneliness. In *Omolewa*, Olu' Dolapo maintains that for women to be economically empowered, they must be regarded as individuals who can be more than wives or child bearers. Her eponymous heroine is a woman who desires to live for herself. She differs from stereotyped heroines who allow themselves to be exploited. Omolewa's desire is to know herself, to assert her identity, to discover her potential, and finally to prove herself capable of doing more than childbearing and domestic tasks. Olu'Dolapo also ensures that her audiences know that Nigeria has advanced technologically and materially.Calling for change, indeed, social revolution, the lives of her female characters and their relationships with the opposite sex are influenced by modernity in a negative way. *Omolewa* dramatizes the tragic breakdown of the old gender roles. This leads not to empowerment bur to a less satisfactory attempt to develop some new co-existence between men and women that is based on love and understanding.

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Rethinking the Humanities in the Context of Intertexuality and Adaptations within the Diasporic Construct

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Abstract

Drastic socio-political and economic changes have led to global mass migration, transcontinental transport, or the scattering of people away from their established or ancestral homelands. The vitality accompanying these changes has characterized the creative impetus of intertextuality and adaptation mechanics used by certain Nigerian diaspora dramatists over the years to express group identity formation and social patterns of identity politics and cultural belonging while expressing universal human concerns..

Has the adaptation of classical or historical plays to the dawn of modern play texts by Nigerian diaspora dramatists reinforced the Nigerian culture? This issue is foregrounded on the mindset of most literary critics, who seek to know where 'home' actually is or what 'rights' and/or 'entitlements' an indigene-settler within the diasporic framework can be celebrated in terms of human diversity or uniformity as they provide an insight into a world that is different from their own. To this end, Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, J.P. Clark, Femi Osofisan, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Athol Fugard, Efua Sutherland and a host of others have adapted foreign play texts in order to engender socio/political interrelatedness based on their diasporic experiences and worldview. Interrogating this conceptual and cross platform, its reflections on themes and context within the diasporic construct of trans-textual adaptation, especially in matters of cultural citizenship vis-à-vis national or global ideas of developing culture across borders, this paper uses adaptation theory as its framework and a qualitative method of investigation to investigate these diaspora formationsand conclude that they have influenced theatre practice in Nigeria and Africa,.

Introduction

It has been argued that adaptation in playwriting goes beyond merely satisfying one's literary spirit or state by changing an old idea to fit a new environment, culture or different conditions. Some African playwrights have been and are still channeling their creative energies towards transposing certain Western play texts to embody African aesthetics, occupations, and culture. It has been a trend by playwrights from the post colonies to adapt certain European plays to invent a new image of humanity that foregrounds

the postcolonial environment.Such adaptations as artistic concepts within the African context exist in a dynamic flux that constantly re-emphasizes earlier themes or re-invent them by injecting fresh materials that achieve new insights or give a sense of communality and other African performance aesthetics. Along this line, Edde Iji has the following to say about adaptation:

> …adaptation, like its other adjunct, is a process or recharging or rebranding of ideas, themes, plot structure, characterization, language and other rhythms of action in a literary work as a consumer product in gestalt. In other words, adaptation, like translation and transposition, which could be an integral essence of the exercise, can be regarded as a reincarnation of its immediate and remote version. (2004, 21-22)

In Nigeria, such adaptations are recreations of an extant artistic work, a play, novel, poem, or ballad that is given fresh breath within a different socio-cultural milieu. They are indeed "a literary cloning of the thematic and other essences" (2004, 2) of an existing work that has captured the fancy and admiration of the adaptor. However, when one considers narratives that have adapted Western play texts, strong affiliation sbetween classical forms of playwriting and some Nigerian playwrights, especially first and second generation playwrights, are evident. Arguably, this is the result of the dual heritage and the kind of training received by these Africans in European languages and Western dramatic classical traditions which drew upon ritual to structure plot or content and make important dramatic statements.

In Greek mythology, for example, from which most Nigerian playwrights have adapted plays, there is a strong reliance on culture as the basic creative impulse and the medium for the dissemination of information and knowledge. This assertion presupposes that African playwrights in the diaspora have consciously or unconsciously mainstreamed their idea of theatre as an existential proposition with intrinsic meaning or purpose for the African psyche. Their ability to translocate Greek mythology or any other, at the same time, bridges the multicultural divide and localizes or globalizes the adapting playwright's intent and vision, more so when there are parallels and similarities in the cultures. The adapting playwright's intention, it should be noted, reflects a distinctive creative effort not simply a rebranding from the original. Strengthening this claim, Amonyeze in a discourse bordering on the adaptation process asserts that the playwright "chooses a style that will best embody his artistic intention with the result that the end result is "a creative entity not a copycat work" (2013, 1). This is to say while a play adaptor relies essentially on the original text, he must exude a high sense of resourcefulness. It is this resourcefulness that reshapes or reactivates the original text from its socio-cultural context to suit existential indigenous dramatic forms and their socio-cultural politics.

When engaged in play adaptation, the task of writing is an exercise involving a lot of synthesis, profundity, and imaginative ability. This brings to mind the idea that playwriting generally "is like a good pot of soup, the correct ingredients and the correct quantity must be put in or else one stands the risk of spoiling the broth" (Yerima, 2003, 100). In part, this paper provides an accessible overview of the reasons for trans-textual adaptation in playwriting, while determining how some classical rules and myths are employed and gauging their consequent effects on a new environment. Importantly as Edde Iji has noted:

> adaptation is a reshaping, retuning, adjusting or readjusting,

redesigning, rejuvenation, reactivation or renovation of an original text from its native culture and environment to suit its reception or consumption by an audience of a totally different time, culture and environment. (2014, 24)

Of course it is important to note that such adaptations could be intra-cultural or inter-cultural. Over the years, play adaptation, intertextualities, new traditional patterns of individual and community identity have emerged as powerful tools for cultural belonging, religion and identity. Because Nigeria is a multicultural society, most Nigerian playwrights have tried to marry their society's migratory experiences with their diasporic encounters. This could be more revealing in the evaluation accorded Wole Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forest* by the Swedish Academy when they announced Soyinka as the winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1986. The Swedish Academy identified a link between Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forest*, because of both plays' inclusion of spirits, ghosts, and gods. They highlighted amongst other things, the worsening cases of cultural bastardization, poverty, and exploitation in the Third World. It is clear that the process or the state of changing to fit a new environment or different conditions have continued to trend in the Nigerian theatrical space.

The essence of this work, therefore, is to probe the vision, consciousness, and essence of adaptations by Nigerian playwrights of diasporic experiences. Nigeria is particularly a striking case in point where diasporic experiences continue to raise fundamental questions. Who does the adaptor owe allegiance to? What are his/her rights as a playwright to refract and reshape his diasporic experience and identity? How does this style of appropriating ideas and ideals through diasporic formations foster nation building and global peace

and understanding? These and other related questions are what this paper attempts to interrogate while observing that until African playwrights begin to encourage the translation of English vocabulary into African phraseology to suit indigenous aesthetics, their dramaturgy will continue to be perceived from the hegemonic lens of the European and American theatres. This raises the question of a total confrontation of classical dramatic structures and their replacement as African cultural re-definition and self-reclamation continues.

Theoretical Framework

There is the need to have a conceptual clarification as to how the adaptation theory through the relationships between texts is most appropriate to support the arguments in this paper. Adaptation theory is a cultural phenomenon of development through which other cultures can be fitted into other environments. It is also a process that seeks to see how humans beings and/or cultural ecology can diminish global inequities and produce more interpretative statements than are typical of most studies of humankind, which have remained rooted in the humanities (Corrigan, 2017, 24) observes that adaptation exists in three states – as a process, as a product, and as an act of reception. In all of these, he maintains that "as a process, adaptation often describes how one or more entities are reconfigured or adjusted through their engagement with or relationships to one or more other texts or objects."

In the same vein, Hutcheon (2006, 54) reminds us that adaptation as a process of creation "always involves both (re)interpretation and then (re)creation; this has en called both appropriation and salvaging, depending on your perspective". Adaptation as a concept is guided by culture and ideas and how that has helped in improving the

quality of life not only within the ambience of the human race, but human endeavours. Adaptation theory which involves migration to or survival within a new environment and context is a cultural cross-fertilization and culture communication. It evolves a process or state of changing to fit a new environment or different conditions or the resulting change. The art of adapting plays goes beyond the simple idea of one playwright taking another playwright's play and transforming it in order to bring the adapted version nearer to a new atmosphere and culture. Most of the issues connected with adaptation as a theory are methodological ones through which playwrights can transpose ideas.

In the strictest sense, adaptation theory, also known as survival theory, draws on an idea which Charles Darwin borrowed and crafted into his theory of natural selection. Darwin posits that natural selection strives to explain how things change: how traits that increase suitability to environment and behavior are passed from generation to generation. This process of natural selection is revealed in individual variations in appearance and behavior inherited via differential survival and reproduction. Borrowing from Darwin, dramatic adaptation theory also rests on the principle of natural selection being the playwrights' driving force that enables them to modify and migrate cultures that survive in their (the playwrights') natural environments. In short, playwrights inherit and adapt dramatic traditions to reproduce a given condition and culture. Adaptation theory, a playwriting principle, clarifies how playwrights have been able to communicate across cultures.

Imperatives of Intertextualities in Nigerian Play Texts

There will always exist a complex interrelationship between an adapted-text and its original. Because the original is the basis of the creation or interpretation of tthe new play at hand, certain rubrics and principles governing the conduct of adapting plays

must be considered. Consideration of the sensibilities of the audience for which a play is being adapted is also needed. From the point of view of the limits of intertextuality, Okwori (2004, 154) reminds us that "tension continues to exist between the text and other forms of signification whereas in reality the text is secondary, a material record, at times intensely selected and filtered from the primary authentic work". Suffice to say that the dramatist in this regard must have an appropriate masterly form and style that can command and influence the will of another work, rather than produce a mere statement of adaptation. To an extent, this ability of the plawright is orchestrated by "the exigencies of an era actually assign a social responsibility to the art or literature as a cultural creation which turns out to serve humanity" (Egede and Ehiemua, 2019, 261). Indeed, the playwright while adapting must have an anticipation of the basic aspirations of humanity within his new environment alongside how he intends to realize the plot and characters from the old play. There is no doubt that as a dramatist, one is usually subsumed in the translation or reconstruction of an older ideology which he/she might be trying to change or re-emphasize.

> In every society, culturally unique ways of thinking about the world unite people in their behavior. Anthropologists often refer to the body of ideas that people share as ideology. Ideology can be broken down into at least three specific categories: beliefs, values, and ideals. People's beliefs give them an understanding of how the world works and how they should respond to the actions of others and their environments. Particular beliefs often tie in closely with the daily concerns of domestic life, such as making a living, health and sickness, happiness and sadness, interpersonal relationships, and

death. People's values tell them the differences between right and wrong or good and bad. Ideals serve as models for what people hope to achieve in life. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2011, 204)

Ideological underpinnings definitely share a relationship whether old or new in the lives of a people whose intention is to either change or further their course. Universally, there are some common ideas regarding the concept of justice, fair play, the belief in gods and other concepts that define our common existence as human beings. As instruments of history, dramatists strive via adaptation to articulate and transport the dynamics of a particular belief-system of another culture. In this regard, the ordering primary principle of variation becomes a fundamental issue as people evaluate the level of tilt and/or intensity of transposition of the images and ideas. This the diasporic dramatist must pay attention to, because he/she cannot extricate himself/herself from the cultural values of his/her original source or the new which is his/her own. The adapting dramatist needs to domesticate information as it were with a lot of local flavor, penchant, and style. In deploying the African philosophy on matters of Black Consciousness, Omotoso (2013, 62) argues that "[a] high premium should also be placed on details regarding identity-the mix of actors, image characters, and relationships occurring within communication process."

Ola Rotimi may have had this in mind when adapting Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. The Yoruba Nigerian culture which he adapted to the play shares many similarities with Greek culture. The Greek, like the Yoruba, have several deities. As Wole Soyinka has noted with Ogun, the Yoruba god of creativity,

Ogun, for his part, is best understood in Hellenic values as a totality of the Dionysian, Apollonian and Promethean virtues. Nor is that all. Transcending even today, the distorted myths of his terrorist reputation, traditional poetry recordshim as 'protector of orphans', 'roof over the homeless', 'terrible guardian of the sacred oath'….(1988, 22)

Rotimi's play *The Gods Are not to Blame*, like the Greeks', does not only make the gods to take an active part in human affairs, emphasizing the theme of predestination, but also interrogates human relationships in a pluralistic and multicultural Nigeria where there is mutual distrust and the obvious absence of friendship for one another among ethnic nationalities. Adaptation of a text by another playwright gives the matters at hand fresh life, especially when that interpretation is brought to bear on unique societal variables in a given environment. For example, Wole Soyinka's adaptation of Brecht's T*he Three Penny Opera,* which itself is an adaptation of John Gays *The Beggars Opera,* is given new life within the framework of a Nigerian socio-cultural and political milieu during the Gowon military era. Soyinka captures the mis-governance, tyranny, the squander-mania, the greed, obscenity and the hypocrisy among other failures of the ruling elite and the vulgar life of the *nouveau riche* in Nigeria in the 70s. Soyinka infuses in the play sardonic and satiric language and character portrayals to lampoon his targets and make them look ridiculous in their over-indulgent behavior, just as Brecht and John Gay did in their plays.

Hagher's *Mulkin Mata*, which is an adaptation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and Harrison and Simmon's adaptation of the same play, lays more emphasis on the sex strike by the rampaging women to score political points. While Hagher's play involves the gamut of African women organizing a *coup d'état* to tease out some political demands

through the denial of sex from their men folk, Harrison and Simmon's *Aikin Mata* is localized within the Hausa setting of Northern Nigeria, and also uses sex as a weapon. Asigbo's adaptation of Aristophanes *The Frog* into *War of the Tin Gods* throws up issues of national concern in which all is not well with the human condition.

Even though adapted narratives may be the same in thematic focus and preoccupation as their dramatic antecedents, the material conditions and the societal factors that birthed the adaptations are remarkably different. Plays such as those mentioned above either deconstruct earlier ideological concerns or the themes of the original texts all together or give them newer interpretations that correspond with different socio-cultural environments while dwelling on human dilemmas and relationships. Within this framework, play adaptors strive to engage a process that retains the technical knowledge of the original playwright in order to creatively tramsmit that same knowledge to the indigenous knowledge of the people he has as his target audience. This is because "in consequence, general solutions manufactured from the outside are offered to problems which are highly localized. The practice of development work teaches us that problems are usually specific in their complexity to a particular time and place" (Schuurman, 2004, 78). Because of their training and cultural experiences, African playwrights extract their information with a view to making sure the conflict in the adapted play is strong enough to keep the audience on the edge of their chairs. The adapting playwright also must be sure that the people for whom he writes will benefit from such trans-textual adaptation.

Timely artistic decisions *ab initio* must be arrived at in order to accommodate the sensitivities of the new audience for which the adapted play is meant. This point is further emphasized by Ahmed Yerima (2003, 124) when he asserts that "the playwright intending to adapt a play must know that it is not only the experience of adaptation but

the degree to which he creates his own vision of the original version that is the measure of his play's worth". Adapting Western plays must be done with a lot of craftsmanship and the intention of bringing the meaning of the play nearer to the playwright's audience's culture and belief system. Yerima (2003, 125) attempts to trace Soyinka's style of adapting Euripides' *The Bacchae* to remind us that

> Soyinka again excels in this kind of measured and adequate embellishments to include in an original work so that a playwright's vision isadded and yet, the basic plot and theme of the original work is not discarded but enhanced. In adding the Yoruba culture to Euripide's Greek play *The Bacchae*, Soyinka builds in his own ideas of Yoruba religion, tragedy, ritual and power whileat the same time explaining to his audience his awareness of the similarities and differences between Ogun, the Yoruba god of iron, fertility and creation and Dionysus the Greek god of the same attributes.

Simply bringing in his own ideas and thematic concerns in order to engender meaning to African audiences, and to Nigerian audiences in particular, a playwright must interpret the original text accurately as he decides which details are relevant, what to include, and what to edit out of his adaptation. The adapting playwright's techniques, for instance, should be both local and broad-based to enable him to impose his own language, imageries, poetic vision, and other artistic embellishments on the original play.

Reflections on Themes and Contexts

Given the different multicultural backgrounds that have characterized the Nigerian theatre space, reflection about the motive responsible for the ,re-contextualization of

most European classical plays by African playwrights is needed. How does the narratives of the classical plays being tampered with suit the new life of the post Nigerian, nay the African, peoples? Can audiences perceive disparities in aesthetics between an African conception of theatre from that of the European ideal? Esiaba Irobi (cited in Diala, 2014, 205-206) succintly distinguishes between the two dramatic forms, saying,

> This difference lies in ontology and social ideology. African and African diasporic communities, until recently, have always predicated themselves on the ethos of communality, while Europe and its diaspora have largely foregrounded an individualistic purview of life. Theatre in the African and African diasporic imaginary rotates around this idealof community. Theatre is primarily an act of community by which a given group ritualizes and perpetuates its sense of identity, its values, history, performance and aesthetics and sense of spirituality as a basis for continuity.

It is this ritual imperative that prompts Gotrick (cited in Irobi, 2009, 15) to remark that "the African notion of entertainment is more complex than the West's". Adapted plays often reveal theatrical elements structured within the context of a diasporic consciousness. The adapter, in the process of revising the original play, redesigns the plot, the theme, and the characters to suit his new environment. Within this cloning process, there is also a defined culture of originality whereby the adaptor introduces fresh thought. In this way, he remains faithful to the genre and form or simply readjusts them. He could in his adaptation, like Rotimi, Soyinka, and Osofisan, maintain tragedy as tragedy or satiric comedy as satiric comedy, as in their adaptations of *Oedipus Rex, The Bacchae of Euripides* and *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf*. On the other hand, the adapting playwright may pillory the original text and its genre, as do Osofisan's adaptation of Soyinka's *The Strong Breed* (1964) into *No More the Wasted Breed* (1988) and J. P. Clark's *The Raft* (1964) into *Another Raft* (1988). The defining imperatives here are the results of cultural differences, ideology, and time.

Another important device in the adaptation discourse is the vehicle of communication. The choice of language as a means of communicating ideas, information, education, and conscientization is very pertinent. As Edde Iji (2014, 26) observes, in a good adaptation "it may be difficult to neatly separate the techniques or principles of adaptation from the imperative of translation and transposition which are quite organically or intricately related; especially in respect of conveying, articulating, or conveying meanings semiotically, rhythmically, poetically, or even prosaically, without diluting or exaggerating the flow of language, cadences and meaningful communication wherein the effects of the adaptation may be hinged." This is what Dapo Adelugba says Ola Rotimi achieves in *The Gods Are Not To Blame* through wisecracks, proverbs, and idiomatic expressions, tempering the English language with Yoruba phraseology and capturing not only the nuances of speech, but also housing its philosophy and worldview.

Similarly, one can say that Soyinka in adapting and dramatizing John Gay's *The Beggars Opera* into *Opera Wonyosi* adopts the Yoruba operatic total theatre tradition, combining music, dance and dialogue into the plot structure. In this way, one can begin to talk about a Soyinka brand and a Rotimi brand which are unique to their playwrights' dramaturgy. It is also important to note that even though the language of communication of most, if not all, adapted plays is English, their tone, rhythm, cadences, and phraseology are un-mistakenly African, making critics term such uses of language as 'Englibo' and 'Yorubanglish.'

Socio-Political Experiences and Interrelatedness

Considering the inter-relatedness of cultures the world over, it would be pertinent to consider cultural codes, norms, and contexts when examining how well intercultural interactions are experienced by playwrights with the proclivity to adapt classical plays. Undoubtedly, the propelling force of Aristotle and the Greeks were part of the list of topics taught in African schools. Interestingly, this list has given direction to the development of African drama on the African continent. Interrogating the development of African drama undoubtedly left Etherton (1982, 68) with the perception that

> [t]he influence of the Greeks on the development of African drama has been in two directions: (1) Greek plays have served as models for African plays; and (2) the theory of Aristotle has become a basis for dramatic criticism. An example of the former is the transposition by the Nigerian playwright, Ola Rotimi, King Oedipus by the Greek playwright, Sophocles, into a play in a Yoruba setting (but in English) called *The Gods are not to Blame*.

The complex influence of Western culture does exist in modern African dramaturgy. Most adapting playwrights still approach the Greek plays using the Aristotelian precept of criticism and theory, demonstrating that the experience of the Greek world provides insight into the formation of collective groups in Africa and their transitions into nationhood within the context of their dramatic interrelatedness. In essence, intertextuality, the socialization process, and identity are universal in terms of cultural values and interest. Interpreting and engendering cultural perceptions of universal values and interests that would suit the ontological sensitivities of the African people within the diasporic construct, these adapting playwrights view human nature and the quest for wellbeing, socio-political anchorage, identity, and spirituality as phenomena that engender some level of cultural universality. Perhaps it is what Bakut Tswah Bakut (2014, 10) refers to as '*physiological-security*' in which

> [i]ssues relating to the pursuits of welfare, security, identity and factors relating to the spirituality of the tribes and their habitat (both at centrifugal and centripetal levels of aggregation) which had influenced the transitions and formation of collective aggregations and has remained the central factor in the location of loyalties and allegiances in the formation of nationhood, nationalism and the creation of statehood.

Bakut's claim presupposes that people will always have the psychological need to identify and indeed search for a common theory of existence and inter-relatedness with others. With the benefit of hindsight concerning the experiences of colonialism, African playwrights have absolutely aligned their socio-political experiences with the various peoples and histories within their diasporic terrain with a view to create a new way of thinking about nationhood in Africa.

The task of adapting plays is not an easy one as adapting playwrights have continuously searched for paradigms that are indigenous to their cultures. An adapting playwright must strive to understand the thematic preoccupation of the original play and the intention(s) of its playwright before attempting to situate such a play in a different culture and people. There are semiotic and performative aesthetics and implications which differ from one geographical location to the other that must taken into consideration.

To this end, mention must be made of the efforts by adapting playwrights to identify a language that is African, that is a language loaded with African phraseology and idioms with the view to weaving in new histories and expressions that are non-European. For that reason, Irobi (2009, 23) places some of the playwrights in this category, when he says that "their deconstructive impetus stems from a non-naturalistic purview of the world and of theatre practice and playwriting." This turning towards an African language is indeed to discourage the undiluted "dependency upon colonizer's language (which) creates a permanent presence of the colonizers among Africans" (cited in Omotoso, 2016, 116). This is germane in the sense that without a language of one's own, the art of expressing one's indigenous self is futile. Of course, Irobi himself has been accused in his own court as he himself uses the English language in his own drama. But be that as it may, language from the perspective of drama and its adaptations should not only be limited to the spoken word. If adapted plays are considered along these lines, it can be said that, the playwrights in this discourse have made good use of indigenous African artistic institutions and communicative devices in effectively conveying their messages.

As well, an adapted play should be able to reflect and situate contemporary realities of the playwright's target audience in a particular context. The complexities of emerging African societies often differ from those found in developed countries, so in the plays adapted they are not be the same; hence there is the need to tamper with the realities of the adapted drama to conform with the social realities of a developing nation. With this in mind, the adapting playwright should be able to appropriate a classical text in a manner and style that would communicate its audience's needs in terms of a catastrophic past and a pliable future.

Conclusion

Between the original play and the one being adapted, there is common ground that relates to the existential nature of humanity and the challenges of life and survival in general. Our human condition and how it can be surmounted has been the basic concern of art over the ages and will continue to be so in future.

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A Linguistic-Stylistics Study of Joseph Ushie's Selected Poems

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Abstract

A stylistic study is both linguistic and literary and involves, implicitly and explicitly, the goal of explaining the relationship between language and artistic function. It is concerned with using the methodology of linguistics to study the concept of 'style' in language. Style is the linguistic idiosyncrasies which characterize an individual's uniqueness or the language habits shared by a group of people at one time or over a period of time. This article is focused on a stylistics analysis of purposively selected poems from Ushie's oeuvre. The selected poems from *Popular Stand and other Poems* (1992), *Lambs at the Shrine* (1995), *Eclipse in Rwanda* (1998), *Hill Songs* (2000) and *A Reign of Locusts* (2004) bemoan the social ills in the Nigerian society, lament the long sufferings of the citizens under tyrannical leadership as well as bewail the destruction of the environment and the need to preserve them. Though the core framework for analysis in this paper is stylistics, insights from Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics as well as Eco-linguistics and literary communication are used to identify and characterize Ushie's creative utilization of the resources of language in the deliberate linguistic choices he makes and to evaluate the significance of such choices in foregrounding diverse messages in his poems.

Keywords: Stylistics, Language, Ecolinguistics, Joe Ushie, Literary communication, Poems.

Introduction

Joe Ushie was born shortly before Nigeria's independence to his agrarian parents at Akorshie, Bendi, in the Obanliku Local Government Area of Cross River State. He belongs to the group of Nigerian poets generally referred to as third-generation poets. His agrarian background later in myriad ways shaped his lexical configuration as evident in his preponderant use of nature-based imagery (Aboh, 2017). A teacher, linguistic stylistician, and a poet, Joseph Akawu Ushie is remarkable for his critical undertones on the sociopolitical condition in Nigeria and Africa and the long suffering of the ordinary citizen of his country and these are evident in the themes of his poetry collections. Poetry as a form of literature is used to record feelings about an event or experience which the writer thinks is important. The poet often uses words in an unusual way so that the ideas or things he is describing seem important. Poets use words with such boldness that their meanings are entirely present, their every reason or value is active in them.

Containing the avalanche of themes in Ushie's collections are verses/poems that address the social ills in the society, destruction of the flora and fauna and mournful state of our society using highly metaphorical language. In vivid pictures the poet captures in clear terms the state of our society; sometimes he goes back to the relics of his childhood

years in his hilly and rich vegetation of Bendi Obudu L.G.A of Cross River State in comparison and contradistinction with the state of the nation today. The poems in these collections are truly engaged art, art that make political statements, art that poignantly engages the human condition in any particular place and time. In achieving these, the poet employs special/ uncommon words and myriad expressions to create meaning. The paper is a linguistic-stylistic analysis of selected poems from Ushie's oeuvre. The poetry collections from which poems were selected for study include *Popular Stand and Other Poems* (1992); *Lambs at the Shrine* (1995); *Eclipse in Rwanda* (1998); *Hill Songs* (2000); **and** *A Reign of Locusts* (2004).

Theoretical Framework and Analytical Approach

A stylistic study is both linguistic and literary and, therefore, involves implicitly and explicitly the goal of explaining the relationship between language and artistic function. It is concerned with using the methodology of linguistics to study the concept of style in language use. Thus, it is said that the study of "style is essentially the study of variation in the use of language (Leech, 2008, pp. 54-55). Different approaches and purposes according to Leech (2008) exist in this kind of study; it could be descriptive stylistics where the purpose is just to describe the style or explanatory stylistics and where the purpose is to use stylistics to explain something. In explanatory stylistics, we may distinguish cases where the explanatory goal is extrinsic (e.g., to find out the authors or the chronology of a set of writers) or intrinsic (where the purpose is to explain the meaning or value of the text itself). However in this study, the analysis is essentially explanatory and intrinsic.

Stylistics, the linguistic and scientific study of style, can be defined as the analysis of distinctive expression in language and the description of its purpose and effect. Style does not arise out of a vacuum but its production, purpose and the (intended) effect are deeply embedded in the particular context in which both the writer and the reader play their distinctive roles. Some of the poems studied are ecological or environmental poems, so eco-linguistics or ecological linguistics will form part of the theoretical framework. Eco-linguistics sometimes called green linguistics emphasizes or reflects the notion of ecology in which the interaction between language and the cultural environment is central. An ecolinguistic approach highlights among other things, the value of individual and community linguistic rights and the role of language attitude, language awareness and language variety in fostering a culture of communicative peace (Crystal, 2008).

Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics is at the crux of this study. According to this model, language is a multiple coding system; it consists of a range of choices or options, a set of possibilities that can be used in the grammar of a language. Mathiessen and Halliday (2014) see language as a stratified semiotic system embedded in context, they also explain that language should be interpreted at three levels which are, discourse (semantics), lexico-grammar (lexis, morphology and syntax) and phonology (graphology). This means that a whole text could be described at the descriptive levels of context of situation, syntax, semantics, lexis, graphology and phonology.

Textual Analysis

Four poems were selected from each collection, especially poems that have similar themes since Ushie's collections are of varied themes. Ushie's debut poetry *Popular Stand* is a metaphoric journey of verses about our country, Nigeria and the society in general. In 'The shrub' the poet peeps into the country and describes the sufferings of the ordinary citizen while our Aristotles fill their pockets till they run over. From the arena where the persona peeps he says,

I can see the hacked, cracking faces.

I can see the peeling streets chocked with those bones walking like miracles

I can see those kids guarded by flies.

As they stare at the passers-by

Ebullient like a he, hastening, for that deal at government house (*Stand* p. 7)

From the excerpt above, there are structures that are repeated for emphasis, which in clear terms capture what happens every day in our nation's streets. The poet at a point couldn't stand these sights: "I shrink from the paradox in anger and return bride-like to the room". Note too how parallel structures have been used to generate cohyponyms of members of the popular stand. Thus, the eponymous frame " I can see" functions as parallel construct that transforms "the hacked, cracking faces" ,"the peeling streets", "bones walking like miracles' and "kids guarded by flies" as cohyponyms of the wretched of the earth. Note also the selection rule violation implicated as unusual collocate as "the peeling streets" are "chocked" , the hungry masses become "bones walking like miracles", just as the playful possibilities with walking become a phonoaesthetic resonance of working (miracles).

In 'The Popular stand', the poet emphasizes the contradictions in society as he juxtaposes the opulence of the political and exploitative class against the extreme squalor of the ordinary citizens, the masses consigned to the popular stand of dejection and frustration. From his popular stand, the vantage point of the poor, the poet perceives the government in power in adverse terms as a system that 'breeds oven-hot creeds', as it churns out oven-hot laws and directives that do not benefit the ordinary citizens. In actual fact, they make laws that will enable them carry out their selfish plans of self

enrichment and continued exploitation. The poet expects the government to listen to the cry of the masses, that if the cry, and complaints of the people are articulated that our country will be a better place to live. With the use of repetitive structures the poet articulates these in the following lines if we harness those faint voices into shout: If …

If we join those faint fists into a punch

If we collect these tear trickles into a pool

Our cry the gods will echo

                            Our echoes will shake that hill

Our might will crush that down

Our fate lies here

Here at this oven-hot popular stand,

   not THERE   (Popular Stand, p.12)

These lines depict the suffering of the masses. Note the use of capitalization in the middle of a line for foregrounding effect, and as such is a graphological deviation. The use of capitalization within a sentence is a deviation from the linguistic norm, but used by the poet to attract attention. The poet insists that our fate lies here at this oven-hot popular stand not THERE where we think of. In 'song of the bedbug', the sun-soaked mother bedbug sings:

Don't give up, son

Don't give up son…

The death facing us is from harsh hot sun…

Soon … sun will roost and we will rise. (Popular Stand, p. 22)

Here the poet persona encourages the son in particular and the masses in general not to give up but to be hopeful that very soon the sufferings from the harsh socio-economic realities in the country will soon be over. Ushie is concerned about the suffering of the masses; he resents those who delight in inflicting hardship on the citizens and are pre-occupied with filling their pockets to a 'pillory'. The graphological deviation in the use of 'violated', in the, first line of 'Song of the Bedbug', which is written in a disordered form to foreground the violated nature of the dying, the suffering, the poor in a society that once flowed with milk and honey. This graphological feature, figure poetry or pictorial poetry is prominent in Ushie's collections and he uses this to project meaning.

There are also poems on the fauna and flora of the environment especially of the poet's hilly and luster environment of Bendi in Obudu. Aboh (2009) reiterates that 'the bulk of the discussion on Ushie's poetry has concentrated on how he captures the depleting eco-system' although his pre-occupation in these collections go beyond eco-criticism.

"Month-End Blues", a poem in *Lambs at Shrine*, bemoans the suffering of an ordinary civil servant who toils only to wait to another three months before the salary comes. The Nigerian civil servant 'bemoans, day after day, each month-end's calculation that narrows to zero. The civil servant, beyond 'this' tension-gripped, tension-dripping limbo' thinks of what to eat when the salary does not come at the end, thinks of the month/the landlord's rent or quit notice. These are captured in repetitive and parallel structures.

> The civil servant minds hovers/ "around the empty pots criss-crossed by
> cobwebs/ around the waist belt shifted to the last hole,/ around the retiring
> shoes torn by tar's teeth/ around the landlord's tithe or quit notice. (*Lambs*

at Shrine, p. 18)

The salary when it comes is likened to a 'flaming hope for that terminal emptiness packaged, like water in baskets, in shifty currency'(p. 17) in contrast, the governor, commissioner, minister house of assembly member receive more than they work for and can consume in a month. Evidently, Ushie's lines here reflect the predicament of the citizens, not just the civil servants, but the public servants as well as the traders whose shops are demolished year after year without due compensation because of the selfish interests of the state dictators in re-locating markets. From the poem, there are the use of expressions that contrast the poor from the rich in the society, such terms include; 'waist belt shifted to the last hole' (hunger) shoes torn by tar's teeth (No car)' quit notice' (can't afford his rent) Ushie as a social critic bemoans the social ills in the society and bewails the wide gap between the rich and the poor.

In 'The News' the poet sees omens in our society; a sign of something bad that is about to happen. He sees festival of wars from 'here (his own country) to Rwanda, and Bosnia to Somalia as a feast for vultures" (p. 9) He sees war, blood and corpses in every open field. He sees the world in a 'dark-painted mask, dancing frenzily around the edge of the cliff; deaf to Cassandra's deafening shouts of imminent tragedy'. 'Casandra' here, in Greek mythology is an allusion to a prophetess in Troy during the Trojan war, whose predictions were true but were never believed. Note also the use of 'deaf to Casandra's… deafening shouts". Here there is the repetition of the consonant sound 'd', a voiced alveolar plosive for phono-aesthetic effect, the 'd' resounds in the ears that it could deafen. He goes further to ask the following rhetorical questions to psychologically engage the reader as he/she is made to ponder over every question: 'What else are preachers to

preach? What else are poets to write? What else are singers to sing? The news? (*Lamb at shrine*, p. 10)

These questions foreground the revelations earlier made by the poet, of the imminent tragedy in the land and need no answer. 'Evening Tales' further explains what the poet saw earlier as omens. The persona creates a vivid picture of what is happening in the country at present, especially between the herdsmen and the farmers. He asked again "what tale will my children tell about me… Are they to tell the tale that for fear of the baboon I planted my maize in the house?/why then the suffocation in the hands of a few brothers?" (p. 13). There have been a lot of killings of innocent souls by citizens from other ethnic groups, "brothers" from the same country. The poem is highly prophetic, although published in 1995 about twenty- three years ago, the killings are still prevalent.

'Abuja' is a lamentation on the sorry state of the FTC (Federal Capital Territory) which was an 'uninfested virgin plain' but "which now lie wearing around it Suleja…. Gwagwalada… like rags wrapped round a golden pillar". It is no longer a sign of national unity as initially conceived, and now "lie(s) like a golden lie in the heart of a chronic sore… (p. 16) The poet made use of simile in the description of Abuja. The use of 'lie' here is highly metaphorical and ambiguous. It also means that those at the seat of power in Abuja are full of lies. Ushie fiddles with words for a purpose; he plays not only on the meaning of words but also with their sounds. There is a repetition of the 'l' sound for prominence. A majority of the poems in *Eclipse in Rwanda* focus on the destruction of human life. The collection is divided into three sections: Rays of Tears, Village Echoes, and Echoes from the Silent. *Eclipse in Rwanda* is an elegy for the victims of the eclipse in Rwanda and inhuman treatment meted on citizens all over the world. It is a song on the

social ills in most African societies.

"Song of Sisyphus" the poet laments the injustices meted on the innocent as well as the peoples' sufferings. He continued to wonder how he can change his song when nothing has changed about the living conditions of the citizens: 'How can I change my song;

> When the claws of that leopard on throne are deep on the flesh of our clan's sheep still administering a tiered death? "I will sing lifelong the song of that child orphaned by design of that woman widowed by plan, of our streets peopled by bones. (p. 12)

In 'To My Unborn Children" the poet seeks for a secure place, a safe place for the unborn children in view of the unfavourable socio-economic and political situations in the country. There is use of unfamiliar similes like 'sail, sail, sail away from my bait like those words which, more slippery than fish race away from shelter-seeking thoughts' (22). Poems in 'Echoes from the silent' are celebrations of the flora and fauna that survive man's genocide such as 'The crab tales', the 'Tree', 'Egret' etc. Ushie in these poems sings praises for nature and recalls the benefits human derive from them.

'Hill Song' in the collection *Hill Song*, paints a pleasant picture of the poet's hilly home land against which contemporary issues and events are contrasted. The poet laments the state of the country, humanity and nature. It is a praise to the hills in the poet's place of birth, he gave a clear description of the hills and remembers all the benefits of the hills to man beast and trees, one of which is the provision of spring water. 'The sand-filtered springs/leaping from your groins/ to nurture man, beast and tree/The poet regrets the

destruction of the hills of his birth by natural and man-made agents.

> It came unnoticed this greed-fanned flame
> It came unnoticed this greed-clad axe
> It came unnoticed this greed-brewed death. (*Hill Song*, p. 10)

Here, the poet made use of patterned repetition to emphasize his regret for the destruction of the hills of his birth. There is also the use of rhetorical questions in the following lines, still questioning the loss of the hills. /How was I to know the hills of my bloom would now be bare?/ How was I to know the birds of my bloom would sing no more?/ etc Furthermore, the poet bemoans the destruction of the hills and all the features of nature surrounding them, by man, as seen in the lines above.

> From every street, I can hear the cry of the widow
> From every street, I can hear the wail of the orphan
> From every street, I can hear the groan of the weak. (*Hill Song*, p. 11)

The lines above are parallel and are paradigmatically related since they function in the same paradigm. This means that they can be substituted for each other. The elements in the sentence share a common semantic component, which are 'the cry', 'the wail' and 'the groan'. Paradigmatic relation shows a vertical relationship, it contrasts with syntagmatic relation that applies to relations holding between elements that are combined with each other or words that co-occur in the same sentence or text.

In the last lines of this poem the poet became hopeful that the hills will rise again. The hill here represents the human folk in our society, as seen in the following lines/If I must sing / Let my song not be on/ those gourmands whose/ Gourd has dried up/The springs of my bloom/ If I must sing today/ Let my song be on /These hills of my birth/ These silent hills whose sun shall rise again/. The poet's speaking voice has resolved to write and sing on behalf of the down trodden, the suffering, the dying, the orphans, the widows and not for the wealthy and the politicians. There are a lot of repetition of words and lines for prominence, for their importance. Note also the use of 'If' a conditional and 'must' which occurred four times at the beginning of the stanza.

In "Pendulum" the poet laments that we are 'sandwiched' between the blood sucking boots' (i.e. the military dictatorship) and the sugar-tongued chameleons (democratic rule/politicians) and we know not where to go. According to Aboh (2009) Ushie uses a narrative technique that illustrates his compassion for fellow Nigerians, to depict a period of uncalculated socio-political and socio economic policies and programmes that threatened the unity of the Nigerian nation. In spite of the sufferings of the people the poet remains hopeful in the last stanza/ but I look to the east each down /and find the rays of yesterday's/ set sun, scaling the hills, and /smiling at me as beacon (p. 15). In 'Winter in Tropics' there is the feeling that very soon we would journey out of grief out of hardship, in this country and so we should 'begin to reverse our tears to build'. The poet speaker referred Nigeria to a wintered tropic because of the harsh socio-economic and political conditions we experience each day. It is like shivering under a hot climate, /we should began to reverse our tears to build/here in these wintered tropics/when the poet hears the/witful jeremiads (i.e. mournful complaint any form of government) at drinking parlours/. When I contemplate the hunger – drilled depth of my people/when I think of every winter sparking a fire/I see over every fear becoming a cheer /(pp. 62, 63).

The use of hunger-drilled depth in the excerpt above should be noted. Hunger does not collocate with drill and depth, but we drill oil and we can talk of the depth of oil wells or rivers. The use of this term is a collocational violation or violation of the selectional restriction rule. The verb "drill" does not go with "hunger" but we can be "hunger stricken". This is a deviation from the normal linguistic usage and is used for foregrounding effect. There is also the use of 'tear' and 'cheer' which are homophonous, same sound but different spelling and meaning and is used for phono-aesthetic effect; it is used to show some element of hope. There is also the patterned repetition of the first three lines in the last stanza; /perhaps slowly / as the journey away from grief/ we should begin to reverse our tears/ (p. 62). Using Halliday's mood system analysis of clause structure, let's try an analysis of this clause:

> Mood Residue
>
> We should begin to reverse our tears
>
> S F P

Mood is the grammatical entity that conveys the interpersonal meaning of language at the clausal unit of language. The clause in the mood system consists of the mood block (modal finite and adjunct) and the residue. The residue consists of the predicator and the rest of the verb group. In the above excerpt, the poet indicates reservations in the comment; 'we should begin to reverse our tears' this reveals an interpersonal meta function of language. From 'hill to valley' is a praise song to nature. The poet remembers the vegetation of yore how rich our vegetation used to be before the agents of deforestation came, 'once upon a hill, trees stood as Goliaths/dressed in resplendent ferns (p. 53). Trees were personified here; human qualities of 'standing' and 'dressed' were

ascribed to them. It is also a violation of the selectional restriction rule. There are the Iroko's expansive empire/with a million shrubs as subjects/ There is the preponderance use of terms of ecology and vegetation such as Iroko, shrubs, mahogany, bougainvillea (flower) colony of birds, womb of woods butterflies, silk cotton tree etc which portray the poem as ecological poem.

The poet remembers/when forests were pharmacies/and farmer the pharmacists/ when there were herbs and shrubs that cure various ailments in the bushes. All these were before/dark clouds that hung above the hills lost their sceptre to the whites/(that is before the British took over power, before independence), before/we were lowered into the horror of a queer alien light/ (p. 34). The use of figure poetry in 'lowered' written from up to down which vividly captures the meaning. After Independence the 'black cloth' took over the throne now/a new song for an old dance/ with steps that are odd to man, beast and tree (p. 34). From the above lines, the poem is a reflection of the pre-colonial, colonial / neo colonial periods in Nigeria. The speaker compares these periods in this poem.

After Independence, Nigerians have remained 'entombed,' the homesteads of our fathers have been ravaged, our national resources have been tapped to enrich their deserts while we live in ruins. The poet has no hope that situations will change as seen in these lines /I see my shortening shadow…… like afternoon's flame lowering to ash in the evening/ (p. 35). There is a graphological deviation in the writing of the words 'lowered' and 'lowering'. The persona compares the state of those in power and the governed, extratextualy, the high handedness of our rulers especially the present leadership of APC in Nigeria.

The collection 'A Reign of locusts' is divided into three sections - Towards Canaan

(signifying a place where the poet wants to be) – Back to the Hills and vales (Where he finds rest) and voices and moods of the silent wild and other deep matters. In 'Mobile caskets' the Poet makes reference to the hungry and the rich (that was once hungry). There are mis-spelling of words in the poem for foregrounding effects for example; 'Tyred' (for Tired), 'executhiefly' (executively/ executive thief), darkened 'liprousine' (Limousine). These words were hedged by the poet for prominence. A hedge as a communicative strategy in pragmatics or discourse analysis is a mitigating word, sound or construction used to save face and lessen the impact of an utterance due to constraints on the interaction between the speaker and addressee, such as politeness, softening the blow etc. The poet uses the following lines to explain the gap between the poor and the rich, the hungry and the rich.

You shrouded executhiefly

In your tyred casket

And we, or our skeletons

Tirelessly watching you

As we go…

How do we look, brother

From inside your darkened liprousine

How can our hunger bleached sheet of

Skin show on this opague… of your iron centaur? (Reign of locust, p. 30)

From the excerpt above, the poet talks of a society where the rich is very rich while the poor wallows in hunger and suffers too much without help. He also expressed the wide gap between those in power and the governed. The meaning of 'shrouded'

from shroud and 'executhiefly'-executive theif, there is a relationship between casket and shroud. There is the use of parallel lines for emphasis to reiterate this gap in the following lines :

Brother

Your bear not the scars of the sun's fury

You know not the colours of hunger

Your know not the idiolect of the joblessness (p. 30)

Paralleleism is achieved when a certain grammatical form is repeated within a sentence, when equivalent structures with equivalent meaning are repeated. It is the similarity of grammatical forms with similar elements of meaning within a sentence or among sentences. 'Night still' is a lamentation of the long suffering of the citizens waiting for the night (their sufferings) to come to an end so that they can wake up to eat the good of the land, /wake up from long nights of ill omens/, of lying on heaps of 'siblings' bones', /of eight-long tyrants/ (i.e., eight tyrannic regimes of governance).

We wake now from the long night

Of ill omens

Of lying on heaps of siblings' bones

Of eight-long tyrants

of crocodiles nurtured by hewman flesh

of mad dogs out-biting mad dogs…… (p. 11)

The list is endless. The lines are introduced by a preposition 'of' and are prepositional complements of "we wake, now from… A prepositional group is a group with preposition

as head. Each sentence has the structure S P A C:

> We wake now from that long night of ill omens
> S   P   A   C (Prep comp)
> We wake now from the long night +[of ill omens [of eight-long tyrants, etc.

There is a call in the poem by the persona to go out with the sword of words to those at the seat of power mourning our fatherland, that we should tell them that the whole world knows of our sufferings, that our children are dying, that we are in a country where a /rainfall in the plains creates a flood on the hills leaving the plains dry/ where the highways sigh under the weight of hewman bones/. After four years of harsh leadership, it was still night, four seasons after the long night/And, o, it's night, still/. There was still no change as the next leader is sworn in. The poet's speaking voice, asks,' how long shall the citizens wait for the dawn of a new era, for their nights to be over? Note the use of adverbial groups in the following lines;

> …...Mourning our fatherland
> Where a rainfall in the plains
> Create flood on the hills
> Leaving the plains dry.
> Where the blind lead the sighted...
> Where decomposing streets scream out…
> Where the dregs of greed froth and frolic (n. p)

These adverbials of place talk about the poet's father land, Nigeria. The first three adverbial groups from the excerpt refer to the rich oil Niger Delta area (plains) which are sucked dry to build non-oil producing areas (in the north) while the people of the Niger delta are left to suffer the environmental challenges of the area.

Terms such as 'hewman' and 'compagriots' are used for a purpose by the poet: 'hewman' here is from the word 'hew' meaning shape with an axe, as used here 'hewman' then means man that has been shaped by sufferings and hunger in our society. 'compagriots' is from the word 'compatriots' meaning fellow countrymen. But with 'griot' the term now means fellow countrymen who tell the same story of suffering. Ushie fiddles with words for a purpose; he recreates their meanings to pass his message across. In 'African Bermuda', the poet wants us to know that the Bermuda triangle is here in Africa and Nigeria where the triangle of soldiers, politicians and technocrats squander abundant resources from the land without trace. As could be seen in the following lines /that triangle of soldier, politician and technocrat/ sank my lush land of birth/ (p. 10). These groups of people are still squandering the resources of Nigeria and most African countries to date.

In 'Our laugh will change' the poet is very optimistic and desirous of a change in his country. In this poem, though going through difficult times, the people continued to laugh but, the laughter of the dying. He made use of metaphor to relate their type of laughter and smile. / ours is the smile of the roast goat head/ the flash teeth of the drowning/ the laugh of the dying/ (p. 44). In the last stanza, the persona expresses so much hope; 'our laugh will change some day.

Conclusion

Analysis of selected poems from Ushie's oeuvre reveals that he is a socially and environmentally conscious poet who uses words and expressions to bring to fore the social ills in our society, the great gap between the governed and those in power, the sufferings of the ordinary citizen under tyrannic leadership as well as bewail the destruction of the

environment. He desires a change in Nigeria and other African countries. Ushie makes use of deliberate linguistic choices to foreground the diverse messages in these poems. These linguistic choices can be characterized as follows: the use of terms or lexical items of suffering to depict the poor and the suffering: the use of parallel and repetitive pattern for emphasis; the use of hedges to foreground meaning and save face. There are also different types of group and clause structures used to give out meaning and project the themes of the poems studied. There are lexemes of nature for nature and environmental poems. Finally, the poet made use of figure poem which is a graphological deviation to foreground meaning.

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The Benin Royalty in the Filmic Imagination of Edo Language Video Filmmakers

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Abstract

The deregulation of the global media landscape since the late twentieth century has generated debates in the academy. Some scholars argue that the development harms local cultures because global media messages are dominated by Western cultural values at the expense of non-Western ideas. Others suggest that the new dispensation offers all cultures the opportunity to be featured on the global stage. Using the historical-analytic method, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, the study suggests that Edo language video filmmakers contribute to the transmission of global media messages by mobilising the imagery of the Oba of Benin, creating a uniquely Edo identity that embraces the core Edo people and those who trace their ancestry to the old Benin Kingdom and marks out a socio-cultural, political, and economic space for Edo people in Nigeria and in the diaspora.

Introduction

The relationship between Edo language video filmmakers and the deployment of the Benin royalty as an ethnic identity marker of Edo people in Nigeria is an interesting case study in the context of contemporary debates about globalisation and cultural imperialism and their effects on local cultures. Robert McChesney (2015) argues that the globalisation of the media landscape is inimical to healthy democracy because it marginalises the many and empowers the few elite members of the society that run the global media corporations. He sees the universalisation of mainly Western ideas by the global media conglomerates as an attempt to construct a global citizenry based on homogenous Western cultural values (McChesney 2015: 1-11). For Mike Featherstone (1995), media globalisation is a complex phenomenon. Global media giants tend to project the cultures of Western societies because they are the main economic drivers of media technology. However, when the Western ideas come in contact with non-Western cultures, they are often adapted to suit local needs or even contested (Featherstone 1995: 1-14). For Featherstone, globalisation is a concept associated with the democratisation of the global media space in which all cultures participate, in varying degrees. In this contested setting, Edo language video filmmakers' appropriation of the Benin royalty,

exemplified by the Oba (King), extends Edo ethnicity in a multi-ethnic Nigeria and the globalised world.

English language and indigenous language Nigerian video films are both acknowledged as belonging to the Nollywood industry and credited with the successful projection of Nigeria's 'multifarious and variegated heritage' on the global stage. However English language video films do not have as much cultural affinity with the multiplicity of ethnicities in Nigeria as indigenous language video films. Indeed, many indigenous language video filmmakers lay claim to 'owning' the cultures and traditions that they depict (Tsaaior 2018: 147). Produced as part of the indigenous languages version of Nollywood, the common name of the Nigerian video film industry (McCain 2013), Edo language video films not only document the history of Edo people for posterity; they also export the Edo culture around the world. As Adeyemi (2010), Omoera (2014a), Onuzulike (2015), Ashaolu (2017), and Omoera (2020) all observe, indigenous language video films are the most effective mediums of expressing the ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic identities of groups of people.

Theoretical Method

From the late twentieth century, rapid transformation in the field of information and communication has changed the global 'material culture' so much that Manuel Castells has termed the period 'the rise of the network society' (Castells 2009: 28-76). According to Castells, the convergence of information and communication technology and the collapse of the divide between the producers and the users of the technology have profoundly altered the way we communicate. Media messages are now instantaneous and borderless,

so what happens on one side of the globe reverberates almost immediately on the other side. The new order that has been created has restructured the economies of the various nation-states into a globally interdependent, computer-networked communication system which has resulted in countries, particularly those in close proximity to one another, moving into geopolitical and economic blocs (Castells 2009: 1-27).

The pace of this transformation has been significant for economic and political situations of nation-state and has also impacted the social worlds of these counties and the irsub-structures. Because of the enhanced pace of change in the way things are done in a 'network society', people and groups gravitate toward familiar social identities in order to find their bearings in the midst of rapid change. Groupings such as ethnicity, religion, culture, territory, and national or traditional icons become important sources of security for those seeking a place or identity in the globalised world (Castells 2009: 3). In Nigeria, the Edo language video filmmakers' use the Oba of Benin in Nigeria, and the traditional institution that he represents. is a celebration of Edo ethnicity.

The Benin Royalty

The second and present dynasty of the Oba of Benin came into being around 1200AD after the banishment of Owodo, the last Ogiso (King of the sky) and the brief interregnum that followed, when Evian acted as the administrator of Benin Kingdom (Egharevba 1960: 5-10). The Oba continues to be the spiritual, religious, cultural and traditional head and leader of the people of Benin (also known as Edo people). He was the political and military leader of Benin until the British invasion of the kingdom in 1897 (Kaplan 2003). Now his close relationship with the people of the Benin Kingdom lies at the

centre of an intricate traditional system of government (Gore 2007: 26).

The Benin traditional system of governance is organised so that power flows from the palace of the Oba through the various societies within it, to the *Enigie* (sing. *Enogie*) (hereditary chiefs) in the various wards in Benin City and the towns and villages in the kingdom, to the people and then back to the palace (Kaplan 2003: 194-5, Gore 2007: 28). Benin City, the seat of the ancient Benin kingdom and the location of the palace of the Oba, is also the current capital of Edo State in southern Nigeria, which is contiguous with the old Benin Kingdom (Gore 2007: 23-6). Three societies exist in the palace, which attend to the needs of the Oba and his household. Robert Bradbury (1957: 37-9) lists them as the *Iwebo*, *Iweguae*, and I*biwe* societies. The *Iwebo* society mends the Oba's insignia of office such as the coral bead garments, ornaments and other official outfits, and looks after the King's wardrobe. The *Iweguae* guarantees the supply of servants, maids, and other domestic staff for the King's household, and the *Ibiwe* society focuses on the necessities of the Oba's wives and children. The Oba Palace is the heart of the social and political life of Edo people (Bradbury 1957: 40).

Beyond the palace, Benin City, the main socio-political, cultural, and economic centre of the kingdom and the modern Edo State, is divided into two districts for the purpose of effective traditional administration by the Oba. The first, the *Ogbe* or royal district because it includes the palace, hosts the chieftaincy titleholders known as *Eghaevbo n'Ogbe* (Gore 2007: 28-9). The *Eghaevbo n'Ogbe* chiefs are primarily associated with roles that are directly linked to the palace. They see to the day-to-day running of the palace via an organisation known as the *Otu*, a three-person association in which the roles they play in the palace are clearly delineated. The other district called *Ore n'Okua* or the bigger town refers to the rest of Benin City. This is where the *Eghaevbo n'Ore n'Okhua* chieftaincy titleholders live. The *Eghaevbo n'Ore n'Okhua* chiefs do not necessarily have roles to play in the palace on a daily basis but are recognised by the Oba because of their achievements in other spheres of life, such as business and the professions (Gore 2007: 28-9).

The *Ogbe* and *Ore n'Okhua* are further split into about forty wards based on the specialisations of the people who dwell in them and the services they render for the Oba. For example, hunters, blacksmiths, leather workers, and traditional healers live in the areas designated for their vocations (Bradbury 1957: 34-5). These wards are headed by either an *Odionwere* (non-hereditary or honorary chief), who is usually the oldest man in the ward, or if there is an *Enogie* (hereditary chief), it is he who takes charge of the affairs of the ward on behalf of the Oba. This format is adopted in the villages of Benin Kingdom. The *Odionwere* governs on behalf of the Oba but where an *Enogie* exists, he takes precedent over the *Odionwere*. Like the position of the Oba that is inherited by primogeniture, the title of the *Enogie* passes on to the eldest son at the death of the incumbent (Gore 2007: 27-8). Bradbury explains that some *Enigie* are descendants of the Ogiso dynasty, being related to Obas who ruled in the past, some past prominent chiefs, and the *Ohen* (the traditional religious priest of the village deity) (Bradbury 1957: 33-4).

The Oba administers the entire kingdom, acting in council with the *Uzama n'ihiron*, a body made up of the seven most senior ranking titleholders in the kingdom, the

Eghaevbo n'Ore, and the *Eghaevbo n'Ogbe* societies (Bradbury 1957: 43-4). The *Uzama n'ihiron* chieftaincy titles are acquired by inheritance. Five of them are said to be the offspring of the Ogiso dynasty. The sixth is a descendant of the father of the first Oba while the seventh is the eldest son of the Oba and heir-apparent to the Benin throne. (Bradbury 1957: 35-7). On a smaller scale, these seven prominent chiefs have their own domains outside the walls surrounding Benin City, and they enjoy some level of autonomy from the Oba. The organisation of their palaces reflects that of the Oba's, and they also preside over their subjects in the same manner as the Oba, with the authority to also bestow chieftaincy titles on worthy citizens (Bradbury 1957: 35-7). At council meetings, the *Uzama n'ihiron* and *Eghaevbo n'Ogbe* members traditionally support the Oba, but members of the *Eghaevbo n'Ore* usually constitute the opposition to the Oba, reflecting their independence and the achievements they have made in various walks of life. The *Iyase*, who is considered to be the opposition leader in Benin Kingdom and who opposes almost every move by the Oba, leads this group of titleholders. Although this is no longer the case, Bradbury argues that the *Iyase's* opposition was so fierce that the Oba would always deploy him to war in the hope that he did not return to Benin City but be domiciled in a nearby settlement (Bradbury 1957: 43-4). In theory, the Oba has absolute power over his people, but this system of administering in council ensures a democratic process, in which the Oba first has to submit his decisions to the council for consideration. Afterwards, the various social groups deliberate over the Oba's decisions. The leaders of these groups then present their views on the issues in a meeting before final decisions are reached (Bradbury 1957: 43).

Notwithstanding this collective decision-making procedure, the Oba is generally regarded as being central to the endurance and well-being of Edo people. Flora Edouwaye Kaplan (2003: 190) explains that in Benin mythology, the Oba is the undisputed owner of the land, stretching from Benin to the rest of the world, including Europe and America. He is also the preferred son of God, as he occupies a preeminent position among his fellow royals in the sight of God. The people of Benin consider his kingship as divine. Unlike other royals who adorn Western attires on state functions, the Oba of Benin puts on traditional outfits determined by the intent, mood, and power of the occasion. The ornaments and other regalia that are part of his outfit are also carefully selected. Whilst other traditional rulers in Nigeria are permitted to travel at will to far flung places like the United States and the United Kingdom, the Oba of Benin remains in his palace and within Benin almost all year round, performing rituals inside and outside of the building, many of them shielded from public view, to ensure the wellbeing of the kingdom and the continuity of Edo ethnicity.

Kaplan further observes that the Oba is the earthly equivalent of the gods in the spiritual world to the people of Benin. He is also regarded as the 'Lord of the Dry Land, a son of the Benin High God, *Osanobua*', and the 'Leopard of the Home'. According to Kaplan,

> [t]he Oba is still viewed in awe, fear, respect, and love. It is widely believed that his pronouncements have the power of prophecy and that they will come to pass…he is "the child" (meaning the beginning of all life), "the father" of all his people (the giver and taker of life), and the "old man" (the

most senior and venerated among them) (Kaplan 2003: 193).

The complex social organisation woven around the Oba and the mystical perception of the Benin royalty form the bedrock of most Edo language video films. Omoera (2014b: 126) argues that the Oba enjoys a 'leitmotif status' in the Edo language video film genre of the Nigerian video film industry. Because the Oba embodies Edo ethnicity, he becomes the 'centre piece' of artistic expressions in poetry, sculpture, bronze casting, music, and films.

Benin Royalty in the Imagination of Edo Language Filmmakers

Edo language video film producers come from varied religious backgrounds. Some of them have quite inflexible religious beliefs, but most are liberal in terms of the religious doctrines they accept as meaningful. They have a shared understanding that the Benin royalty and the institution of the Oba exemplify their ethnicity. Hence, they subordinate their religious affiliations when deploying images of the Oba and the royalty to reinforce and celebrate Edo ethnicity. Anthony Dudu, an Edo language video film editor and scriptwriter, makes the point that the Oba is the focal point of Benin history and culture. He notes that the institution of the Oba is not only central to the thematic expressions of Edo language video films, but also the lives of the filmmakers. He summarises the Oba's position in the life of the filmmakers as follows: "we highly reverence the institution of the Oba…if the Oba says a thing, no Edo man, no matter where you are, can go against it. The Oba is the custodian of our traditional culture…if the Oba chooses to go the other way, it is natural that people follow suit. He is the king" (Anthony Dudu, personal interview October 8th 2018).

Dudu is a Christian who does not have any problem identifying with traditional religious practices, but he is not from the core Edo ethnic group. He is an Itshekiri, an ethnic group that traces its ancestry to the historical Benin Kingdom. He is nonetheless as passionate about Benin history and culture as the indigenous Edo speaking video filmmakers. He argues that his historical connection and the fact that he identifies as an Edo person as much as he is an Itshekiri makes that the portrayal of the history and culture of Benin, including the institution of the Oba, of utmost importance to him. He further notes that anyone intending to join Edo language video film production should understand and uphold the history, culture, and the institution of the Oba to enhance the moral wellbeing of Benin society and Edo citizens at home and in the diaspora:

> for those who want to come in…we have a way we do our things. So you can't come with a foreign idea and express it in Benin, it won't work. We have our stories. We want the world to hear our stories…Edo people are a loving people. If we don't show that aspect of us, then who will? Benin is a place where people are received and loved and accepted…we show Edo identity in their songs, voices and so on. We must ensure that we promote our culture and identity (Anthony Dudu, personal interview January 7th 2019).

Peddie Okao, a prominent Edo language video film producer who has churned out landmark films about Benin Kingdom's history and culture in both Edo and English

language video films, also echoes Dudu's position when asked about a plaque that is placed on his office wall. He has won many awards as a filmmaker, including one from the President of Nigeria, but that there is none he cherishes as much as this one. It was presented to him by the Oba of Benin based on *Ikoka* (the ones who grow corn [a Benin legendry tale of a people who specialised in the planting of corn]), one of the numerous video films he has produced depicting the historical, religious, and cultural lives of Edo people. For any Edo man, according to Okao, an award or honour bestowed by the Oba is the highest recognition that can ever be received and must be treasured by the recipient.

Like Anthony Dudu, Peddie Okao is also a Christian. He was born into the Anglican faith but he also comes from a prominent Benin family that holds the traditional office of *Avbiogbe* (town crier or information disseminator), an important traditional role in the Benin Kingdom, positioned within the constellation of specialised wards that historically served the Oba. This position is bestowed on all male descendants of Okao's family. He contends that one of the purposes of Edo language video films is to instil in Edo people, particularly the young ones, the supremacy of the institutions of the Oba and to teach them the norms, values and beliefs enshrined in the Benin worldview (cosmology), saying, 'Of course we deliberately uphold the position of the Oba in a good state in our movies. When we talk about ennobling the society, the office of the Oba is first to be considered even before the office of the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. That is the average Edo person for you' (Peddie Okao, personal interview October 3rd 2018).

Actor and filmmaker, Billy Kings also stresses the importance of the position of the Oba not just to the filmmakers but to the entire Edo people:

> The Benin monarchy is very relevant in the scheme of things. Benin [Edo] as a people is one that I respect so much. I believe the Benin [Edo] people make the Oba. That is my belief. The reverence, the acceptance, the honour; that is what gives him relevance…they make the Oba. They make the Oba like God… the way they embrace the culture, not letting it go…preserving it for future generation. I think it is divine. Most cultures over the world have lost relevance…As far as I am concerned, he is a godly institution (Billy Kings, personal interview October 10th 2018).

Kings is a devout Pentecostal Christian, and his religious affiliation shows in the statements he makes, which are always interspersed with scriptural verses. He does not see any compatibility between Christianity and traditional religion. Kings abhors anything connected to traditional religion, even though it was the religion he was born into. However, he argues that he tries to reflect the position of the Oba in his films to enlighten the audience about the need to uphold the Benin royalty and the cultural, historical, religious, and moral values of the kingdom.

Some Edo language video films that Omoera (2014b) describes as belonging to the epic or historic film genre portray the Oba in events that happened in the historical Benin Kingdom. Most Edo language video films, however, depict the contemporary social and traditional organisation of the Benin royalty at the village, ward, or district level of the *Enigie* **or** *Odionwere*. As Kaplan (2003) states, the Oba is regarded as a mystical

figure that straddles the physical and spiritual worlds in Edo mythology. Filmmaker Davidson Izegaegbe's argument su ggest sthat most Edo language video filmmakers use the *Enigie* and *Odionwere* instead of the Oba to represent the Benin royalty. This can be attributed to the myth surrounding the position of the Oba. He explains that the *Enigie*, *Odionwere*, the greetings, and the traditional accoutrements in Edo language video films are deployed to encapsulate the twenty-first century Edo person in a globalised world:

> What we try to do is to put it [royalty] in movie form so that our children [and the audience] will know about our heritage…the Oba, the *Enigie*, the Chiefs, the *Odionwere*, we have our way of life…our names, our greetings are symbolic. The greetings express our identity. It is a reflection of who we are. The titled men, everyone you see [in the movie] is a reflection of who we are…(Davidson Izegaegbe, personal interview November 4th 2018).

Davidson Izegaegbe is a Pentecostal Christian. He also openly associates with traditional religion. Like Anthony Dudu, he is very passionate about using his films to project Edo ethnicity. He was born and raised in Benin City, but his heritage lies in the *Owan* or *Ora*, an ethnic group that was part of the ancient Benin Kingdom. They are widely regarded as being part of the contemporary Edo-speaking people, but they speak a different dialect that is intelligible with the core Edo (cf. Bradbury 1957). Izegaegbe believes that mobilising the institution of the Oba (and other iconic traditional symbols) will help to imbue Edo citizens with the moral values of the old Benin Kingdom in the twenty-first century. His thinking is informed by the socioeconomic collapse and the decline in the personal fortunes of Nigerians since the mid-1980s (Emejulu and Amadi 2014: 277, Onifade et al 2013: 53) and the likelihood that especially the youth of Benin could resort to crime and immorality as a way out of poverty.

Izegaegbe argues that the filmmakers invoke the pre-eminence of the Oba and the values associated with the historical Benin Kingdom to edify Edo people into avoiding criminal activities and iniquity and to aid the promotion of communalism and social cohesion of Benin society. Izegaegbe's observations are consistent with the empirical findings of Omoera (2014b) that the Benin video-film has two characteristics which culturally mark its celebration of royalty that includes Obaship and ancestral rites. As well as using the image of the Oba to reinforce the ethics of the ancient Benin Kingdom, Izegaegbe makes the case that the Oba and the traditional institutions of Benin defines his ethnicity in the midst of the multiplicity of ethnic groups in Nigeria, a nation typified by fierce competition for socio-political and economic resources (Ukeje and Adebanwi 2008: 577-8, Gore and Pratten 2003: 212-3).

Peddie Okao adds weight to this argument. He states that the filmmakers deploy the Benin royalty to create a socio-political, cultural and economic space for Edo people because of their rich history and culture. According to him, 'Edo people and their experiences over 1000 years are enriching!' Okao is of the opinion that ethnic minorities in Nigeria are marginalised from the socio-cultural, political, and economic mainstream because of their population size. For example, he points out that whilst the major ethnicities of Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and Igbo have dedicated channels on DSTV, the digital satellite television provider in Nigeria, ethnic minority groups such as Edo do

not. He argues that Edo language video filmmakers have made several representations to DSTV for Edo language films to be shown on the platform but that the management of DSTV were not keen on the idea. Okao attributes this attitude to the perceived unprofitability of such ventures based on the relatively small population size of the Edo language film audience. Nevertheless, he states that the filmmakers are working on creating an online channel that would be dedicated to showcasing the rich qualities of Benin culture, history, and the 'globally revered second dynasty' of the Oba of Benin.' Many Edo language filmmakers also have dedicated channels on the video-sharing platform, *You Tube*.

Mustapha (2005: 8-12) claims that the size of an ethnic group matters in determining their ability to gain access to socio-political and economic resources in Nigeria. Emejulu and Amadi (2014: 276) suggest that also of importance is the group's capacity to assert ethnic identity through the use of film, not only giving such groups of people access to political and economic power but also marking the extent to which they have developed culturally, religiously, and linguistically as a people. Okao is of the view that the special historical, religious, and cultural positioning of Edo people with the Oba enables Edo language video filmmakers to articulate Edo identity in a multi ethnic Nigeria.

For Eunice Omoregie, a well-known female Edo language video film producer, the Oba personifies Edo ethnicity and good ethical behaviour in the twenty-first century. She is particularly inspired by the Oba's determination to reintroduce the ethos of the old Benin Kingdom into the moral fabric of today's Benin society:

I am very pleased with my Oba that is taking us back to our roots. In those days, when you leave your office open [Unlocked] and you are travelling, you won't be scared [That you would be supernaturally harmed]. You come back and meet your office like that [Safe]. You will [Would] see traders; they will [Would] leave their things [Wares] by the roadside [And nothing happens to them]. If they [Customers] don't have money [To buy the wares], they will [Would] put a leaf or sand in that space [Where they took the wares from] to tell the owner [Trader] that they took [Bought] the wares and that they will [Would] come back and pay. And they will [Would] surely come back to pay! *Eghe nii* [In those days], that is [Was] when we had morality!! These days, nothing like that is happening. So when my Oba came and started taking us back to our roots, it gladdens my heart (Eunice Omoregie, personal interview October 22nd 2018).

Widely regarded as the queen of the Edo language segment of the Nigerian video film industry (Omoera, 2014b), Omoregie was born and raised in Edo traditional religion. It is the religion she is still committed to. Also a versatile actress who has appeared in both Edo and English language Nigerian video films, she emphasises the present Oba's prioritization of good moral conduct prominently in her films. Her objective is to keep projecting this as a central focus for contemporary Edo identity.

Nigeria's late twentieth century socio-economic collapse not only negatively impacted the personal circumstances of Nigerians, it also accelerated the pace of migration, especially to the Western part of the world (Odorige 2016: 20-1). Edo citizens have

always constituted a significant part of this migration (Odorige 2016: 22). Today, many of the Edo emigrants have set up homes in their host countries and are raising families abroad (Ugochukwu 2011: 5). These Edo expatriates are a key target of Edo language filmmakers. According to Okao, the hope of the video filmmakers is to use the institution of the Oba and the exploits of Benin Kingdom's past heroes to reinforce the Edo ethnic identity and culture among the first generation Edo emigrants and create a feeling of pride in the rich cultural, religious, and historical heritage of the Benin Kingdom among the second and third generation Edo citizens, particularly those who have never visited the homeland. He says,

> We hope to remind them of the values enshrined in Benin mythology and to make them cherish these values when they watch our movies…Edo as an ethnic group and identity is unique. We also hope that they will take pride in the feats of their ancestors because Benin is celebrated in history and culture, and it is something they should be proud of (Peddie Okao, personal interview August 26th 2019).

Part of the efforts of Edo language filmmakers to attract and retain the diasporic Edo community involves embracing better quality production in the face of stiff competition from others in the globalised media landscape. Peddie Okao emphasises that through the Edo Film Producers and Distributors Association (EFPDA), the umbrella body of Edo language video filmmakers, they are working on migrating to DVDs and Blu-Rays in their productions. Anthony Dudu adds that the popularity of Edo language video films is embedded in the importance of the Benin royalty and the history of the

kingdom. Hence, they aim for improvements with every production to especially satisfy the diasporic Edo audience:

> This film is…business, it is a serious thing…we are improving with every production…I can imagine the diaspora Edo who have not been to this part of the world. I can imagine how they feel when they watch a well-done Edo language movie. They will be happy to promote it to their foreign friends (Anthony Dudu, personal interview January 7th 2019).

In a period dominated by global media messages, Edo language film producers are adopting media technologies provided by advances in information and communication technology to construct a global Edo identity around Benin royalty and Edo history and culture to connect with an extensive audience that would have been beyond their reach in the past. The anticipation is that these productions will create a strong bond among those who trace their ancestry to the ancient Benin Kingdom. Eunice Omoregie hopes, "Our children would get to love these films…and they will project and promote the industry well into the future."

Conclusion

Despite their diverse religious backgrounds, Edo language video filmmakers participate in the dissemination of global media messages by mobilising the symbolism of the Oba of Benin and Benin royalty to carve out a socio-cultural, political, and economic space for Edo people in Nigeria and the Nigerian diaspora. Three main reasons account for the deployment of the Benin royalty and the Oba by these filmmakers. They conceive of Edo

ethnicity being on the margins of socio-political, economic, and cultural life in Nigeria because of their relatively small population size. Given the eminent historical position of Benin Kingdom and the respect granted to the Oba in the twenty-first century, the filmmakers call on the iconic figure of the Oba to rally the core Edo people and those who trace their heritage to the old Benin Kingdom to a common, cohesive ethnic identity capable of competing for socio-political and economic resources in Nigeria.

Also concerned about the negative effects of the socio-economic decline of the mid-1980s to early 1990s on the moral health of the Benin, especially the youth, Edo language filmmakers use the representations of the Oba and contemporary Benin royalty to recreate the values of the ancient Benin Kingdom, in the hope that it will teach and steer them away from anti-social behaviour. Part of the consequences of the economic collapse of the late twentieth century for Edo people was mass migration to other parts of Nigeria and across the world. Nowadays, many of the citizens who left Benin call their adopted countries home. Second and third generation Edo citizens who have never visited Nigeria see their parents' homeland, the Benin royalty, and the Oba in Edo language video films. This first generation's Edo identity is reinforced by the depiction of the Oba in these films whilst the second and third generations derive a sense of pride in the portrayal of the institution of the Oba. The Edo language video filmmakers' intention is to establish a strong sense of purpose amongst t diasporic Edo citizens, especially those who are historically connected to the ancient Benin Kingdom. They also use their films to create an awareness of place among the expatriated Edo citizens in faraway lands. Although the dominant messages of the media in a globalised world are Western, Edo language video filmmakers have capitalised on opportunities provided by globalisation and technological advances and taken their places on the global stage. Appropriating the symbolism of the Oba, they project what is an uniquely Edo identity that resonates with Edo people in Nigeria and throughout the world.

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Interviews

Anthony Dudu, Edo language video films Scriptwriter and Editor, interviewed on October 8th 2018 and January 7th 2019 at Prolens Film Academy, Benin City, Nigeria.

Billy Kings, Edo language video films Actor, Producer, and Director, interviewed on October 10th 2018 at Deep End Entertainments Ltd, Benin City, Nigeria.

Davidson Izegaebge, Edo language video films Producer, Director and the current coordinator of Edo State chapter of the Directors Guild of Nigeria (DGN), interviewed on November 4th 2018 in his office on Plymouth Road Benin City, Nigeria.

Eunice Omoregie, Edo language video films Actress, Producer and Director, interviewed on October 22nd 2018 in her office on TV Road, Benin City, Nigeria.

Peddie Okao, Edo language video films Producer, Director, and Proprietor of Prolens Film Academy, interviewed on October 3rd 2018 and August 26th 2019 at Prolens Film Academy, Benin City, Nigeria.

Uhola Cultural Festival as a Platform for Communicating Development in the Zuru Emirate, Kebbi State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The use of indigenous communication forms as alternative means of transmitting development has long been established. However, the mere inclusion of indigenous communication forms in media channels and other participatory strategies, as practised today, does not only make the media content alien, unfamiliar, unaffordable, and inappropriate, but also fails to open up space for community members to be part of the design, planning, and implementation of communication processes considered familiar, credible, accessible ,or affordable. This study hinges on the search for better ways of utilizing indigenous communication for the purpose of creating the greater participation of communities in sustainable community development, especially in rural Nigeria. It analyzed data collected through the instruments of a questionnaire, focus group discussion (FGD), and key informant interview (KII). Analysis of quantitative data was based on simple percentages, while the qualitative data was used to provide in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. The major finding of this research is that Uhola festival, like many festivals in Nigeria, is an open space for various levels of exchanges in the community. This study also found that indigenous communication systems (songs, dance, storytelling, the town crier, musical instruments, etc.) are still effective in facilitating communication. Since folk art and cultural festivals have been used as tools for disseminating community values and norms in such ways that community members effectively comprehend the messages, development planners and communication experts should consider the opportunities such arts and festivals provide in ensuring that the common people are engaged in creating communication media that will ensure development initiatives leverage their imaginative constructions, local knowledge, and are adapted to the people's cultural environment.

Keywords: Indigenous communication forms, Uhola, Community values, Participatory development, Local knowledge.

Introduction

Development agents across Africa are more inclined to apply Eurocentric communication models and strategies while carrying out development within their local environments, than indigenous communication strategies. Most often, these foreign communication strategies often do not yield the desired result (Mundy & Lloyd-Laney, 1992). In recognition of the failure of these foreign communication strategies, scholars such as Anyu-Kyeremeh (1984) argue that indigenous modes of communication are the most suitable means of communication within the context of their existence. Other proponents of participatory development, such as Chambers (1983) and Aggrawal (1995), also contend that when development becomes participatory, it becomes possible for beneficiaries to comprehend and become empowered to take ownership of their development. Participatory devlopment also aids development efforts to leverage local resources and indigenous knowledge (World Bank, 2013; Omoera & Obekpa, 2021).

Similarly, the use of indigenous communications forms as means of communication, which are components of culture, was further recognized when the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) also expressed interest in using culture to promote development efforts. The World Commission on Culture and Development called on the international community to view culture not only as 'means' of development, but as an important 'end' in its own right (Perez de Cuellar, 1995:10). In addition, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Culture Reports (1998 – 2000) recognize the role of culture in development.

In the context of the call to turn to culture as a means of generating the willing participation of people in development, the use of familiar forms of communication becomes relevant. This process implies the pulling together of artistic forms and creative resources within a community in pursuing development goals. One such creative resource is festivals, which provide opportunities for bringing together members of a community in most parts of Africa (Olasunkanmi, 2011:99). Ayakoroma (2016) observes that festivals enable us view how communities use indigenous communications, especially when other forms of communication approaches such as the media, information and communication technologies (ICTs) are difficult to access.

The use of indigenous communication forms as an alternative means of communicating development, particularly among traditional and rural societies, has long been an established practice (Omoera, 2011; Omoera & Aluede, 2011). The people's familiarity with such forms, and their accessibility, affordability and reliability, are not in doubt. Regrettably, the predominant practice has been to merely include or integrate aspects of indigenous communication forms (folk songs, musical instruments, folk music, etc.), in the scripts or communication strategies of modern communication media such as the television and radio. Rarely are the people as a community and beneficiaries of such communication messages ever involved in the design, planning, and implementation of the communication processes behind such development projects. This approach not only leaves much to be desired in terms of the adequacy of the communication of development projects, but also robs many such projects of their sustainability and indeed overall impact on the community. Consequently, the benefits of many development projects for the people have failed to be actualized.

The question is how can rural and semi-urban communities be sensitized regarding the desirability of their roles to initiate and take ownership of developmental projects and social amenities such as boreholes, roads, clinics, etc., in their own localities? How can the people be sensitized towards the maintenance and sustainability of development projects in their communities for their own greater good through folk media and participatory tools? This study explores the use of festivals as platforms for communicating development issues for greater impact and sustainability. The choice of Uhola cultural festival for the purpose of this study was informed by the fact the it engages communities at different times and within a period of four to six weeks across four local government areas of Kebbi State, Nigeria. However, this study is limited to Uhola as celebrated within five years - 2013 to 2018. The aim of this study is to show how Uhola cultural festival can be deployed as a communication platform in promoting community development. The specific objectives of this study are to: i. identify the nature of participation in Uhola cultural festival in Zuru emirate, Kebbi State; ii. evaluate the indigenous communication forms used in Uhola cultural festival; and iii. determine ways through which the indigenous communication forms used in Uhola can be utilized as communication platforms for community development in the study area.

Development has been one of the biggest agendas of nations across the globe. This has made the United Nations (UN), through its various organs and agencies, consider 'development' a priority. The UN sees development aid as an important aspect of preventing future wars and, therefore, established several bodies, under it, to take care of various aspects of development in the world. Such bodies include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), among others.

After World War II, several theories have determined the nature of communication strategies used in development implementation. In the post-World War II period, theoretical ideology was formed based on the modernization paradigm. This ideology tried to resolve Third World problems by facilitating the transformation through information transmission in mass media (Rogers, 1976). Up to the 1960s, development was conceived as a process of modernization modelled on the industrialized societies of the North. The major concern then was to reduce the gap between the North and the South. Largely, development meant the intensive application of scientific technology, specialization of labour, the interdependence of markets, large concentrations of capital, and rising levels of material well-being (Ward & Rustow, 1964). The implication of this was that development meant informed contact with the outside world, a sense of personal efficacy, and the openness of opinion and readiness for social change (Inkeles & Smith, 1974).

After the 1960s, however, strong oppositions to the modernization paradigm led to the emergence of an alternative theoretical model known as the dependency theory. Scholars in Africa, Latin America and other parts of the third world blamed countries of the North for the state of underdevelopment in the South. They see development from different perspectives. For instance, Nyerere (1997: 58-60) perceives development as "increasing people's freedom." Freedom was seen as having three dimensions, as follows:

as national freedom, as freedom from hunger, disease and poverty, and as personal freedom for individuals, which includes the freedom to live in dignity and equality, freedom of speech, and freedom to participate. By the 1970s, scholars further saw development from another perspective. For instance, Rogers (1976) sees development as a participatory process of social change in a society intended to bring about social and material advancement. This includes greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities for most of the people through their gaining control over their environment. Unique to Rogers' definition is the emphasis on the endogenous dimension of development.

Rodney (1972) conceives of development as a many-sided process in which material well-being is the goal at the level of the individual, the achievement of which is very much tied to the state of society. In line with this, the Mexican Nobel Prize winner Octavio Paz describes development as an act of opening out 'that which is rolled up, to unfold, to grow freely and harmoniously' (Octavio, 1997: 286). According to Oladipo (1996:1) the term 'development' refers to the "process of economic and social advancement which enables people to realize their potentials, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment." This means that development is a process geared towards making people free from the evils of want, ignorance, social injustice, and economic exploitation.

The Emergence of Participatory Approaches

Over time, new communication approaches evolved, and they recognized specific human culture and audience-active approaches, instead of the linear and top-down communication approaches to communication. Besides, the concern of these new approaches to communication was not only about economic and political change but also about the participation of the people in the development process. These approaches emphasized the need for dialogue between the development agents and the community (Melkote, 1991). Servaes (1995) notes that these approaches "stress the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all levels, international, national local and individual."

One of the major proponents of participatory development was Robert Chambers. In his work, Chambers (1993) strongly analyses top-down theories of development and contended that had two main problems: specialization and scholarly isolationism. His argument is that these deficiencies have caused an unacceptable stifling of intellectual creativity resulting in failure to allow the meaningful inclusion of indigenous experience and knowledge. Taking his argument further, Chambers (1993:9) submits that "[d]evelopment has been seen as a process of growth stimulated by transfer of technology, a transfer in one direction, from rich and powerful to poor and weak, from first to last." The advantages of participatory approaches to communication are, therefore, evident. In the first place, these approaches promote understanding of the diversity and plurality of beneficiaries of development initiatives. They also make it possible for development of planers or agents to enlist the collaboration, commitment, and trust of beneficiaries as well as build capacity that will ensure sustainability (Bessette & Rajasundera, 1996).

The Recognition of Culture in Development

In the wake of the search for alternative communication strategies or approaches that ensure more effective mobilization of communities towards participation in the process of development, the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD) launched

a bold call for action to the international community to view culture not only as a 'means' of development, but as an important 'end' in its own right. The position of WCCD on culture is contained in a document report known as "our creative diversity" (Perez de Cuellar, 1995:10).

Since then, scholars have attempted to define culture in different ways. Some scholars view culture as nothing more than entertainment, entailing only music, singing and dancing (Ayoade 1989: 5). Others conceive culture to be the totality of a people's way of life and seen in the material and non-material aspects of their lives, such as values, beliefs, thoughts, clothing, feelings, and customs (Ukeje, 1992:14). Similarly, Madzingira (2001) contends that culture is the totality of human endeavours in time and place. He understands culture as being what gives people their identity and dignity. In the same vein, Olasunkanmi, (2011:99) conceives that communities across Africa have various cultural forms that lend themselves to being means of achieving development. He also observes that

> culture plays a significant role in human development; cultural events, festivals, theatrical events, concerts, and dances are all meeting places. They are places of exchange between peoples having different traditions and give different cultural groups the opportunity to express themselves, to show off their wealth and beauty, and to be acknowledged and respected by others.

Festivals are an important aspect of culture, and havebecome a global industry because of their economic, socio-cultural, and political significance in many nations today (Crompton, 1994:33-43). Olaniyan, (2014:327) posits that in most parts of Africa festivals are communal celebrations or gatherings that communicate or mark events or situations. In this regard, we can infer those festivals are part of a community's culture and customs and that they promote social cohesion by binding communities together in lifelong partnerships. Manukonda (2013:6) also stresses that 'indigenous cultural festivals are part of the social life of the people and that they define communal and moral values." This means that these indigenous art forms serve as vehicles of communicating community values, beliefs and norms. Thus, indigenous communication forms like songs, dances, poetic expressions, folklores, signs, symbols, and other cultural performances are useful in mobilizing members of the community to engage with each other beyond the artificial restrictions that divide people in contemporary society.

In Nigeria, many communities hold annual community festivals to celebrate their cultures. These festivals are deeply enshrined as part of community traditions and practices. They are vehicles through which cultural traditions and practices are transmitted via performances and exhibitions. These festivals promote intercultural understanding and express the rich and diverse cultural expressions in various communities in Nigeria (Omoera, 2011). Uhola is one of such festivals in northern Nigeria. It is marked at the end of an agricultural cycle. The festival, which annually brings the people of the Zuru emirate together to share a common identity, presents opportunities for creating avenues for dialogues about and sharing ideas for development.

Theoretical Fortification

This study hinges on two theories, namely the Cultural Identity Theory (CIT) by Collier

and Thomas (1988) and the Democratic-Participant Media Theory (DPMT) expounded by Denis McQuail (1983). The CIT deals with how individuals use communicative processes to construct and negotiate their cultural group identities and relationships in particular contexts. The theory assisted this study in understanding how individuals use communicative processes to construct and negotiate their cultural group identities and relationships in particular contexts. On the other hand, the DPMT guided the study. Essentially, this theory emphasizes the need for individuals and minority groups to be able to lay their claim on their right to access to the media and their right to have their needs served by the media. This theory has helps establish a basis for and the relevance of grassroots participation in developing media content. In particular, it forms a basis for considering festivals or indigenous communication forms instead of those of conventional media that are strictly owned, controlled, and regulated by concerned professionals.

The point of convergence for the two theories, first, is in extrapolating the concept of Cultural Identity (CIT) and how people identify with, understand, and comprehend the various enactments, symbols, negotiations within a particular social group or cultural setting. A shared identity implies that those who belong can interpret meaning of signs, songs, names, labels, and norms within the context of their culture. This enables the study to establish the need for minority for groups or communities to lay their claim on their right to create, or access media that serves their needs, as held by the Democratic-Participant Media Theory. In this regard, indigenous communication forms, which are interactive and participatory, could serve a given community or cultural setting. It is possible for members of such a group to connect them since they are part of their cultural

identity.

Methodological Considerations

This study adopted quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, in which a questionnaire, a key informant interview (KII) and a focus group discussion (FGD) were used. The survey was conducted between March and September, 2018. In the case of the quantitative instrument, a sample population of 382 respondents were drawn from the entire population of Zuru Local Government Area (LGA), which stood at 197,834, calculated at an annual growth of 2% (Girma, 2018). The technique for sampling for key informant interview (KII) and focus group discussion (FGD) were purposive in nature. Thus, the researchers interviewed a total of seven (7) key informants. Regarding FGD, two (2) focus groups were used, which comprised two persons from each of the six districts to represent the six distinct communities that celebrate Uhola cultural festival. Library and internet sources were also used in this research. The data collected using the questionnaire was analysed using simple percentage tables and charts for clear presentation of data. Data collected from the KII and FGD were analysed using thematic content analysis. They were used to confirm findings obtained using the questionnaire.

Discussion of findings

In line with objectives of this study, qualitative data was used to confirm trends, patterns and perceptions obtained from the quantitative data. Textual testimonies, views, and perceptions of respondents were directly quoted or paraphrased to explain, support, or clarify patterns and perceptions in the study.

Table 1.0: To Ascertain the Nature of Community Participation in Uhola Festival in Zuru Emirate

SN		SA	A	U	D	SD
2	Uhola is a major annual festival celebrated by most communities in Zuru Emirate, Kebbi State.	74.9% (286)	23.3% (89)	1.1% (04)	0.5% (02)	0.2% (01)
3	The celebration of Uhola festival promotes indigenous and communality in Zuru Emirate	53.1% (203)	43.2 (165)	1.8% (07)	2.1% (05)	0.5% (02)
4	Uhola festival does not discriminate; women, men and children are included in the celebrations and events	60.5% (231)	35.3% (135)	2.1% (08)	1.3% (06)	0.5% (02)
5	Uhola festival does not discriminate against persons on religious grounds; various segments of society participate irrespective of their religious affiliations.	32.5% (124)	48.7% (202)	4.2% (22)	7.9% (30)	0.5% (04)
	Uhola festival attracts participation within Kebbi State and other neighbouring states like Niger, Sokoto and Zamfara States.	38% (145)	53.9% (190)	5.8% (16)	5.76% (22)	2.3% (09)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Key:

SA: Strongly Agree

A: Agree

U: Undecided

D: Disagree

SD: Strongly Disagree

Table 2.0: Indigenous Communication Systems used in Uhola Cultural Festival

S/N	FOLK MEDIA	VE	E	FE	I	VI
6	Songs	75% (287)	18% (72)	5.2% (21)	0.0% (00)	0.1% (02)
7	Town criers	35% (134)	45% (173)	12% (44)	3.1% (20)	0.3% (11)
8	Drums & other musical instruments, e.g., horn, flutes, local guitar (molo)	68% (231)	23% (114)	3 % (21)	2% (11)	02% (05)
12	Dance	62% (236)	23% (86)	12% (46)	0.2% (09)	0.1% (05)
14	The market/village square	48% (182)	36% (139)	14.5% (38)	11.5% (18)	0.2% (05)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Key:

VE: Very Effective

E: Effective

FE: Fairly Effective

I: Ineffective

VI: Very Ineffective

Table 3.0: Deployment of Uhola Festival as a tool for Community Development

	FOLK MEDIA	SA	A	U	D	SD
15	Folk art, like Uhola festival promotes development-oriented massages within and outside the context of Uhola performances.	59% (225)	35% (134)	3% (11)	2% (09)	0.1%(03)
16	Town criers are very useful in information dissemination on issues that concern community development.	53% (203)	38% (146)	7% (25)	0.2%(07)	0.1%(01)

17	The Community arena/ traditional city/ruler's compound (Ile) provide forum for exchange of information, mobilization and dialogue between community members, participants, gatekeepers, and the public.	56% (215)	39% (148)	3% (11)	0.1%(03)	1.% (05)
18	Drums & other musical instruments, e.g., horns, flutes, local guitar (molo) are means through which community members are informed, sensitized and mobilized towards participation in community development.	54% (208)	40% (152)	3% (11)	2.4% (08)	1.6%(03)
19	Chants and other performances convey development-oriented messages, are understood by community members and lead to community participation.	33% (127)	53% (204)	7% (25)	5% (20)	2.1% (06)

Source: Field Survey, 2018

Key:
SA: Strongly Agree
A: Agree
U: Undecided
D: Disagree
SD: Strongly Disagree

From Table 1.0, above, it is possible to project that Uhola Cultural Festival can serve as a platform for communication or mobilization for community participation in community development. Thus, Uhola festival, which is the major cultural festival in the Zuru emirate, can be used as a platform for communication for development in the area under investigation, and by extension in most parts of Nigeria where such festivals exist. This conclusion is based on the empirical fact emerging from the data discussed and analysed in this study, which shows that 286 respondents (74.9%) strongly agreed and 89 of the respondents (23.3%) agreed that Uhola is famously celebrated by the members of the communities in Zuru LGA. Similarly, 203 (53.1%) respondents and 165 (43.2%) respondents strongly agreed and agreed, respectively, that the celebration of the Uhola festival promotes indigenous and communal participation in the Zuru emirate. As well, 321 respondents (60.5%) and 135 respondents (35.3%) believed that the festival does not discriminate against men, women, and children. This result affirms that the festival is an key catalyst for community participation cum development. The capacity of the festival to attract spectacle and the participation of different segments of the society in Zuru LGA, other parts of the Zuru emirate, and indeed, other communities in the neighbouring states of Kebbi, like Sokoto, Zamfara and Niger, underscores its potency as an instrument for communicating development. This fact is substantiated by results from the study, which indicate that 145 respondents (38%) and 190 respondents (53%) respectively, agreed that Uhola attracts spectacle and participation within Kebbi State and other neighbouring states. The Executive Chairman, Zuru LGA, one of the key informants interviewed, further explained the nature of participation in Uhola, saying,

> The elders of each community; every community has elders, and these are made up of priests, traditional title holders and a community leader. There is a laid down pattern already. Every participant knows his role. The family,

artists (Wenne), elders in the ancient or traditional city settlements, etc know their roles and perform them accordingly during the festival. However, His Royal Highness and his Council annually appoint a planning committee, which is charged with the responsibility of organizing Uhola at a wider or national scope. This is usually after each community has celebrated its own Uhola. At the community level, almost every youth, boys and girls participate. They participate in Yadato dance, wrestling, singing and dancing, popularly known as s'molo (local guitar), meeting the opposite sex at the village square, etc. Elders in the community do the ritual to thank God for a bountiful harvest and pray for the community. They also ensure families present their young ones before the community leader for recognition. It is through this that each young man or woman knows his/her age mate, preparatory to Golmo or marriage. (Translated interview with Zuru LGA Chairman, on 2nd April, 2018)

Table 2.0 ascertains the second objective, which seeks to interrogate the effectiveness of indigenous communication systems/platforms. That is, to ascertain their effectiveness in facilitating communication for development. The study reveals that 75% of the respondents affirmed to its being very effective. As such, these indigenous communication forms are useful as communication tools for the festival and for disseminating the developmental message(s) in Zuru LGA and indeed the Zuru emirate. The positive responses attracted by the listed indigenous communication forms show that they are not only effective, but have been used and understood, over the years, for communication

in the community. Since these musical instruments are integral to the success of the festival, this implies that they can be deployed as a means of disseminating community development messages in the study area. The Galadima of Rikoto, one of the key informants, gave a more in-depth insight into the role and effectiveness of indigenous communication forms, observing that

[t]he public gets to know about the festival, usually, at the community's market. A town crier is sent by the community leader to announce the date for Uhola. Having announced it at the market square, everybody in the community will know. Songs; we have different kinds of song. Women, boys, girls, men have their songs. They sing about issues in the community. Of particular interest is the local guitar, called molo. This is absolutely for boys. These boys, kind of, have a license to sing about anybody or any issue, without inhibition. In fact, some of their compositions, especially about vices, last long. These kinds of songs may follow their subjects even to the grave. So also, are songs by women; they capture the happenings of the times. In addition, we have the town crier, and every community leader has his own. Hmm, we also have folk artists, called Wenne (Pl.). Folk artists have a long-standing and well-established trade in Lelna culture. They are usually hired by families or clans to provide the music and dance that convey the occupation, achievements, virtues and values of the family or clan. Some of their compositions could last a lifetime. For instance, if a person sleeps with his neighbour's wife, the folk artist may compose songs around the

man and his adulterous behaviour, which could be sang several years later, or even on the day he dies. (Translated interview with the Galadima of Rikoto, on 10 May 2018)

Finally, Table 3.0 is concerned with the objective that deals with ways through which the Uhola can be deployed as a tool for community development. The empirical data shows that the festival can serve a potent platform to mobilize and facilitate community development. The 59% and 35% of the respondents, who strongly agreed and agreed that the folk art can serve as a prominent tool for disseminating community development message(s) and would best be understood by the community members, are proof that the cultural festival can double both as a means of preserving the culture of the community and a means to facilitate the development process of the communities in Zuru LGA and the Zuru emirate generally.

The comment by K'bara, the chief town crier of Dabai District, one of the key informants in this study, further supports the findings above that Uhola can be deployed as a tool for community development. K'bara claimed, "Perhaps, I think this is possible, especially when we can win the local artists and Yadato prospects to compose songs with messages that could mobilize community members to participate in community development. Our people still respect and cherish our culture. We hold, in high esteem, our traditional institutions. Therefore, when it comes to community development, these traditional rulers will be relevant. Since community members respect them, our traditional rulers are used to mobilize the entire community towards community development" (Translated interview with the chief town crier, K'bara of Dabai, on 13th May 2018).

Consequently, it may be safe to conclude that Uhola holds promise for communication for community development in the study area. This position is supported by the comment of a key informant, the Executive Chairman, Zuru LGA, who observed that

[s]ince it (Uhola festival) is an annual event ...we can use the period of the festival to identify and plan community development. We are lucky the communities that celebrate Uhola in the Local Government are distinct and they include Dabai, Rikoto, RafinZuru, Senchi, Manga and Ushe communities. Traditionally, they are also identified as districts within the Emirate. We can plan and execute development in Zuru Local Government in line with these segmented levels. Uhola does not only provide us with an opportunity to celebrate, but an important avenue to mobilize these communities for development. (Translated interview with Zuru LGA Chairman, on 2nd April 2018).

In view of the foregoing discussion, Uhola is widely celebrated in Zuru LGA of Kebbi State and the Zuru emirate generally. The celebration of Uhola, which is annual in nature, brings the people and their neighbours together in communal celebration. The festival is celebrated at two levels: the level of the community and collectively, at the emirate level. Each of the six major communities marks the festival earlier than the emirate-wide Uhola. At the community level, the festival is marked between December and February annually, while the emirate wide is usually marked in March or April. The Emir of Zuru, who was one of the respondents in the KII conducted in the course of this study, captured the participatory nature of Uhola, saying,

Participation is open to everybody. We particularly impress upon our sons and daughters living outside the Emirate to come home during the festival. Then, each chiefdom or district, in the Emirate, can present its unique cultural heritage. We have different ethnic groups in the Emirate. Major among them are Dakarkari (Lelna), Dukawa, Kambari, Fakkawa, Kelawa, and Kastinawa in Wasagu Chiefdom. These ethnic groups present their unique cultural heritage during the festival. Even other tribes such as the Hausa, Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, etc participate in our Uhola. They also could display their culture and traditional performances. (Translated interview with HRH, the Emir of Zuru, on 15th April 2018)

Like Uhola, most festivals in Nigeria are participatory and celebrated periodically. Some of these festivals are universal in nature, while others are unique and peculiar to their cultural settings. Festival celebrations like Christmas; the Muslim religious festivals, Sallah or Eidel Kabir and Eidel Fitri; traditional wedding/naming ceremonies; traditional durbar processions; and several cultural festivals found in most communities in Nigeria do not only bring members of communities together in the spirit of merriment, but are avenues for various forms of social exchanges. These festivals involve various forms of folk art like songs, music, storytelling, and dance.

The opportunities these festivals present in terms of bringing members of the society together, could be used to facilitate the sharing of ideas, the integration of people across the different strata of the community, and the enabling discussion on challenges that threaten the wellbeing of people at the community level. Therefore, as people from different strata come together to celebrate Uhola, opportunities can lead to dialogue about emerging visions that promote wellbeing at community levels. Again, specific development programmes can be built and incorporated into these local festivals. In the context of cultural identity theory, indigenous media forms are cultural resources borne out of indigenous knowledge, experience, and expression passed down from generation to generation. This theory further suggests that folk art (songs, rhythms, dance, stories, beats, etc.), contain a strong sense of cultural identity, which in them is not only acceptable, but also more meaningful to the people. In view of this, these creative and artistic energies, which are acceptable to members of the community, could lead to continuous awareness creation. In this regard, festivals provide another alternative means to stimulate discussions and emphasize the need for a community-based approach in identifying issues and creating action plans towards solutions.

Development agents may find the festival period useful in creating a framework for communities in the study area to define themselves through performances such as dance, songs, stories, which instigate discussions on community development challenges experienced in community. This creates space for every person in the community to participate, leading to harness every contribution towards developing solutions for collective community action. Another way in which the Uhola festival could be used, findings of this study suggest, relates to the use of indigenous communication forms (songs, dance, storytelling, the town crier, musical instruments, etc). Indigenous communication forms like songs, dances, poetic expressions, folklores, signs, symbols, and other performances can mobilize members of the community to engage with each

other. This engagement transcends the cultural function of Uhola. For instance, youths performing the rites of passage (yadato), youths/children who sing/dance using the local guitar (molo), women, elders, clan leaders, etc., who often turn out for Uhola, could be made to create songs, act performances, tell stories, etc., based on key concerns in community Development. This could take place while performing at the family/clan level, on the streets as Uhola contingents march through the town to their ancient cities (Ile) or when they converge at the community square/traditional ruler's palace. Thus, the Uhola festival enables the prioritization of locally and readily available creative and artistic energies acceptable to members of the community to generate willing participation of people within specific community contexts.

Family units/clans, the town crier (k'bara), youths being prepared for the rites of passage (yadato), traditional rulers/titleholders, women, youths, community-based organizations, etc. are available community human resources, which can be mobilized to promote appropriate participation in community development. These community-based resources are potential partners in community development project implementation. At the community square, when families/clans present their sons or daughters, who qualify to perform the rites of passage, or yadato, a development facilitator may use the occasion to steer community members towards need and resource identification in Community development process. It is, therefore, possible for development planners and communication experts to use opportunities such arts events and festivals provide to more effectively reach or engage rural and semi-urban populations where the media or other western-based participatory approaches cannot.

The following are the data analysis's key findings:

i. our understanding is deepened by the fact that festivals, which are found in most parts of Nigeria, provide alternative routes for communication that promote greater participation, dialogue, critical thinking, and sustainable action on issues associated with a community's wellbeing and development;

ii. that indigenous communication systems or forms (folk art: songs, the town crier, musical instruments, etc) are effective in facilitating communication for development. The study revealed that 75% of the respondents affirmed to it being very effective;

iii. the study has established that festivals provide opportunities where ordinary folks are engaged in creating their communication media that will ensure development initiatives leverage on their imaginative constructions, local knowledge, and are to the people's cultural environment. iv. festivals, which are often periodic (annual, seasonal, or periodic), can provide opportunities for Monitoring and Evaluation on a regular basis. From the study, the Uhola festival, like many other festivals in Nigeria, is observed annually in the study area.

Conclusion

This study has been able to establish a relationship between the use of these artistic performances, songs, dance, music, and the need to engage communities to participate in their development. Instead of singing songs that are culture-bound, themes that convey development issues or messages could be used as means of engaging communities in their development. The study provides new insights into how development planners and communication experts can effectively reach or engage rural and semi-urban populations

by utilizing indigenous communication forms in such ways that they guarantee the inclusion of ordinary folks in collectively creating their communication media. This will ensure development initiatives leverage on their imaginative constructions, local knowledge and one that is adapts or conforms to the people's cultural environment. The study has deepened the understanding of the link(s) between people's cultural practices and their potentials in galvanizing participation in development.

From the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

i. those that plan and implement development programmes at the local, state, and national level should consider using music, dance, songs, the town crier, and the community dialogue as means of communication. Specifically, agencies such as the Zuru Local Government Council of Kebbi State, Kebbi State Community Social Development Project (CSDP) engaged in community development projects such as provision wells and boreholes, construction of drainages and feeder roads, maintenance of public health and educational facilities, etc, will find the occasion of the Uhola festival useful in engaging communities towards taking charge of their development. This will stimulate the emotive and critical reactions of community members and spectators;

ii. development planners, communication experts, local authorities, emirs, donor agencies, etc to consider scaling up the opportunities that festivals provide to more effectively reach or engage rural and semi-urban populations where the media could not;

iii. the celebration of festivals could be made to go beyond merrymaking or their cultural functions to provide avenues for communication for development;

iv. development planners should critically consider using indigenous cultural festivals to provide avenues for engaging communities, on a regular basis, and complementing ongoing media efforts in communicating issues of development in Nigeria.

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Cybertech: Towards a Virtual Theatre for Development

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Abstract

The models and methods of Theatre for Development (TfD) have been advancing and changing to accommodate the demands of the present. Attempts have been made to develop or reform the existing models and methods for more effectiveness. But because of its rigid nature, TfD has not been able to align to the developmental strides in terms of medium of broadcast and audience participation as regards technological shifts in practice and in models. The necessity to overcome these constraints and challenges and to place TfD in a globally accepted pedestal especially in this era of covid-19 and post covid-19

challenges makes the embracing of technology a necessity. Interrogating this problem, this paper argues to loosen TfD's interactivity to broaden its audience-participation in a continuous co-presence as opposed to its current just audience performer interactions. The aim is to see how TfD and virtual theatre can effectively be married to birth a mediatized platform that is capable of reaching audiences in the comfort of their homes. The objective is through community participations to inculcate in the people the imaginative ability and skills to invent and proffer solutions to their problems. To achieve this, new media theory is applied as a theoretical framework. Considering their research as experimental, the Researchers employed a mixed method for data collection and evaluations which was comprised of qualitative and quantitative approaches, offering opportunities for case studies, participatory action research, and content analysis. The study discovered that streaming of a TfD project expands the viewership to a wider audience than just the stage performance and also solves the problems of the host communities, thereby leaving communities better than they were. It concludes that if TfD is to survive and remain relevant in a technologically changing world, practitioners must embrace the proposed (and needed) technological resources and expertise.

Keywords: Cybertech-theatre, Covid-19, Cyber-mediated TfD, Participation, New media theory.

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Introduction

Before the 21st century's revolution in cybernetic and internet mediated theatre and performance, rising insecurity in the world and the desire to stay home birthed a 'cyber world' manifested in virtual learning (online education), e-library, digitalization, cyberspace, etc. This situation also focused attention on live performances created with multiple interfaces such as video, interactive and immersive elements which provided broader approaches to Theatre for Development (TfD), created an improved 'edutainment' world with inter and multi-disciplinary cultures, and transferred knowledge to various fields. This raises the question how has TfD been aligned to these cyber worlds and calls for more experiments in cyber mediated TfD, space, time and virtual broadcasting to take place to determine whetherTfD can be performed interactively with the help of computers and will create immersive relations with the real world that are not in opposition but demonstrate a refined attraction between equals.

Currently, there is a serious search for a TfD model and a practical form that would be unrestricted, bridge protocols and be TfD's adventure into 'cybernetics' practice(s), with a touch of modernity. Such introductions of cybertech-theatre offer rebranding that acts as a launch pad for a new form of Theatre for Development that could accommodate live or video streaming, collective playmaking, and problem solving, research, in an experimental approach for social change. This Theatre would be a melding of Virtual Theatre and stage performances in a dedicated environment in which the Internet; the performance, and the streaming software represent the enabling technologies. Its process would equip the audience to watch TfD performances in the privacy of their homes and act as a virtual innovation for sustainable TfD development in a pandemic imposed lockdown. As Charles Nwadigwe remarks,

[o]bservations of current trends in the performing arts show that the modern theatre benefits immensely from the increasing advances in science and technology. This trend, a response to the global digital march, has virtually turned the 21st century performance art into a designer's theatre characterized by electronic gadgetry… 'theatre historians now look upon the introduction of the computer into the theatre as event rivaling the importance of the introduction of electricity…the computer offers an even greater potential for theatrical creativity. (40)

Recognising the danger of this situation, Patrick-Jude Oteh laments in *The Sun*, "those of us in the entertainment industry have been running haphazardly because we feel that our profession is endangered. A lot of us have the impression that we are in a deeper crisis than other professions principally because we are in occupation that thrives on human interaction." There is indeed an urgent need to devise a model and a method of practice to arrest this ugly situation. This proposal for a Virtual Theatre for Development also addresses the need for an appropriate TfD to meet the challenges of the current global pandemic that Oteh and others have recognised. Arguing that performative and theatrical alignments would enable such a TfD remain relevant in the globally challenging pandemic era, this new model of practice takes into consideration the WHO's advocacy for social distancing and other preventive standards while proposing that theatre for development and virtual theatres be synchronized to form a new theatre that will accommodate participation in presence absence. Participation in presence absence entails watching and participating not in the present of the stage but on the online, in a cyber-world.

Overview of Some Novel and Existing Theatre (TfD) Theories

Iin their bid to devise new methods and models for an effective TfD practice, theatre and TfD practitioners have devised a plethora of theatre models. For instance, Saint Gbileka sees, 'radical theatre' as a kind of protest theatre against the Western intrusion and distortion into our way of life, while Ukala, advocates "the tendency to base African performances" in their roots and lifestyles using the story telling techniques (laws of aesthetic response) or other method for conveying their message. Jide-Timothy Asobele theorizes what he calls 'mobilization theatre,' a theatre for development that creates support for the government in power. According to Asobele, the popular (mobilization) theatre will help the officials of Director of Road and Rural Infrastructure (DRFRI) implement a process of socialization and to ensure that they thoroughly assimilate a rural developmental philosophy, the governments, commissioners, permanent secretaries, etc should also be mobilized and made to supervise theatre groups (119).

The practices and the collaborative efforts of Steve Ogah and Ross Kidd brought skilled facilitators to champion procedures and methodologies in the practice of TfD. Their efforts gave birth to so many theories and methodologies in the practice of Theatre for Development, like 'message based theatre for development' (MTfD), 'participatory theatre for development' (PTfD). Their approach challenged the practitioner to move into the village empty-handed and work with the host community in a creative and collaborative way. There is also Ngugi's university travelling theatre in Kenya, operating with the same aim of taking theatre to the rural folks. In Uganda, this type of theatre

involved more of an already made play whose themes were woven around HIV-AIDS with a lot of sponsors from the NGO's. In Uganda, this is called a 'campaign theatre'. There are also other dramatic forms of this nature: popular theatre in Tanzania, Jane Plastow's theatre of education in Eritrea; and advocacy theatre in Ethiopia, among others.

Nigeria's prence is felt in other countries in Africa where TfD is practised. Its pioneer production was performed by the "sub-department of drama at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, in 1977 under the leadership of Michael Etherton" (Alachi 1). Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria experiments and workshops worked together with the villagers in research, data gathering and analysis, play-making, and the performance. These procedures and methodologies are dynamic in the area of choice of theme, choice of host community and community participation. However, we found some to be outdated or overused. The need for new modus operandi is not for one that is entirely new but for one that is a reformation and reconstruction of the old with a little addition of current trends for a paradigm shift. Prentkil has observed that

> [t]here is now something of a crisis in the application of TfD which can only be confronted successfully by repositioning it within the radical discourse emerging in the area of… promotion of indigenous knowledge by deconstruction of its aesthetics in order that it can operate within a poetics that is responsive to the contemporary crisis, both local and global. (102)

Most recent but not without prior existence is drive-in-theatre in Abuja and Lagos of Agozie Ugwu, Jerry Adesewo, Biodun Rasheed Ifafore, Charles Okpaleke, to mention a few. Okpaleke's performance was a drive-in-concert, a mix of DJ and musicians. Ifafore was both indoors and outdoors. According to Agozie Ugwu, "Drive-in-theatre is to change the narrative amidst the pandemic…drive-in in your car, relax in your car, we'll serve you whatsoever you want in your car and you watch a play in your car." The drive-in theatre by Agozie Ugwu featured plays like, Ola Rotimi's *Grip Am*. The aim: is to respond to the current reality of the performing arts sector in the wake of the covid-19 pandemic… the production was an experiment to provide therapeutic outlet and job opportunities for actors and audiences, in addition to figure out means to continue business regardless of the pandemic" (qtd. in Essien). This theatre is usually a stage performance watched in their cars at the venue of the performance by the audience or a kind of digitalized projection of film in case of Drive-in-Cinema. This new theatre shall be different and without the need for people to travel or drive far distance to watch a performance and different and unique in its operational models.

Towards a Virtual Theatre for Development

This new theatre for development shall be called cybertech-theatre. The cognomen gives it a brand and autonomy that differentiates it from other, similar or related theatre studies while transmitting that cybertch-theatre is a model and communication tool for interaction in physical and virtual environments. Vsevolod Meyerhold' calls this form "a cinematification of the theatre" (254). The coalescing of cyber space and technology (cybertech) into a single word infers a macrocosmic representation of features which the internet, streaming technology and this TfD encompasses. This, by implication, defines a space created in the virtual environment by the technology which offers people not

present in the performance venue the opportunity to watch, interact, and share opinions. Inversely, a flow of digital signal through the physical stage in networked computers create a live online broadcast.

Cyber-tech-theatre's compound form marks it an engrossing cyber (online) technology (machines) theatre for development (improvised skit for social change) that makes for a communal and participatory theatre anchored in research, improvisation, and performance geared towards social change. This theatre is not entirely new but a resuscitation and re-branding of the old culture with a touch of modernity. This theatre provides the rural or village people the opportunity to learn some creative and play making skills. The community members who have volunteered to be participants are privileged to develop inborn skills and afterwards, offer solutions for social change.

The improvised recorded drama skit becomes cyber-tech-theatre as it is live streamed through a live channel to an audience who may or not be present or not part of the improvisation process. This theatre can be held indoors, outdoors, on a raised platform, in a village square, in a market square, in an open field, under a tree, etcetera, depending on the nature and structure of the community's environment. The physical stage and the TfD project are most important elements, for without them there could be no cybertech-theatre. This physical space or stage is the breeding ground for the performance. It is that venue where the rehearsals, meetings, interactions and collaborations, and research, conscientization take place. This stage is mobile, fluid, and shapeless. It can assume any shape or form during performances, since the performances are always improvised. These stages, like every other theatre stage, serve as the raw materials to the virtual space.

Cybertech-theatre is a theatre that is geared for societal development, behavioral change, and community transformation through interactive participation, research and performances, using live streaming technologies as technique for impartation. Asobelle calls it a "theatre (that) stimulates their imagination and enables them to seek new strategies and solutions to old problems" (133). This theatre must take place in dual locations, virtually and physically. It must be done simultaneously depending on the host communities' knowledge of social media. The physical is the performer and audience coming together in flesh and blood and in a physical space to co-interact and perform while the virtual is the mediated presentation of human actions in the virtual world. This is exemplified in the below channel (Avant-Garde TV 24 https://www.youtube.com). The human interactions and participation is embedded in this channel.

Cybertech-Theatre as Multi-Media and its Aesthetics

The multi-media nature of this theatre is found in various elements that make up the theatrical performance, the kinetic, the ideology, and the cyber-world (Avant-Garde TV 24, https://www.youtube.com), as well as the verbal rendition of lines by the participants or actors. The cyber world is that mediated space between the stage and the screen usually created through Instagram, YouTube, Periscope, Facebook, Twitter enabled phones or laptops. But in more complex and professional dimensions, the encoders, like Terradek (San Diego), Dacast (London, Beijing) and CDN (content delivery network), etc., is used to mediate a virtual world. The virtual world becomes an online stage, which exists through a transmission of the realistic stage experience in the internet. The technological mechanism receives its signal by capturing fits materials rom the physical stage and transmitting them to Avant-Garde TV 24 (https://www.youtube.com) channel, the

streaming point. The streaming offers the finished product of the project to the audience. This, in turn ,offers the audience the opportunity to contribute, be part of the performance, and interact with the people during and after the performance online, using the interface and dash board navigation panel.

This dash board notifies the facilitator of the access to audience consumption time, viewers per time, consumption per location and how many people are online at a time. Given the numerous and variety of cameras and capture devices, encoders available, the breadth of technical setup becomes multi-faceted as the content creators, ranging from a single-camera setup to a much larger multi-camera productions with switches, require know-how and technical understanding. But in all, it is the most effective way to transmit performance in pandemic-torn areas. In cybertech-theatre, the virtual space does not exist unless it is created by the output of the physical stage or space. But the virtual stage is quintessential to this theatre because the performance itself is consumed more in virtual world than via the physical stage and sustains theatre in the time of pandemic. For syncretism, the physical and virtual stage run concurrently, so both can make inroads into their various audiences. In short, cybertech-theatre exists in two worlds: the physical and the virtual. These parts may operate simultaneously or not but are dependently functional during the operation, producing the multiple interactions needed within the audience. Thus, cybertech-theatre is a way of proposing a paradigm and a model for new practices in TfD.

Components and Technicalities in Cybertech-Theatre

The component is live streaming while the technicalities are ways of setting up a streaming platform. This involves the direct capturing of video content, transmitted to an audience, and the process involved. Cybertech-theatre is not all about performances or skits but everything about its components: the technologies involved, community cultural values, the aesthetics, and all that had happened before and after the performance. For this theatre to exist there must be a coming together of these technological gadgets and theatricality of forms managed by human beings for a collective goal:

(1)   A TfD Project

A TfD project is quintessential for the existence of cybertech-theatre. This project serves as the ombudsman of the entire process.From it every other media comes, and it is intended to empower the common man with critical consciousness. This project becomes the source of materials to be streamlined using available cameras and computers that are present in the event to capture and transfer the scene to the available streaming setup for onward transmission and consumption. The project employing the streaming applications uses the laptops as the video content switcher. This laptop creates a server base and a port. A port is a channel used to transmit information over a network interface or protocol through a push. This push receives a broadcast from a designated encoder for re-distribution across networks.

(2)   A Capture Device

A capture device is usually a video grabber, switcher or directly capturing device like camera or mobile phone. These devices capture the event and then send or transfer to the streaming technologies for proper dissemination. It is left for the practitioner to decide which method of capturing could be most suitable. Whether the sources

are multiple or single,the practitioner must use a mixed–audio consisting of video and sound. This device allows for transmission of the physically captured video to the electronic platform.

(3) An Encoder, OBS, Broadcast Platform or a Host Domain

An encoder is a technological device that pushes out your skit to the audience online using any broadcasting platform of your choice. The broadcasting platform or a host domain is like a publishing website where viewers can sign in to view the events. YouTube, Facebook Lite, and Twitter have been active in this service but are never the best for professional streamers. The DaCast, Ustream, Bambuser, Showcaster, and many others have been perfect encoders for professional live streaming and have been recommended for Cybertech-Theatre. With this process in place, an audience or viewer can watch a video content online in a computer screen ranging from a Smartphone, through a desktop computer to a large screen over the internet, depending on the capacity of the facilitators. The live streaming content means that the viewer does not need to download the content before watching. He or she watches directly from the source. This direct watching gives Cybertech-Theatre an edge over the television's live streaming, because the television's live streaming places its audiences in the living presence of the performers, giving a living truth while television only transmits images of an assumed reality. To setup a video streaming platform is simple and straight forward: you can use your mobile phone to or computer system to stream the project. Here is the simple setup process.

(4) Video Streaming Technicalities

As earlier stated, an intending practitioner of Cybertech-Theatre needs an encoder or an OBS. To configure or setup the encoder to align with the computer system:

(1)   Run the OBS or the encoder's auto-configuration wizard to find optional setting for your computer system. This auto-configuration wizard is in built in most of the encoders for easy set-ups. All one needs to do is to click on its icon and run it through on the system, and it becomes part of your computer.

(2)   Manually adjust to a probable suggested setting the system may provide for you if the need arises.

(3)   Setup or connect your speaker or your microphone (audio system) and connect also your camera to your computer/hardware to the encoder. This is the same thing as connecting a cable on a computer or television and selecting the right option in a drop down option.

Choose your source for streaming. Then create or chose broadcasting channel. If it is in live streaming, either use an existing channel in your video host web interface or create a separate channel. At This point, you can name the new channel and write a short description of the project(s) especially a review of the skit. Use the included embedded codes and links to put the stream on your website, social media channels, or anywhere else you want. But for social media transmission, just an account with any of the following: Facebook, Twitter etc. then stream through your account. When you are done, click OK and the source of your video is automatically added.

(4)   Confirm if the setting is O.K. by switching on the computer to Connect to hardware encoder and to the service provider servers. But if you are using your phone, you do not need to connect to an encoder you just stream directly from your phone. This process is also simple. Just enter a URL, stream name, and password within your encoder. This information will be provided by the video host when you create a new live channel.

(5)   Roll the camera, start your performance and click the start button on your video host web interface.

Streaming with a single or multiple HD cameras is ideal for professional cybertech-theatre professionals. This maximizes the creative output through the use of custom pictures in a particular picture layout, source cropping, and live switching to other event at the same time. The professional cameras have different outputs and as a result of this, need little investment of time and energy at the initial stage. As long as the various elements of your system do not change, you can keep using the initial setting for each and every cybertech-theatre project. As for streaming for simultaneous broadcast to multiple server and platforms, the encoder offers additional inputs as IP like (RTMP, MMS, and HTTP). Considering the benefits, hosts like Upstream, Bambuser, Dacast, Showcaster, etc. offer white label-service (where you can insert your own branding or advert).

Audience in Cybertech-Theatre

In cybertech-theatre, the audience is dual. Those virtually connected (cybernetic audience) and physically connected (present in flesh and blood) (indigenous audience).

The indigenous audience is the actors/audience (participants in the stage performance) while the cybernetic audiences are participants in mediated forms. They are usually online. Philip Auslander acknowledges the dual existence of these audiences when she remarked; "…the performer/audience relationship in film, for instance, is thought to be mediated by the camera and the rest of the filmic apparatus; in the theatre, by contrast, this relationship is seen as direct and unmediated" (108).

An audience can be in London, another in Africa or anywhere in the world, and still be part of the performance through available paraphernalia. For the indigenous audience, "all spectators are close to all actors, the audience can smell the coffee being served on stage and observe the spaghetti as it is being swallowed" (Boal 138). This audience is comprised of "people whose total social (cultural) experience is at one with each other and with the presenters" (Enekwe14-15), free like the actor who is also like an audience. This audience validates and criticizes the performance either by approving or disapproving of the actions of the performers and propagating theatrical interaction between the performers and the performance. Similarly, cybernetic audience is that technologically separated audience who may be online watching, interacting, and criticizing while the streaming is on. The facilitator(s) always find(s) time to interact with the online audience in the course of the streaming with the intention of answering their questions and clearing their doubts. The chat room keeps the cybernetic audience active and alive throughout the process. Karhulhti calls it "participatory spectatorship" and argues that the audience is "passively consuming but actively engaging the broadcaster" (67).

This type of audience borrows extensively from Augusto Boal's 'simultaneous dramaturgy'. According to Boal,

[t]his is the first invitation made to the spectator(s) to intervene without necessitating his physical presence on stage…the discussion itself need not simply take the form of words, but should be effected through all other elements of theatrical(technological) expressions as well. (109)

The performers are not physically present on the stage performance but spatially present on the screen. Nick Couldry opines that this audience could be found, "from very small groups in chat rooms… or the liveness of a small mobile group of friends who are in continuous contact via their mobile phone through calls and texting" (356-7). In short,, there is an interaction between these audiences and the event. The cybernetic audiences participate in the project through watching and interacting during the post-performance evaluation. This is because they are not physically present in the performance venue but virtually present in either an online or mediated space reacting and responding during or after performance. This audience is unique; its members exist before and after the skit or when the performance must have ended or even when some of the indigenous audience have gone back to their homes. This is a move away from usual to unusual and from past to present, thereby giving access to people who are not from the project community to be informed about the goings on around the planet and, in so doing, share their stories and plights to the world.

Practice of Cybertech-Theatre in Selected TfD Performances

Workshop and Experimental Procedure:

Before now, a YouTube channel titled Avant Garde TV (https://www.youtube.com)

has been created by the digital artists. A month intensive training was organized for the community volunteers, and the research assistants who had been isolated for the stipulated number of days and in line with covid-19 safety measures. After their isolations, the research assistants were trained on the use of recorder for data collections, use of cameras and management while the volunteers were trained on the basic acting skills, improvisation and voice projections so as to equip them for the expected result. After the training, they were divided into two groups, the research assistants group and the actors group. Both groups worked together to generate the information and also develop the skit.

The approach was to develop a case study through involving participants especially the community members in the art of acting and proffering solutions to their problems. The workshop makes everybody a participant both in data gathering and data analysis. Here, they share their problems, experiences, develop scenarios and through improvisation, create a drama to be staged in the community for the community. Each activity is video streamed using Avant-Garde TV 24 (https://www.youtube.com) the project already created channel. This method provides the Participants opportunity to join in revisiting the communities to ascertain the effects of the performance or the project on them (follow-ups). For data collection and analysis, personal interviews, group discussion, pebble picking, head counts, and phone conversations, to mention but a few were used.

Synopsis of the Project Skit:

The improvised experimental performance regarding the incessant attacks and counter attacks of the Herdsmen in Mmiata and Iyiora Anam both communities in Anambra

West Local Government Area of Anambra State. The performance wails at the economic and social hardship the herdsmen impose on the communities especially in the area of loss of human lives and properties. Via a procession made of music, the narrator and the performing troupe usher in the performance with an introduction from the narrator. At the end of the scene, they agree to tackle this problem collectively through every means that is open to dialogue.

Subsequent movement depicts the meeting of all the communities in Anam as was summoned by the Okpala, the oldest man in the villages of Anam. The narrator who is also the spokesperson of the communities welcomes the elders and introduces the topic of the meeting. The elders are deeply worried about this development in the communities. Some elders see the situation as hindering the development of the communities. Elder II even sees the inversion as an act of sabotage by members of the community. After so many deliberations on the way forward, a resolution is reached—to send delegates to the government notifying them of the plight of Anam people in the hands of the herdsmen and the need for the herdsmen to vacate the communities of Anam. The performance ends with the audience rising to the challenge and demanding that the herders be chased out of the community through collective action and oneness. The narrator returns and concludes the performance. The play ends with jubilation and great optimism.

Analysis of the Video Streaming Technique in Drama Skit:

The skit is live or video streamed using Avant-Garde TV 24 (https://www.youtube.com) created using YouTube channel. Camera shot on one of the researchers, who doubles as the narrator, mixed to assembly of the entire community. The camera cuts to the narrator again. He, however, seeks their consent to perform. The request is granted by the entire community through their reactions. Immediately the camera pans to a group of performers, musical group dancing and singing their way to the performance venue. The music and the performers warm the audience up by acknowledging them and inviting them to join in the performance. As the music fades, and the elders sit, the camera pans to the narrator. Here, the screen becomes the unifying element of the performance. The change or the switch of camera from scene to scene reflects the shift in thought and emotions.

The camera moves to group of drummers and dancers dancing into the performance venue. As the music and dance cease, the camera focuses on the narrator who introduces, refreshes their minds and builds up suspense. At this point, the camera employs different angles and shots to heighten the effects and audio visual quality of the performance. Since the performance technique is folkloric, flexibility inform the angles through which the camera flows from scene to scene, underpinning the effects of herdsmen and the need for a solution. The video streaming at this point becomes a mirror for the community to view and assess their problems.

The transferring of beams of light from the stage to the screen surface to create picture is converted into a "filmed sequence" in a beam projected to the screen. More so, the reality of the characters representing the elders of the community and bearing their real names in the people's local dialect puts the audience at ease in understanding the whole scenario. The audience can easily understand the arguments and the decisions of the performance in line with what is applicable in the communities. This strengthens their curiosity and permits proximity-based communication in the TfD. Most of the elders'

scenes highlight the problems of the herdsmen and offer possible solutions. Each time the issue of doing away with herdsmen is mentioned, it is applauded by the audience as a positive move. This scenario becomes an extension of actions of the play's full expression of emotions on stage transferred to the screen.

Furthermore, the camera remains on the elders to capture the maximum effect of the discussions. The community agrees not to take laws into their hands and decides to send delegates to the government to notify its members of their predicament. They appoint representatives from each of the communities as delegates and challenge them to channel their community's problems to the government. Their meeting with the government yields a positive result, because it draws the attention of the leaders of the herdsmen to the situation in Anam. Part of the resolution created in the meeting with the government is that the leaders of the herdsmen are asked to withdraw from all their activities in the regions of Anam and its environs. As well, it is decided that there should be a joint committee of the herdsmen and the leaders of Anam to ensure that there is no crisis in the area.

The camera returns to the village square with the drummers leading in the delegates to the village hall. As soon as they are settled, the camera focuses on the narrator who is also the spokesperson for the delegates. The narrator tells the community what the resolutions are. The community thanks them for a job well done. They then create a security outfit to watch over the communities to forestall unnecessary attacks by the herdsmen. The community turns to jubilation and celebrations. Culture, as a way of life, is here used to portray the people as being highly gregarious. These attitudes may be seen in the performance aesthetics of speech tempos or speech mannerisms, music,

action, and inter-play. The inter-play is manifested in the aesthetic organization and the display of the entire dramatic action before an audience. These aesthetic organizations are meaningful on their own, but the artistic whole or the holistic dimension gives them more comprehension and discernment, and the streaming platform becomes an avenue for cultural archiving of societal conditions and situations of the communities. In this sense, antiquity can be accessed when the need arises, as TfD, liberated from the four wall of the stage to the screen, expands its frontiers for wider reception. The streaming shows like a drama, using various sounds, actions and exterior locations, while running straight like a stage play, using the advantage of multiple cameras to make the dialogue free flowing and a bit faster. These cameras, situated in different positions in the audience, capture the actions in real-time. Since the scenes are performed in the whole, the camera set-up allows for a free choice of angles, creating no scene breaks. The length of the streaming is 45 minutes.

The cameras, the encoder, the projector, the laptop, and the internet, are the major technological tools employed to achieve the needed streaming effects of the play. In the Herdsmen Advocacy Project, we employed two cameras, fixed and mobile. The fixed camera captured the entire scenario while the mobile or moving camera picked individual, strategic positions and angles to make sure the message and audios were not lost. The cameras intensified the realistic nature of the streaming by acting just like the audience eyes in the stage performance. The zooming, tilt, or pan of the cameras created aesthetics that strengthened the life line of the performance in a presentational simplicity.

Limitations or Challenges

The greatest challenges or limitations of would-be practitioners are finance, time, and technical knowledge of streaming applications. These practitioners must be financially equipped to acquire the necessary technologies to run the project. Aside from these, it is easy and viable to sustain TfD in lockdown periods.

Conclusion

According to the Cisco System, "[t]he demand for (streaming) video is on the rise, and businesses and content creations are faced with endless opportunities in the market" (Krings 12). These opportunities are as a result of the massive evolutions that streaming has witnessed in the past couple of years, appearing simultaneously with the covid-19 pandemic's emergence. As a new, evolving, and fast growing area, TfD should tap into the cross modal-video mediated benefits to promote its growth in a globally pandemic ravaged world and to keep theatre for development alive in this time of global restrictions of events or congregations. This theatre can survive and gain popularity by delving into issues that are most crucial to the survival of the host communities. Its contents act as educational nourishment for the entire population, when produced with content that enables audience members to identify one's period through communal participation. When this is accomplished, Cybertech-Theatre becomes an artistic construct or creative insight made to educate, entertain, and heal the society. It is quite different from Drive-in-Theatre in that you do not need to be in the venue to participate or watch the process or the performance.

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A Nativist Reading of Traditional Worship and Superstition in *Song of a Goat* and *Dilemma of a Ghost*

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Abstract

In the pre-colonial era, Africans had well organized institutions, evident in trado-religious practices, such as worship of the Supreme Being through sundry devotions to ancestral gods and other animist beliefs. With a well-defined system of governance and indigenous industries, arts, the social lives of the people can be said to have been structured and organized vis-à-vis the belief and cosmic reality of patterns lay before them either by material or immaterial practices. The ceremonies, folk songs, dances and folklores of the peoples of the continent all point to the quintessence of primordial society before colonial intrusion. However, contact with imperial Europe greatly affected and changed the lives of the people in so many ways. This paper examines how African dramatists have used

drama to regain aspects of African traditional values and universalise the distinct identity of African value systems. Values relating to the worship of gods, beliefs in ancestors, and superstition are investigated in J.P. Clark's *Song of a Goat* and Ama Ata Aidoo's *Dilemma of a Ghost*.

Keywords: Nativism, Superstition, Drama, African value system, Ghostlore.

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Introduction

In the pre-colonial era, Africans lived in organized societies, with a full knowledge of who they are and a well-defined system of doing things. They had their cultures and values as well as religious practices in the worship of the almighty God and their beliefs in gods and oracles. For instance, the Igbos believed in Chi ukwu or Chukwu (almighty God) often referred to as Chukwu Okike (God the creator). And they reached Him through their Chi (gods) or arusi (oracles) as mediators. They had a well-defined system of governances as seen in the different kingdoms which were established before the intrusion of colonialism. The economic sector was not in need of help either, because Africans had indigenous industries. Soap making, oil (palm), weaving, and the arts of carving and bead making were paramount in the economy of the people of Africa.

The social aspects of the lives of the people were well organised. They lived in a well-defined family system and had kinship systems peculiar to different tribes of the African continent. Also the people's way of life was svisible in the different ceremonies, in their songs, dances and folklores. The people had a very virile theatre in the pre-colonial era, and this theatre included, according to David Kerr, "a wide group of performing arts like ancestral rituals, funerals rites, initiation ceremonies, spirit-possession dances, entertainment dances, tragic and comic masquerades, praise-songs and oral narrative" (3). The people had their philosophies about life and a defined worldview. From the fifteenth century onwards, western civilization at its most aggressive, embarked on a programme more ambitious than any previously known of exploiting the resources and inhabitants of the entire globe. The continent most impacted by these colonial adventures was Africa. Following intrusion, domination, and denigration, the colonialists embarked on a mission of alienating Africans from their cultures, thereby making them lose their values and sense of being in the world. Over the years, African writers, especially playwrights, have taken it upon themselves to help African society "regain its belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of denigration and self-denigration". Two playwrights from West Africa committed to this course are J.P Clark and Ama Ata Aidoo amongst others. This paper uses works of these playwrights, Clark's *Song of a Goat* and Aidoo's *Dilemma of a Ghost*, to make arguments for their cultural and identity reclamation of the African person. Before proceeding into analyses of these plays, it is necessary to give some conceptual explanations of nativism.

Conceptual Explanations: Nativism

Nativism in its ordinary sense is the policy of favouring the native-born inhabitants over immigrants. Regarding the policy of perpetuating the culture of the natives of a colonized country, Aitana Guia explains that nativism is a philosophical position, sometimes translated into a movement with the primary goal to restrict immigration in

order to maintain some characteristics of a given political unit that are deemed essential. The contingent essential characteristics for the emergence of nativism in time and place are cultural, racial, religious, or the political status quo. Nativism, Guia continues, is a particular construction of nationalism that does not focus so much on external constraints, but rather on internal minorities created by immigration.

For the nativist, the challenge to his freedom and sovereignt ydoes not emerge from another state, from an internal historical minority that demands self-determination, or from the irredentist claims of a neighboring state. Rather, the challenge to his freedom of sovereignty derives from the arrival and settlement in the country of a particular group of immigrants deemed dangerous for the preservation of the essence of an already existing 'nation'. This group of immigrants that arrived Africa with a new wave of self-identity and totally new sets of values with a strong self determination to strip Africa of its essence operated on an ideology of race, a new form of identity from what is known in the colonies. Race, a form of social identification and stratification, was grounded in the physical differences of populations of people interacting with one another. African identity construction was never premised on external or physical variations among human groups but rather on who one is; who your father is, one's occupation, where one is born, and one's membership in kin groups and identity of social position. The emergence of 'race' in human history according to Audrey Smedley, brought about a subtle but powerful transformation in the world's perceptions of human difference.

Racial ideology imposed on the conquered and enslaved peoples an identity as the lowest group in the society. Africans were viewed as being inferior, culturally backward, primitive, intellectually stunted, and prone to violence, morally corrupt, and undeserving of the benefits of civilization. This has caused many negative beliefs about Africa and Africans, and there is a great need to eliminate the self-depreciation and self-hatred that Africans have experienced with regards to their ancestry and values, especially religious values. According to Weisman, indigenous claims to sovereignty and self-determination as well as cultural revival, have often been studied and understood as nativism. In agreement with Weisman's definition of nativism, this reading of the following texts is framed on the premise of laying a claim to our sovereignty and self- determination and the revival of cultural values vis-à-vis traditional worship and superstition.

Song of a Goat

In *Song of a Goat*, Clark exploits the religious and traditional beliefs of the people of Niger Delta in general and that of the Urhobo and Izon in particular. Clark presents a situation in which the protagonist, Zifa, is tortured by his helplessness in the face of adversities that he regards as a penalty visited upon him by some malevolent god for a crime he cannot fully understand. The charge is that Zifa brought his father back home among his people a little too early "for one who died of the while taint" (leprosy). The result of this is that Zifa is drained of his manhood. He can do one of two things: either learn to live with his predicament as suggested by the "experts between swamp and sand" whom he consulted, or agree that Tonye, his younger and virile brother, should "take over the tilling of the fertile soil" as suggested by Masseur. The agony and despair of the first alternative are no less afflicting than the repulsion of the second. And when Tonye takes over the impregnation of Ebiere as the masseur has counseled, the curse upon Zifa's family is aggravated. The incestuous relationship between Tonye and Ebiere is a glaring

violation of the moral norms of their society, and the explanation suggested by masseur in order to appease the gods is a simple one:

> Blood of goat
>
> So large a cowrie may pass thro' its nose,
>
> A big gourd of palm wine and three heads of
>
> Kola-nut split before the dead of
>
> The land and the deed are done. (Clark 5)

However, things happen in such a way that there is no time for this sacrifice which would have nullified the dreadful consequences of the adultery. The remarks of half-possessed Orukorere give Zifa a hint which he follows, and he finally discovers the adulterers. Tonye commits suicide by hanging and overwhelmed with grief, Zifa also commits suicide, by drowning.

Dilemma of a Ghost

Dilemma of a Ghost centres on the trials and tribulations of Ato Yawson, a Ghanaian who recently completed his studies in the United States and returned home with an Afro-American bride, Eulalie. From the beginning it is clear that Eulalie is not like the girls back home and that there is potential for conflict. During the argument between Eulalie and Ato, there seems that there is hope that love will conquer all. Eulalie is not eager to bear children yet, although it is expected that she and Ato will begin a family as soon as possible. Eulalie doesn't quite fit into the African lifestyle.

Ato, the scholar, is highly regarded for his accomplishments, but there are also expectations of him now, and it is difficult to balance them with the willful Eulalie's needs and desires. Over the entire time Eulalie cannot accustom herself to African customs and life. She turns to alcohol and continues to do much as she pleases, rather than adopting the position expected of her. Ato on his part. lacks enough tact to handle the situation, showing himself utterly unequal to the challenge. In the end, Ato's mother helps to save the family.

Traditional Worship and Beliefs in *Song of a Goat* and *Dilemma of a Ghost*

Gods and ancestral worship are common features of African traditional religion (ATR), and sacrificing to them during festivals, in times of need, and for seeking protection, is very prominent among African tribes. The gods and the dead are believed to save their worshippers from peril. When calamities or epidemics befall the land, the oracle is consulted and usually sacrifice is prescribed to a god responsible to avert trouble. When the people seek protection, they consult the gods and the dead to provide it, and again sacrifices are prescribed. It is via sacrifice that these gods and the ancestors are worshipped. Hoernle explains that the world in which an African man or woman lives involves the part their ancestors play in their lives and that the extent to which the whole ritual in connection with these ancestors is observed is vital to their well-being.

The spirits of the dead , welded into with the social system as ancestral spirits, remain an intimate and integral part of the social group, constituting, as it were, an unbroken extension of the group into the unseen world, so that the society consists of 'all those who are above the ground and all those who are beneath the ground'. The longer the line of ancestors a group can count and the further it can reach back into the past

for its beginnings, the stronger it is and the firmer its hold on the soil—for the soil is sanctified by the ancestors buried beneath it. The buried dead give the living the strongest possible claim to the possession of that soil. The ancestors are the real owners of the land, and of all the wealth of the tribal territory. The members of the present generation are their beneficiaries, the guardians of the tribal possessions, responsible to the host of the dead for their preservation. It is obvious, then, that it is a large concern of the living to maintain a perpetual relationship with this unseen world, and it is obvious, also, that this ancestral cult is a great conservative element in the life of the people and gives a powerful means of control within the kinship group, for contact with the ancestors must be sought through the nearest kin on earth. We have, then, a natural priesthood among Africans and find that for the social training in obedience there is added religious motive, the need for maintaining contact with the ancestral spirits, which can only be done through the head of the family.

J.P. Clark throws light on the ancestral cult of the Urhobo and Izon people of the Niger Delta of Nigeria. Zifa recalls the spirit of his dead father who died an abominable death and was buried at the evil grove at home so that at festival times he can have sacrifices. 'Of course, I have recalled Him into town so at times of festival he can have sacrifice' (9). Performing certain religious rites and offering sacrifices to the angered gods or ancestors can remedy some kinds of curses or illnesses. The living may also implore them to chase away evil spirit, ill luck and unkind feeling. This rite is found in a stage direction in *Dilemma of a Ghost*. "Petu enters with a wooden bowl full of white and oiled Oto [mashed yam], Akroma comes behind him carrying a brass tray containing a herbal concoction and a kind of sprinkling broom. They go around the courtyard sprinkling the walls and the floor first with Oto, then with the potion. The gong man beats the gong behind them. They circle thrice round the courtyard"(Aidoo 36-37).

Orukorere in *Song of a Goat* says,

> A thing very good for that means you
> Are offering the gods sacrifice today
> One cannot tell how always watchful they
> Stand warding evil spirits away from
> The gates until misfortune enters the house.
> (Clark 31)

Before any sacrifice is made to the gods and ancestors, some kind of ritual cleansing is carried out. Hence Orukorere says to Zifa, "here, you see this Calabash? I have laid fern fronds over it, and the white soil of Edo has turned to mere in it already" (Clark 33). Without this cleansing, one is unfit for the ritual sacrifice and can attract punishment from the gods. Zifa intends starting the sacrifice of a goat without this cleansing which makes Orukorere PROTEST, "But you are as yet not cleaned, and for that matter all the concession is reeking with rot and Corruption" (33). The living's belief in the ancestors and the continuity of life after death is very strongly expressed by Aidoo. The oldest person alive is not the oldest person of the family for the order of seniority does not alter on both sides of the human existence. Nana the 'old one' laments about Ato's marrying a 'Negro'. Her main concern is how she will defend herself before the ancestors.

> My spirit mother ought to have come for me earlier.

Now what shall I tell them who are gone?

The daughter of

Slaves who come from the white man's land.

Someone should advise me on how to tell my story.

My children, I am dreading my arrival there

Where they will ask me news of home

Shall I tell them or shall I not?

Someone should lend one a tongue

Light enough with which to tell

My Royal Dead

That one of their stock

Has gone away and brought to them

sacred precincts

The wayfarer! (14)

The ancestors are also believed to pay their living relatives visits to know how they are faring and ward off evil spirits from them or simply to protect their own. Nana says when she is complaining about the behaviour of her children while she awaits their arrival at the meeting to welcome Ato from America,

Do they not know that if the heavens withdraw their light man

must light his way? But no, they will let us all lie in darkness.

How will he find his way around this dark place should the ghost of

one of our fore bearers pay us a visit? (7)

Superstition

In Africa, many issues can be classified or regarded as superstition. By definition, superstition can be said to be a belief in the effects that mysterious objects, actions, or occurrences have on events or on people's lives. We can also see superstition to be a particular opinion or practice based on such beliefs. It can also be seen as a widely held but unfounded belief. Whether founded or unfounded, such beliefs have social and cultural implications and religious significance in the society in which they exist. These beliefs help guide the behavioural patterns of the members of the community, because certain actions are believed to carry certain repercussions. According to Hoernle, the function of much of the myth and ritual in all societies is to create and maintain a structure enabling human society to function as part of the universe as a whole. Obviously, values change from culture to culture, and the ritual and belief of a people depends on its vision of the world and all that is in the world.

J. P. Clark treated some of these beliefs that can be regarded as superstition in *Song of a Goat*. It is believed that certain actions like killing, especially the killing of clansmen, can attract a curse from the gods and ancestors and that uch a curse can run in the family for generations. It is this belief among Africans and the Urhobo and Izon people of Nigeria that Clark centred his play on: Zifa's father, who was known to kill inside and outside the clan, died leper. His leprosy is an indication that the gods and ancestors cursed him for his behaviour. Dying with the taint means being buried outside the town in the evil grove because such death is an abominable death. Accordingly, Zifa's father was buried in the evil grove. As Egbe Ifie points out, the soul of anyone buried in the unholy cemetery cannot enter into the fold of the ancestors and will roam about for years

tormenting human beings, until he receives a second burial ceremony.

This second burial ceremony is what Zifa doesfor his father, to recall his spirit home, so that during the festival, he can be offered a sacrifice. This recalling home attracted another curse from the gods and ancestors to the family and to Zifa. According to the masseur, the calling back home of the spirit of Zifa's father was prematurealthough it is what every dutiful son would do when bringing his father back home among his people. but as Clark suggests, it may have been a little bit early for one who died of the white taint (10). Because of this early calling of his father home, Zifa was inflicted with impotence. It is also believed among the Urhobo and Izon that epilepsy is a curse from a god who has been angered: hence Orukorere is inflicted with epilepsy . She is also given double vision with the punishment of not being believed by the people, because she rejected the oracle's divination that she was espoused to the mermaid people. Her neighbours say.

Third Neighbour: A curse lies heavy on it

First Neighbour: Of the woman there can be little doubt

Second Neighbour: And to think she was one time the

sweetest maid in all the creeks

Third Neighbour: She will have no man for husband.

Why, young men came from all over the land to ask her hand of her fat her.

Second Neighbour: They all got it from him, you cannot

Doubt that. He would as easy kill inside the clan

as outside it.

First Neighbour: Remember how the people of the sea

Chose her for their handmaiden.

Sure but then she was so proud

she would.

Not listen to what he oracle said.

Third Neighbour: As a result, they have put this

spell on

Her. But although she has this

double vision.

Nobody believes a word she says

even

Outside of the gourd (18)

There is also a belief that seeing or hearing the cries of certain animals connotes something good or bad that is about to happen. When Dode sees Ebiere his mother and Tonye his uncle entangled in their sin, he calls them to the attention of Orukorere. She tells him after seeing them that

He will not my son, rather it is she

Who may kill your uncle Oh

My son, my son, I have seen a sight this

dusk to make

The eagle blind, I heard the cock crow

As I woke up from sleep. That was sign

Of omen enough but little did I know

It was this great betrayal of our race. (Clark 28)

Tonye says that a goat seems to have been a warning of imminent death: 'I go, mother the poor thing cried all night and all thro' today, perhaps it knows its day is near night' (33).

Dreams also are believed to be a kind of revelation of things that are going to happen or a kind of divination and could have a serious meaning or implication. When Ato is worrying about having dreamt about two children singing about the ghost who does not know whether to go to Elmina or cape coast, his uncle says: "Ei, this needs thinking about. Do not be disturbed, although I do not like afternoon dreams myself I will tell your grandmother and hear what she has to say about it" (Aido 2). It is a superstitious belief that birth control is an abuse of the power of the gods and the will punish such offence and offenders. Many more such beliefs abound in Africa.

Drama is an important social institution that emerged in classical times from the womb of religion. Umukoro asserts that theatre (drama) in Nigeria ,and of course Africa, is currently engaged in a three-pronged campaign for socio-cultural preservation, religious propaganda, and educational propagation (20). He also states that in the realm of socio-cultural preservation, theatre has the task of promoting the positive aspects of the diverse cultures of the people of Africa. In particular, drama has the crucial role of propagating traditional arts and culture which form the bedrock of our identity as a people. The playwright is a very significant link between his society, his people and his culture and the rest of the world, displaying the wealth of his cultural values from which others can benefit. Drama mirrors the society from which it is created and is meant to capture the society's realities and help the people tconfront their own life experiences. Grounded in pre-colonial African societies, African theatre promotes its cultures' traditional values, teaches morals, and directs societies to self-identification. Kerr claims that

> [t]he theatre is highly relevant to society compared with aestheticized western theatre. For example, oral narratives, initiation ceremonies and comic masquerade are explicitly didactic, being instrumental in the socialization r of the young by providing role model for such virtues as obedience, respect for the elders and diligence, or by explicit instruction in sex education, hygiene and domestic science. (4)

He illustrates this view by making reference to short stories that the comic masquerades re-enact as one of the clearest examples of theatrical form in the pre-colonial period that helped to improve the moral standards of the people. Nketia gives us an example of the god, Ntoa, whose worshippers among the Ga and Akan people of Ghana, once a year expressed open criticism of those in authority,. He claims that the function of such drama was to establish a seasonal social stability through ritual satire. Anotherprime example of the use of drama to promote traditional Africa values in the pre-colonial days is seen in a study carried out by James Brink in the Beledougou region of Mali. Brink found in the Kole-tlon theatre of the Bamana villagers that improvised comedies by young men frequently held up to ridicule anti-social elements such as wicked or lazy millet farmers.

In "Aspects of Nigerian Drama", J. P. Clark proposes that the myths upon which many of our Nigerian dramas are based, so beautiful in themselves, serve to record the

origins and *raison d'etres* of the institutions and peoples who own them. That secondly, dramas like the Ijaw masquerades and Ullu ritual are manifestations of a special religion representing spirits and gods, which their worshippers seek to propitiate. Thirdly, drama serves a civic and social purpose by educating and initiating the young into the ways and duties of the community. In the process, they help to knit together persons of similar backgrounds, giving them a common identity. Fourthly, Clark, stating the assertion of E. J. Alagoa that the masquerade dramas foster good relations between members of one village and another, writes; "A people famous for their performance will always have spectators pouring in from everywhere to see their show. In other words, the masquerade can in fact become a town's best advertisement" (Clark 90), and a vehicle for peace and unity between people from different towns and villages.

Biodun Jeyifo in his article, "By popular demand: The functions and social uses of the Yoruba Traveling Theatre", explains that the body of plays performed by this group reflects the deep traditionalism which is an important aspect of the dramatic universe: it is not merely the case that the drama is overwhelmingly a Yoruba-language drama, "it is also deeply rooted in the folklore, tradition, moral codes, and pre-industrial, pre-capitalist animist pantheistic sensibilities of pristine Yoruba culture" (1985:115). The traveling theatre troupes generally conceive of their cultural role as being one of "preserving" Yoruba culture and, of course, their values in life. This conservative impulse is comprehensible in transitional age when the forces and products of modernization seem so threatening and externally derived. He also states that because of the nature of the Nigerian nation state, the plays of the Yoruba traveling theatre upholds the sense of ethnic security and the pride of the Yoruba ethno-nationality. It is in this line of thinking

that Soyinka constructs his works and plays, bringing them to bear on the Yoruba worldview of the dead, the living, and the unborn (past, present and the future). These are all nativist approaches to regain the African sovereignty, self-determination, and the cultural revival of African traditional values which universalise the distinct identity of African value system on the part of the African playwrights.

Conclusion

The driving force behind the nativist is national pride and patriotism which he/she uses to lay claim to the nation. The era of colonialism is gone, but its 'brother' imperialism with its racial ideology and media are still issues that challenge the sovereignty of the African nations. Since humanity is mortal, it is vital need that every society, as a living structure, must perpetuate itself. Each generation has the task, not only of bringing into the world a new set of people to renew its society but also of otransmitting the beliefs and customs on which their society depends for its existence. Drama is a vital tool of social education and enlightenment that can be used to propagate, promote, and preserve our cultural values. Most Africans, especially the youth and those born in the Diaspora, believe that African beliefs are fetish. Properly researched plays about these beliefs, their practice and efficacy, demonstrate that like other belief systems, they are means by which believers reach God. This paper calls for more efforts on documenting other cultural heritages like the naming ceremony and traditional marriages that promote our values.

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Social Exclusion and the Poverty Paradox in Nigeria's Niger Delta: A Household Livelihood Assessment

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Abstract

The the oil and gas industry has been the mainstay of the Nigerian economy over the last five decades, but the Niger Delta region where its activities are centered has a long history of exclusion and marginalization from direct participation in the industry. This includes the distribution and management of oil revenue. As well, widespread environmental pollution arising from the activities of multinational oil companies has undermined the capacity of their host communities to have decent livelihoods and practise sustainable development. This study examines the issues of social exclusion and poverty in the oil producing communities of the Niger Delta. Utilizing the household livelihood assessment (HLA) survey approach, this study investigated 610 households in selected oil producing communities in Rivers, Delta and Bayelsa States. Findings revealed that most households in the sampled communities are impoverished, possessing poor livelihood assets as well as poor human and infrastructure development outcomes. The exclusion of the Niger Delta people from the crude oil resources beneath their soil has produced It was concluded a paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. Until this fundamental anomaly is addressed, the Niger Delta will largely remain a poor and underdeveloped region.

Keywords: Social exclusion, Poverty paradox, Household livelihood assessment, Niger Delta.

Introduction

The discovery of crude oil in commercial quantity in Oloibiri community of present day Bayelsa State in the year 1956 made the Niger Delta region the nerve center of the Nigerian economy. The region which has large oil and gas deposits hosts about 257 flow stations, 10 export terminals, and an oil/gas pipeline network of about 7000 km length covering a land area of 31,000 km^2 (Steiner, 2008 cf. Zabbey, 2009).The Niger Delta region has remained the mainstay of the Nigerian economy as crude oil and gas production over the past six decades have contributed about N96.212 trillion in foreign exchange earnings (Ndujihe, 2016). However, irrespective of the immense wealth the Niger Delta produces for the Nigerian state, crude oil production activities in the region, ranging from exploration, extraction, drilling, transportation, and refining, have been associated with significant social, economic and cultural deficits in communities where these oil and gas operations are nested.

Existing studies have demonstrated that oil exploitation has engendered untold

hardship and poverty rather than enhancing the standard of living of the Niger Delta people, a situation popularly referred to as the resource curse (Jack, Akujobi, Dan-Axe, & Azubuike, 2016; Okaba, 2005). For instance, studies have reported that oil spillages, gas flaring, and deforestation have continued to pose severe livelihood risks in the region where 70% of inhabitants rely on natural resource-based livelihood activities like fishing, farming, and mangrove forest harvesting (Amnesty International, 2012; Kadafa, 2012; Eregha & Irughe, 2009). The pervasive infrastructure deficits across the region have further exacerbated its poverty. Most inhabitants in the region subsist in communities characterized by a total absence of such basic facilities as electricity, pipe-borne water, hospitals, proper housing and roads. It is evident that the Niger Delta region is faced with the double jeopardy of environmental pollution and infrastructure deficit which results in unemployment, human insecurity, and extreme poverty threatening the basic survival of the people.

Against this backdrop, this study interrogates the poverty paradox question it raises. Why do the Niger Delta people continue to subsist in extreme poverty despite the huge oil and gas resources in their domain? Addressing this questi on from the analytical standpoint of the social exclusion, this study's household livelihood assessment approach evaluates household livelihood assets as well households' access to infrastructural development. The following research questions guided the study:

i.   What are the dimensions and manifestations of social exclusion in oil producing communities of the Niger Delta?

ii.   What is the state of household livelihood assets in oil producing communities of the Niger Delta?

iii. What is the state of availability and access to infrastructural development in oil producing communities of the Niger Delta?

Social Exclusion and Poverty Nexus: The Niger Delta Experience

Social exclusion refers to the systematic denial the access of groups, individuals, and communities to the rights, privileges and resources of society. This includes their inability to fully participate in economic, social, political and cultural life, as well as the process of leading to and sustaining that life (United Nations, 2016, p. 18). Social exclusion is multidimensional process as it encompasses social, political, cultural and economic dimensions. As observed by Khan, Combaz, and McAslan (2015), it is the product of unequal power relations amongst groups in society. The Department For International Development (2019) considers social exclusion to be a process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged, because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, political orientation, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status, or residence pattern.

Social exclusion in any society can be best understood from a multidimensional perspective which requires the collection and analysis of multidimensional data. Amongst these identifiable variables, the poverty rate has been identified as one of the most important indicators of social exclusion (Eurostat, 2004). Indeed, the nexus between social exclusion and poverty has been well established as mutually reinforcing (United Nations, 2016). Social exclusion first increases poverty as socially disadvantaged groups are denied access to basic services such as education, healthcare, security, and livelihood opportunities as improved standards of living. Poverty reinforces social exclusion because the inability to afford services like user fees makes it difficult for the poor to access basic services (DFID, 2015).

The social exclusion and poverty nexus have been ably demonstrated by the

underdevelopment realities of the oil rich Niger Delta region where infrastructural deficit, poor access to livelihood opportunities, and pervasive poverty is common (Douglas, 2002). Linking perceptions of inequality and the marginalization and exclusion of the Niger Delta people from access to oil and gas resources with gross underdevelopment and poverty in the region, Osuntokun (2000) and Onosode (2000) posit that there is a feeling of relative deprivation in the Niger Delta. Oil and gas resources domiciled in the region are utilized to improve the Nigerian economy and developing non-oil producing regions at the expense of the oil producing communities who bear the brunt of oil exploration and do not have ownership rights or control of oil and gas resources in their domain. The oil industry itself is characterized by a joint venture (JV) agreement with a 60% - 40% equity sharing formula between the Federal Government of Nigeria represented by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and the International Oil companies (IOCs)respectively (Okaba, 2005). This agreement ensures that oil producing communities are directly excluded from participating in oil and gas exploration as well as the management of revenues accruing from oil production. Ukiwo (2009) notes that the derivation regime has dramatically shifted from 100 percent resource control between 1953 and 1960 to 50 percent after Nigeria's independence, and from 45 percent in 1970 to 13 percent since 1999. Azaiki (2003) notes that the Niger Delta which accounts for 98.54 percent of Nigeria's export revenue as well as 80 percent of the nation's wealth receives only a meagre 17.3 percent of the federal allocation.

Evidently, the management of the revenue accruing from oil and gas has been disadvantageous to the Niger Delta people. This situation coupled with the widespread environmental degradation occasioned by the unregulated activities of International Oil Companies (OICs) has led to systematic social exclusion of the Niger Delta people who are continually denied access to a healthy environment, opportunities for sustainable livelihoods, and improved standards of living. While it can be argued that the Nigerian government has instituted several intervention agencies, such as the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), Ministry of Niger Delta (NDDC), and the Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP), these agencies have become 'cash cows' for corrupt politicians and technocrats. Exclusion and human deprivation remain a crucial problem in the Niger Delta.

Materials and Methods

This study utilized the Household Livelihood Assessment (HLA) approach to measure the level of poverty inherent in selected oil producing communities of the Niger Delta. A household Livelihood Assessment (HLA) is an analytical tool and process that enhances understanding of the local livelihood systems, constrains, vulnerabilities, and risks poor households are faced with especially within the context of environmental degradation as evident in the oil rich Niger Delta region. This household survey involved the administering of questionnaires to 610 household heads across six oil producing communities including Bille and Bodo (Rivers State), Kokodiagbene and Umutu communities (Delta State) and Ogboinbiri and Polaku (Bayelsa State).A systematic random sampling technique was adopted in which every 6th household in the community was selected to be part of the sample. Data analysis involved the use of simple percentages and was presented with the aid of descriptive graphs and charts. Ethical considerations to research were adhered to as participants' rights to participation; anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed during the course of the research.

Results and Discussions

This section presents the analysis of data collected and discussion of findings of the study. First, it presents the socio-demographic features of respondents followed by a livelihood assessment analysis of the their responses.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 1 presents the socio-demographic data of respondents: the study was composed of 316 men and 294 women, thereby constituting 51.7% and 48.2% of the sample respectively. The educational distribution of the respondents shows that 70 (11.5%) of the respondents had no formal education, while 82 (13.4%) had only primary education. Also, 318 (52.1%) of the respondents had secondary education, whereas122 (20%) of them had tertiary education, and 18 (3%) of the respondents had vocational education.

The occupational distribution of the respondents shows that 168 (27.5%) of the respondents were primarily farmers, 136 (22.3%) were fishermen, 150 (24.6%) were traders, 44 (7.2%) were artisans, 48 (7.9%) were civil servants, 22 (3.6%) were either oil company staff or contractors, and 14 (2.3%) of the respondents were engaged in other livelihood activities, while 28 (4.6%) were unemployed.

Lastly, assessment of the income levels of respondents reveals that while 198 (32.5%) of the respondents earned below ₦10,000 monthly, 238 (39%) of them earned between ₦10,000-₦30,000, while 80 (13.1%) earned between ₦31,000-₦50,000, and 94 (15.4%) of the respondents earned an average monthly income ₦51,000 and above.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variables	Frequencies (n = 610)
1. Gender	**610**
Male	316
Female	294
2. Educational Attainment	**610**
No Formal Education	70
Primary	82
Secondary	318
Tertiary	122
Vocational	18
3. Primary Occupation	**610**
Farming	168
Fishing	136
Trading	150
Artisan	44
Civil Service	48
Oil Company Staff/Contractor	22
Unemployed	28
Others	14
4. Average Monthly Income	**610**
Below N10,000	198
N10,000 – N30,000	238
N31,000 – N50,000	80
N51,000 and above	94

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

As the foregoing demonstrates, a majority of the respondents, because of their occupations, were low income earners. This finding is not unusual as most households in the study communities largely relied on natural resource-based livelihood activities

such as farming, fishing, and mangrove forest harvesting for their incomes. The pervasive environmental degradation arising from oil spillages, gas flaring and deforestation, has over the decades destroyed the traditional livelihood systems of the study communities as fishermen and farmers continue to experience poor fish and crop yield which contributes to their low-income status.

Dimensions of Social Exclusion

This study assessed the dimensions of social exclusion in the study area and the opinions of respondents about their manifestations. The results from the study indicated in figure 1 which followsreveals that 5% of the respondents were of the opinion that widespread oil pollution within their domain has continued to impede access to a healthy environment and sustainable livelihoods. Whereas 11% of the respondents lamented the non-participation of oil producing communities in the oil industry, 8% of them argued that oil producing communities are obnoxiously excluded from participating in oil revenue sharing. Also 3% of the respondents argued they experience marginalization and repression by oil multinational oil companies operating in their communities, 7% of the respondents reported that their communities suffer from pervasive poverty and infrastructural deficit.
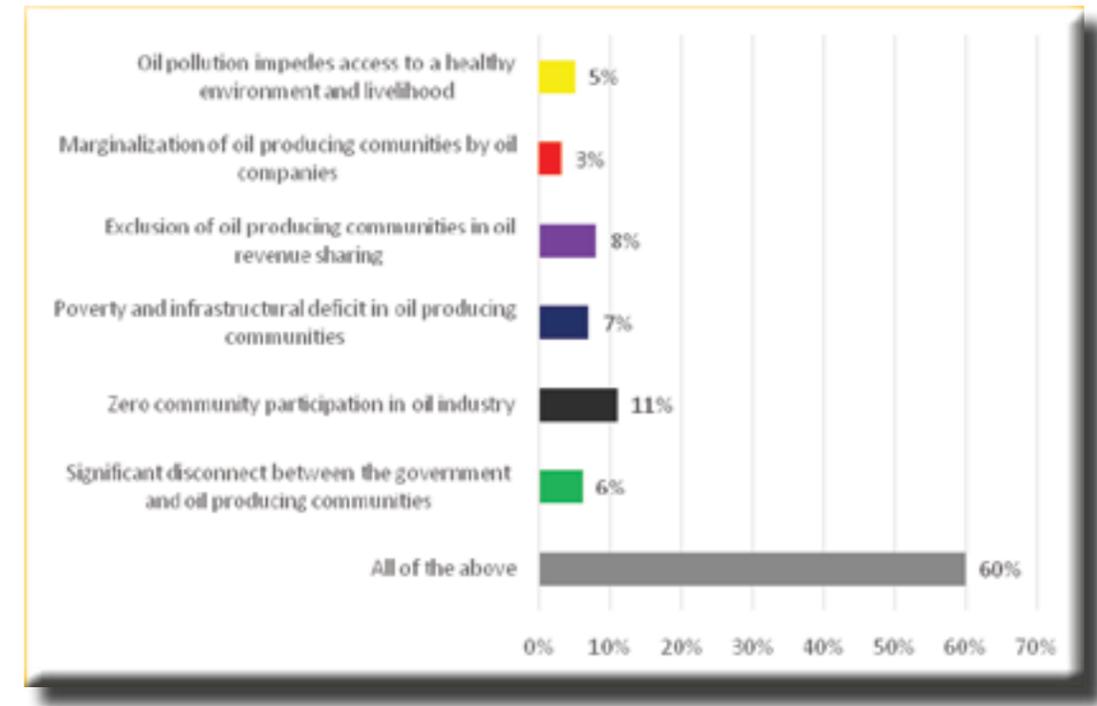
Figure 1: Respondents' Perceptions on Social Exclusion

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Based on the foregoing analysis, the data shows that communities across the study area have experienced diverse forms of exclusion and that overall 60% of the respondents maintained that all the dimensions of exclusion are applicable in the study area which predisposes its people to widespread poverty and underdevelopment.

Assessment of Household Livelihood Assets

Utilizing several basic indicators, this survey assessed the livelihood assets of the selected households. In figure 2, the results show that whereas 86.9% of the households sampled in the Umutu community owned and had access to farm land, 64.8% in the Polaku community did; 52.5% in Bodo community and 46.9% in Ogboinbiri community had access to farm land. In the Kokodiagbene and Bille communities, however, none (0%) of the households had farm land as these were basically coastal fishing communities. In

assessing ownership of farm tools, findings revealed that 87% of households sampled in the Umutu community owned farm tools ranging from hoes, machetes, and baskets. Also, 66.7% of the households in Polaku, 57% in Ogboinbiri, 47.5% in Bodo, 4.5% in Kokodiagbene, and 0% in Bille owned farm tools.

Figure 2: Distribution of Household Livelihood Assets by Communities

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Assessing the ownership of livestock, findings reveal that whereas 26% of the households sampled in the Umutu community owned livestock ranging from goats, chicken, turkey, and sheep, 16% ownedlivestock in Kokodiagbene, 10% in the Bodo community, 5% in Bille, 3.7% in Polaku and 3.4% in the Ogboinbiri community. With regard to the households' ownership of fish ponds, findings revealed that 25.9% of households sampled in the Polaku and Ogboinbiri communities respectively owned fish ponds, and only 4.3% owned fish ponds in Umutu, while 3.1% had fish ponds in Bille

and 2.5% of households owned fish ponds in the Bodo community.

Assessing the ownership of canoes and fishing gears, findings reveal that 77.2% of the households sampled in Kokodiagbene owned at least a canoe and fishing gear, with 53.4% in Ogboinbiri, 47% in Polaku, 46% in Bille, 29.2% in Bodo and 0% in Umutu having canoes and fishing gear. Investigation into the ownership of at least an outboard engine speed boat reveals that 25% of the respondents in Bille community owned at least one outboard engine, as opposed to 9% in Ogboinbiri, 5% in Kokodiagbene, 4% in Polaku, 3% in Bodo and 0% in Umutu.

Assessing the ownership of an automobile vehicle reveals that 12.5% of the households sampled in Bodo owned an automobile, while 8.7% of the households sampled in Umutu owned an automobile, contrasted with 5% in Bille, 3.7% in Polaku, 1.7% in Ogboinbiri and 0% in Kokodiagbene community owning an automobile. Investigation into the percentage of households that owned a mobile phone in the sampled communities revealed 91% for Umutu, 87.3% for Bille, 81.5% for Polaku, 91.3% for Ogboinbiri, 80% for Bodo, and 79.5% for Kokodiagbene.

Assessing the percentage of households possessing home furniture in the sampled communities indicates 82.6% for Umutu, 69% for Ogboinbiri, 67% for Polaku, 60% for Bodo, 50% for Bille and 30.2% for Kokodiagbene. Lastly, assessing the percentage of households possessing a gas cooker across the sampled communities, findings indicate 46% for Bille, 40% for Umutu, 36% for Polaku, 20% for Ogboinbiri, 16% for Bodo, and 8% for Kokodiagbene. The study reveals that most households in the study communities and by extension the Niger Delta heavily rely on fuel wood as the only source of domestic energy for heating and cooking. This finding corroborates earlier studies by Jack and Zibima (2018) as well as that of Edoumiekumo, Tombofa, and Karimo (2013) in which

it is reported that the Niger Delta is largely an energy poor region as about 83.2% of people dwelling in the region are energy poor.

Access to Infrastructural Development

Utilizing the availability and access to several basic amenities by households as indicators, the study assessed the level of infrastructural development across the study communities.
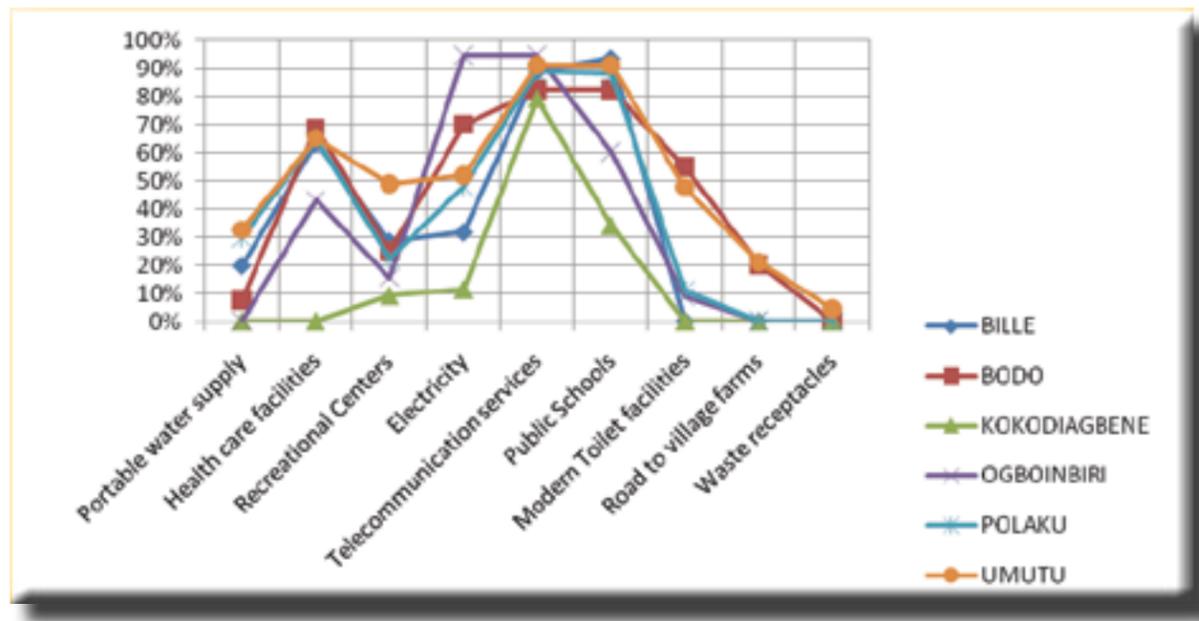
Figure 3: Distribution of Access to Infrastructural Amenities by Communities

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Assessing the availability and access to a potable water supply in the sampled communities, data from figure 3 reveals that 32.6% of the households sampled in the Umutu community had access to a potable water supply, while 29.6%, 19.8% and 7.5% of the households in Polaku, Bille and Bodo communities respectively had access to a portable water supply. None of the households (0%) sampled in Kokodiagbene and Ogboinbiri communities, however, had any access to potable water supplies. Acute shortage or total absence of potable domestic water bedevils the Niger Delta region. In

communities like Ogboinbiri and Polaku, the polluted community river remained the major source of domestic water supply from which people drink, wash, and cook.

Relatedly, assessing the availability and access to modern toilet facilities in the sampled communities, findings reveal that 55% of the households sampled in Bodo had modern toilet facilities in their homes, with 48% in Umutu, 11% in Polaku, and 8.6% in Ogboinbiri. However, none (0%) of the households in Bille and Kokodiagbene had modern toilet facilities in their homes. Most members of these communities defecated in wooden public toilets built along the waterfronts. The rivers do not only provide domestic water for the communities, they also serve as receptacles for domestic and human waste.

Plate 1: Source of Domestic Water Supply, Kokodiagbene Community.
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Investigation into the availability of and access to health care facilities in the sampled communities reveals that 68.8% of household sampled in Bodo community had access to health care facilities, with 65.2% in Umutu, 64.8% in Polaku, 63.5% in Bille, and 43.1% in Ogboinbiri, while none (0%) of the households sampled in Kokodiagbene had access to a health care facility. This notwithstanding, most health facilities across the

communities were dilapidated with few medical personnel. In these communities, most households rely on local pharmacies where they purchase medicine over the counter, which most times is self-prescribed. Assessing the availability of and access to recreational centers in the sampled communities, this study reveals that 25% of the households sampled in Bodo had access to recreational centers, with 48.9% in Umutu, 28.5% in Bille, 22.2% in Polaku, 15.5% in Ogboinbiri, and 9.10% in Kokodiagbene. In most of the communities, the recreational centers available were community play grounds, community squares, community town halls, and public school play grounds.

Also, assessing the availability and access to electricity in the sampled communities, the study reveals that 70% of the households sampled in Bodo had access to electricity, with 52% in Umutu, 31.7% in Bille, 48.1% in Polaku, 94.8% in Ogboinbiri, and 11% in Kokodiagbene. Nevertheless, amongst the communities studied, the upland communities, for example, Bodo, Umutu, and Polaku were connected to the national grid. However, the riverine communities, like Bille, Kokodiagbene, and Ogboinbiri, were not connected to the national grid because of their coastal terrain. Bille and Kokodiagbene provided electricity for themselves through a community-run generator, while the Ogboinbiri community was provided 24 hours electricity by the Nigerian Agip Oil Company operating in the community.

Assessing the availability and access to telecommunication services in the sampled communities, findings reveal that 82.5% of the households sampled in Bodo had access to telecommunication services, with 91.3% in Umutu, 88.9% in Bille, 88.9% in Polaku, 94.8% in Ogboinbiri, and 80% in Kokodiagbene. Assessing the availability and access to public schools in the sampled communities, the study reveals that 82.5% of the households sampled in Bodo had access to public schools, with 91.3% in Umutu, 93.7%

in Bille, 87.9% in Polaku, 60.3% in Ogboinbiri, and 34.1% in Kokodiagbene. However, most of the public schools, primary and secondary, in the communities were largely dilapidated with poor facilities and had few teachers to run them.

Assessing the availability of roads to village farms in the sampled communities, the study reveals that 20% of the households sampled in Bodo did have access to roads leading to their farms, while 21% of the households sampled in Umutu had access to roads leading to their farms. However, none (0%) of the households sampled in Kokodiagbene, Ogboinbiri, Bille, and Polaku had access roads to village farms. This is because these communities are largely coastal, and areas designated for farming are dispersed across the forests in the creeks. Lastly, in assessing the availability and access to modern waste receptacles in the sampled communities, the study reveals that only 4.35% of the households sampled in Umutu had access to modern waste receptacles, and none (0%) of households in Bille, Bodo, Ogboinbiri, Kokodiagbene, and Polaku communities had access to modern waste receptacles. In the coastal communities, domestic and fecal wastes were dumped in the river while in the upland communities, domestic wastes were dumped in bushes and at local dump sites.

Drawing from the foregoing analysis, the general poor livelihood assets possessed by households in the sampled communities demonstrate the paradox of pervasive poverty in the Niger Delta region rich with oil and gas. The double jeopardy of social exclusion and environmental degradation has further exacerbated the region's poverty and underdevelopment.

Conclusion

Examining the poverty and underdevelopment paradox in selected oil producing communities of the Niger Delta region, a Household Livelihood Assessment (HLA)

reveals poor household livelihood assets and deficits in infrastructure development. This study establishes the poverty paradox in the Niger Delta region is a direct consequence of the exclusion of the Niger Delta people from direct participation in the oil industry and the lopsided nature of oil revenue sharing which further marginalizes them. In addition, the study reveals that widespread environmental pollution which inhibits the capacity of oil producing communities to pursue sustainable livelihoods also exacerbates the poverty paradox in the region. This study concludes that unless the fundamental anomalies of exclusion and marginalization of oil producing communities are addressed, the Niger Delta will largely remain a poor and underdeveloped region.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study, it is recommended that strategic reforms in the oil and gas sector must be initiated to enable mainstream participation of oil producing communities in the oil industry. More so, holistic and robust sustainable development interventions should be pursued by the Nigerian Government at all levels specifically for the oil producing communities of the region which bear the brunt of oil exploration and exploitation.

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Infant-Feeding Practices in Nigeria: Issues and Problems

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Abstract

This exploratory study focuses on infant-feeding practices among nursing women in Nigeria. Nursing mothers and health caregivers were the population for the research. The study was carried out in two selected main towns, Ado-Ekiti and Ikorodu in Ekiti and Lagos States respectively. A mixed method was used for data collection (quantitative and qualitative). The total sample for the study was 504 respondents (nursing mothers) using snowball sampling technique to select respondents. The quantitative data was analysed using version 20 SPSS software while the qualitative data was analysed using content analysis and verbatim. From the findings, the demographic characteristics of the respondents showed that 41.07% were between 30-35 years, 64.3% were Christians, 42.9% were Yoruba, 84.4% were married, 39.9% have no formal education, 47.3% were into business/trade while 32.1% earn less than N10,000-N50,000 monthly. Moreover, the table showed that nursing mothers have an excellent knowledge on how to take good care of infants, especially in regard to feeding. For instance, 72.3% of the respondents said yes, they attended antenatal training sessions, and obeyed and practiced infant feeding practices as they were trained. But in respect to the pattern of infant-feeding practices in Nigeria, statistics demonstrate that majority of the women do not follow the advice given by health care-givers during antenatal but rather handle infant-feeding in the way and manner they want. For instance, 56.5% do exclusive breastfeeding between 0-3 months and only 11.9% do baby friendly (exclusive breast feeding). Also, 53.4% expose the child to water as early as 0-3 months, 23.8% give the child formulas right from birth while 32.7% of the respondents give the child Ogi (pap) between age 0-3 months. The result also revealed that all the indices measuring the socio-economic status of the nursing mothers strongly agree that they are capable of affecting infant-feeding practices. Only the environment in which nursing mothers stay was said to be indifferent (30.8%) in affecting infant-feeding practices in Nigeria. This study concludes that Nigeria nursing mothers directly or indirectly have knowledge about infant-feeding practices but not all of them follow them as laid down by the health care givers. Rather individual nursing mothers implement infant-feeding practices the way that best suit them or use advice from outsiders.

Keywords: Infants, Feeding practice, Caregivers, Pregnancy, Antenatal, Nursing mothers.

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Introduction

Breast milk, as the major and one of the main foods infants globally take, has a unique biological and emotional influence on the health of both mother and infant. Breastfeeding serves as tool for the tie between the child and the mother, (WHO & UNICEF, 1989). Breastfeeding is an important determinant of infant health in the prevention of malnutrition and infections (Rossouw, et al, 1990; Anderson, 1997). When an infant reaches the age of about six months, however, breast milk alone is no longer sufficient in meeting nutrient requirements and other food(s) should be given. Despite its advantages, breast-feeding is declining in developing countries, such as Swaziland, (Robertson, 1991). The prevalence and duration of breastfeeding have also declined in many other parts of the world in the past years for a variety of social, economic, and cultural reasons (WHO & UNICEF, 1989). In South Africa, the prevalence of breastfeeding is said to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Because some infant-feeding practices in South Africa are inappropriate, they may contribute to the increase in the prevalence of stunting during the first 18 months of life (Faber, 1999).

The same scenario plays out in West Africa, particularly in Nigeria. This is because the rural people have lots of aged women from different homes to enlighten young mothers on infant-feeding practices especially intensive breastfeeding even though they may not know the health advantages of it. In urban or semi-urban areas, the majority of mothers are either white collar workers or have their own businesses. They do not have time to breastfeed their infant children properly even though they have good knowledge about infant feeding practices. In fact, some mothers in industrialized areas do not want people from the outside to see them breastfeed their children. Only their husbands are permitted to observe them feed their children. This affects the quality of time and breast the child can have when a visitor is around. Mothers in places like Lagos state, who live very far away from their workplaces, use what is called a breast pump to extract breast milk and store it in feeding bottles for the child until they return from work late in the evening. In such instances, the well-being of the child may affected simply because anything can happen to stored breast milk. As well, if the stored breast milk is over-refrigerated, it may affect the child. The mother may not extract enough breast milk for the child. Hence, such a child's growth and development may be affected by being introduced to alternative feeding practice at early age.

Elevating the social status of mothers in Nigeria is expected to improve infant-feeding practices and reduce the malnutrition of children below 5 years and even child mortality in the country. The importance of education among other indices of measuring the social status of women cannot be overemphasized because it greatly contributes to infant-feeding practices. Education has a multiplier effect for all those who benefit from it, which includes women's families, environment and their community. Such benefits empower women with the skills and knowledge needed to live good, culturally-accepted lives and to take proper care of their homes and children who are still very dependent on their mothers for survival. Investing in women's education is widely advocated as a key intervention strategy for promoting child health.

Among children in developing countries, malnutrition is an important factor that contributes to illness and death. Malnutrition during childhood affects growth potential and the risk of morbidity and mortality in later years. Child malnutrition is generally caused by a combination of inadequate or inappropriate food intake, gastrointestinal parasites and other childhood diseases, and improper care during illnesses. Child malnutrition has long been recognized as a serious problem in India, but national-level data on cases and the causes of malnutrition have been scarce. In 1992–93, the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) collected anthropometric data on the height and weight of children below four years of age from a nationally representative sample. This issue of the NFHS Bulletin estimates levels of child malnutrition and examines the effects of mother's education and other demographic a nd socio-economic factors on the nutritional status of children. The results indicate that more than half of all children under age four are malnourished. Children whose mothers have little or no education tend to have a lower nutritional statusthan do children of more-educated mothers, even after controlling for a number of other potentially confounding demographic and socioeconomic variables. This finding suggests that women's education and literacy programmes would play an important role in improving children's nutritional status.

Overall, the nutritional status of children influences their health, which is a key determinant of human development. Malnutrition is associated with about 60% of under the age of five mortality in sub-Saharan Africa (Federal Government of Nigeria/UNICEF, 1999). Improvement of children nutritional status increases the chances of child survival and is considered as a precondition for their contribution to community as well as human development (Federal Government of Nigeria/UNICEF, 1999). African children make up one-quarter of the estimated 148 million underweight children globally. Although under-weight prevalence has decreased slightly in Africa (from 29 percent to 26 percent over the past 17 years), the absolute number of underweight children has increased by 8 million, meaning that the rate of decline has not kept pace with population growth (Black et al. 2008). More than one-third of children under five in Africa are stunted, that is having low height for their age. In Nigeria, available data from the 2001–2003 Food Consumption and Nutrition Survey shows that 42 percent of children under five years were stunted, 25 percent underweight, and 9 percent wasted (Maziya-Dixon et al. 2004). The data indicated high levels of protein-energy malnutrition among the children, which is usually accompanied by poor micronutrient status. Data from the 2013 Nigeria Demographic Health Survey (NDHS) corroborated the findings of the Nigeria Food Consumption and Nutrition Survey (NFCNS) of 2001–2003, suggesting that no improvement had occurred in the anthropometric indicators of children below 5 over a 10-year period. The 2013 NDHS found more than two out of every five children were stunted, reflecting the cumulative effect of chronic malnutrition, with significantly higher proportion of stunted males (43 percent) than females (38 percent); 45 percent of children in rural areas were stunted versus 31 percent in urban areas.

Infant- and Child-Feeding Patterns in Nigeria

Another important aspect of child nutrition is breastfeeding. Breastfeeding practices and introduction of complementary foods are important determinants of the nutritional status of children, particularly those under age two. Exclusive breastfeeding during the first six months of life, a recommendation by WHO and UNICEF, provides children with

the essential nutrients needed for growth and reduces the risk of infant mortality from diarrheal disease, which is responsible for 17 percent of the main causes of child deaths in the Africa (Kramer and Kakuma, 2011; UNICEF, 2008). A recent estimate showed that worldwide only 35 percent of children between birth and their fifth month are breast-fed exclusively (WHO, 2010). Based on WHO global data on infant and young child feeding in 2003, 22.3 percent of children in Nigeria were exclusively breastfed for fewer than four months while 17.2 percent were exclusively breastfed for fewer than six months. From these figures, Nigeria could be designated as a "low-rate breastfeeding country" in Africa. The situation has not improved much since 2003.

According to the 2008 Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS), 17 percent of children were exclusively breastfed for fewer than four months while 13 percent were exclusively breastfed for under six months. The median exclusive breastfeeding period in southwest Nigeria was seven months in 2003; by 2008, it had dropped to only six months. Within the same period, early initiation of breastfeeding among women in the region was 12.7 percent in 2003, but increased to 35.5 percent by 2008 (NPC & ICF Macro, 2009). All these figures are far below the 90 percent level recommended by the WHO (Jones, et al. 2003). Nigeria has the highest rural mortality rate for children under five: 242.7 per 1,000 among selected countries in Africa south of the Sahara (Anyamele, 2009). The 2011 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) reveals that about 15 percent of children under six months were exclusively breastfed, a level considerably lower than recommended. The 2013 NDHS reported an increase to 17.2 percent in the exclusive breastfeeding rate. Analysis from the NLSMS put the percentage at 14 percent (Kuku-

Shittu et al. 2013). A much higher exclusive breastfeeding rate of 25.2 percent was reported by the NFB/UNICEF study (NFB/UNICEF 2014). The study also provides evidence that children from families in the wealthier quintiles are more likely to be exclusively breastfed for the first six months than those in the poorer quintiles.

The prevalence of a low level of breastfeeding for children under five is highest among rural small-scale farmer households, because many lactating women are too undernourished to provide adequate milk for their offspring; as a result they tend to supplement breast milk with cereal food products. Despite the high initiation prevalence, there was a low prevalence of exclusive breastfeeding, as shown by data from the 2013 NDHS. Rural and urban differentials have also been documented in the practice of exclusive breastfeeding as the practice was reportedly higher (41 percent) in the urban areas com-pared with 38 percent in the rural areas (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). There are numerous reports of studies on breastfeeding and other child feeding practices in various parts of Nigeria, and although the samples and methods in these studies are not directly comparable, the results are generally consistent. Most of the studies available have been regional rather than national. Almost all rural Nigerian mothers and the majority of urban mothers breastfeed their babies for at least the first few months of life. But despite its widespread prevalence in Nigeria, breastfeeding is not as effective as it could be in promoting good child nutrition and health because of suboptimal breast-feeding practices.

Breastfeeding practices, including initiation and duration, are influenced by multiple interwoven factors that include health, psychosocial, cultural, political, and economic

factors (Cripe, 2008). Among these factors, decisions regarding initiation and duration of breastfeeding in low-income countries are influenced by education, employment, place of delivery, family pressure, and cultural values (World Health Organization, 2010; Gartner et al., 2005; Ogunlesi 2010; Otoo et al., 2009). In Nigeria, while breastfeeding initiation is increasing, the duration and practice of exclusive breast-feeding remains low (Ogunlesi, 2010). The early introduction of complementary feeding, based on erroneous assumptions, affects breastfeeding initiation and sustainability (World Health Organization, 2010). Among the Yoruba people, a common belief around infant feeding is that exclusive breastfeeding is beneficial to both infants and mothers, but complementary feeding is essential for babies to adapt to other meals with ease (Ojofeitimi, et al., 2000; Lawoyin, et al., 2001; Tella, et al., 2008). Besides normative expectations, personal experiences and networks of support have influence on the forms and quality of breastfeeding practices. Largely, these factors exert pressure on breastfeeding mothers, making their experience pleasurable or painful within time and space (Cripe, 2008).

The results of a similar study conducted in southwestern Nigeria were published in 2010. This study (Agunbiade & Ogunlewe, 2010) investigates breastfeeding practices and experiences of nursing mothers and the roles of grandmothers, as well as the work-related constraints affecting nurses in providing quality support for breastfeeding mothers in southwestern Nigeria. The respondents consisted of 200 breastfeeding mothers, nurses, and grandmothers recruited from two rural communities in Osun State, in southwestern Nigeria. The survey showed the major constraints to exclusive breastfeeding to be the perception that babies continued to be hungry after breastfeeding (29 percent); maternal health problems (26 percent); fear of babies becoming addicted to breast milk (26 percent); pressure from the mother-in-law (25 percent); pain in the breasts (25 percent); and the need to return to work (24 percent). In addition, the qualitative findings showed that significant others played dual roles on breastfeeding practices. The desire to practice exclusive breastfeeding was often compromised shortly after child delivery. Factors such as poor feeding, inadequate support from the husband, and conflicting positions from significant others were dominant constraints.

Complementary Feeding

Complementary feeding begins when breast milk alone is no longer sufficient to meet the nutritional requirements of infants and therefore other foods and liquids are fed along with breast milk. The World Health Organization recommends introduction of complementary foods, in addition to human milk, at six months of age (2002). In Nigeria, the recommendation is that breastfeeding should be continued along with the introduction of complementary foods at six months (FMH/DCD/PA, 2005). Athough complementary foods are also often introduced earlier in Nigeria, with 23 percent of children under age six months and 38 percent of children between four and five months old consuming solid or semi-solid foods in addition to breast milk, supplementing breast milk before age six months is unnecessary and discouraged because of the likelihood of contamination, which may result in the risk of diarrheal diseases. After six months, breast milk should be complemented by other solid or mushy food to provide adequate nutrition to the child (PAHO, 2002).

The first food other than milk and liquids given to an infant in Nigeria is a thin

gruel made from maize, sorghum, or millet, commonly known as "pap." Pap was the most common complementary food to be introduced by all income and education categories of mothers in an Ilorin sample, although higher income and education was associated with a greater tendency to add milk to the pap. In a survey of ethnic differences in weaning foods, it was found that the majority of Hausa (96 percent), Yoruba (90 percent), and Igbo (83 percent) mothers start with pap, and 100 percent in all groups mentioned pap when asked to name a good weaning food. Complementary infants' foods among the Yoruba are somewhat different from those used by other two major ethnic groups in Nigeria. Beans and bean products are the first solid foods given to infants next to pap by the urban poor of Ibadan (Akinyele and Omotola 1987). Foods such as *moin-moin*, *akara*, and bean pottage are commonly consumed (Omotola, 1984). A common problem associated with most complementary food in Nigeria is inadequate sufficient proteins, vitamins, and minerals. A traditional complementary food used by the Kanuri, Hausa, and Fu-lani in northern Nigeria is known as *kunu* and is usually made from a cereal (sorghum, rice, or wheat) combined with ground-nut or *tsamya* (a sour fruit). About half of the mothers interviewed in Maiduguri mixed this cereal pap with formula, and about a quarter combined formulas with commercial cereals.

The Hausas of northern Nigeria also give a type of dough made from guinea corn, millet, or rice (called *tuwo*) with different vegetable soups to infants as the next solid food after introduction to pap. Beans and bean products are rarely used because they are believed to cause flatulence. Mashed yam and rice were the next important infant foods. Among the Igbos of eastern Nigeria, next supplement to maize gruel are mashed yams,

rice, beans, plantains, and cassava *fufu* or *garri* (Kazimi & Kazimi 1979). Like the Hausas, the Igbos also consume vegetable soups along with the modified adult foods. Beans and bean dishes are similarly prominent as important foods for infant weaning. Other foods given to children in the first year include rice, beans, tubers, and other cereals, including commercial preparations (Aina et al. 1992; Anyanwu & Enwonwu 1985; Omotola & Akinyele 1985; Uwaegbute & Nnanyelugo 1987).

Methodological Considerations

This is an exploratory study with women and health care providers as its population. The research took place in two states which include Ekiti and Lagos States. Two main towns were purposively selected for the study; they are Ado-Ekiti in Ekiti State and Ikorodu in Lagos State. A total of 504 respondents selected via snow balling sampling technique attended to the questionnaire while 6 health personnel were purposively selected from 6 different health facilities for in-depth interviewed (IDI). This study used mixed methods to obtain its data. The quantitative data was collected via semi structured questionnaire, and the qualitative data through In-depth interview (IDI). The quantitative data was analysed using IBM SPSS software version 20, while the qualitative data was analysed using content analysis and verbatim.

Findings

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents
Table 1:

Age of the Respondents

Age Range	Frequency	Percentage
18 -23 years	90	17.86
24 - 29 years	108	21.43
30 - 35 years	147	41.07
36 - 41 years	63	12.5

42 years above	36	7.14
Total	**504**	**100.0**
Religion of the Respondents		
Christianity	324	64.29
Islam	153	28.57
Traditional	27	5.36
Total	**504**	**100.0**
Ethnicity of the Respondents		
Yoruba Group	216	42.86
Igbo Group	144	28.57
Hausa Group	81	16.07
Others	63	12.5
Total	**504**	**100.0**
Marital Status of the Respondents		
Married	423	84.38
Separated	30	5.95
Divorced	24	4.76
Widowed	27	5.45
Total	**504**	**100.0**
Educational Qualifications of the Respondents		
Have no Formal Education	201	39.88
Primary Education	114	22.61
Secondary Education	54	10.71
NCE/ND	75	13.69
B.SC/HND	51	10.11
Postgraduate programme	15	2.97
Total	**504**	**100.0**
Types of Occupations of the Respondents		
Business/Trade	234	47.27
Artisan	09	1.87
Students	72	14.55
Civil Servant	54	10.91
Unemployed	15	9.09
NYSC	09	1.82
Others	72	14.55
Total	**504**	**100.0**

Monthly Income Range of the Respondents		
Less than N10,000 – N50,000	153	32.08
N51,000 –N100,000	144	30.19
N101,000-N150,000	54	11.32
N151,000-N200,000	54	11.32
N201,000 and above	72	15.09
Total	**504**	**100.0**

Source: Field Work, 2020

The above socio-economic demographic variables of the respondents show that the age of the majority respondents, 41.07%, fall within 30-35 years. The religious affiliation of the respondents indicate that 64.29% practice Christianity, 28.57% were Islam, 5.36% were traditional people while only 1.79 falls within other forms of religion. The ethnicity of the respondents shows that 42.86% were Yoruba speaking people, 28.57% were Igbo people, 16.07% were Hausa while only 12.5% of the respondents were from other ethnic group. Regarding the issue of marital status, 84.38% are married, 5.95% were separated, divorced was 4.76% while 5.45% were widowed. The educational qualification of the respondents indicates that 39.88% did not have formal education, 22.61% had just primary education, 13.69% had NCE/ND, while only 2.97% of the respondents further pursued their postgraduate programmes. In respect to what the people do for a living, 47.27% were trader/business, 14.55% of the respondents were either students or fall in the group of others, 10.91% were civil servants while only 1.82% of the respondents were NYSC members. Regarding their income, 32.08%% respondents made less than between N10,00 – N50,000, 30.19% make between N51,000 – N100,000 while only 11.32% of the respondents made N101,000 – N150,000 and N151,000 – N200,000.

Nursing Mother's' Knowledge about Infant-Feeding Practices in Nigeria

Table 2: Respondents' Knowledge about Infant-Feeding Practices

Options	Yes		No		Don't Know		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Any time I'm pregnant, I attend antenatal, obey and practice medical advice on exclusive infant's breast feeding (first six months)	369	73.2	120	23.8	15	3.0	504	100.00
I give my baby water alongside breast the first 6 months	324	64.3	165	32.7	15	3.0	504	100.0
After the 6 month baby friendly, I breastfeed my child for 1 year	306	60.7	180	35.7	18	3.6	504	100.0
I perfectly understand how to handle infant especially their feeding at every stage	378	75.0	99	19.6	27	5.4	504	100.0
I feed all my children the way I was advice by nurses during antenatal	396	78.6	93	18.5	15	3.0	504	100.0
Other mothers and in-laws educate other nursing women on the way best to feed infant children at every stage	252	50.0	234	46.4	18	3.6	504	100.0
As an experience nursing mother on infants feeding, I don't listen to other people's unscientific advice.	393	78.0	78	15.5	33	6.5	504	100.0

Source: Field Work, 2020

Knowledge of a phenomenon or about a particular thing is very important, crucial and germane to the success of understanding those particular phenomena. In respect to infant-feeding practices, the growth, development and well-being of a child are functions of the amount of knowledge nursing mothers have acquired over time, especially during the antenatal period or from other persons or other sources. From the above table, seven indices were used to measure the knowledge of nursing mothers in respect to the subject matter. The statistics in the above table showed that there is no doubt that nursing

mothers are very knowledgeable when it comes to infant-feeding practices in Nigeria. For instance, 73.2% of the majority of the respondents said yes, any time I'm pregnant, I attend antenatal classes, and obey and practice medical advice about exclusive infant's breast feeding (first six months). The knowledge acquired during antenatal training or from other sources has really helped nursing mothers take proper and adequate care of their infant children especially when it comes to feeding as the following qualitative extracts from interviews with nurses demonstrate.

Extract 10: An Interview with a Nurse at University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital, Ibadan

"The answer is both sides of the coin. Women, who are well enlightened, are well knowledgeable about infant feeding practice because they attend good and well equipped hospital and mingle with people that are well informed but those who belong to the other side of the coin, are not knowledgeable about infant feeding. They use their personal ideas whether it is good or correct or not. They seek advice from people they belong to the same social class too."

Extract 11: An Interview with a Nurse at Adeoyo Hospital, Ibadan

"It depends on the level of human's education and exposure. But I think to a higher extent because of civilization and awareness."

However, to the contrary, the findings of the study in Limpopo province in respect to the knowledge about infant feeding show that majority (76%) of the mothers said that

they had not been taught which foods were good for their babies, while 13.5% said that they had been taught by health workers or nurses and 7% by mothers or mothers-in-law, and 3% said that they had been influenced by the radio, by television, or by magazines. The type and quality of information given to the mothers was not determined. About 42.2% of the mothers said that they had been influenced to breastfeed by parents and health workers, 30.3% by health workers, 18.4% by parents, health workers, friends or the radio and 4.3% by parents or parents-in-law. Furthermore, data shows that, of the mothers who had been influenced to breastfeed by health workers, 93.6% of their infants had a normal WAZ, while 91% of the infants whose mothers said that they had been influenced by parents, health workers, friends or the radio had a normal WAZ. The mothers' sources of knowledge on breast-feeding had not influenced the weight status of their infants (p = 0.965). (Mushaphi, Mbhenyane, Khoza, & Amey, 2008).

Patterns of Infant-Feeding Practices in Nigeria

Table 2: Patterns of Infant-Feeding Practices

Different types of Infant Feeding Pattern in Nigeria	0 – 3 Months		0 – 6 Months		6 – 12 Months		From 1 Year		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Exclusive breastfeeding	285	**56.5%**	60	**11.9%**	140	**27.8%**	19	**3.8%**	504	**100.0**
Water	270	**53.4%**	165	**32.7%**	39	**7.7%**	30	**6.0%**	504	**100.0**
Formulas (SMA, NAN etc)	120	**23.8%**	150	**29.8%**	164	**32.5%**	60	**12.0%**	504	**100.0**
Pap (Ogi)	165	**32.7%**	189	**37.5%**	105	**20.8%**	45	**8.9%**	504	**100.0**
Family diet (beans, momo, egg etc)	45	**8.9%**	135	**26.8%**	198	**39.3%**	126	**25.0%**	504	**100.0**

Source: Field Work, 2020

In respect to patterns of feeding of infants among nursing mothers in Nigeria, the above table shows the responses of respondents about what they give their infant children periodically. From the table, 56.5% practice exclusive breastfeeding between 0-3 months, while 11.9% practice exclusive breasting feeding from 0-6 moths. This rate of exclusive breastfeeding is high when compared to the findings in Limpopo which says that exclusive breast-feeding was practised by only 7.6% of the mothers at the time of the study, the fourteen infants involved being naught to six months old. About 78% of these exclusively breast-fed infants had a normal WAZ, as compared to the 91.3% who were given both breast milk and food and the 95.5% who were given a breast milk-and-water mixture, (Mushaphi, Mbhenyane, Khoza, & Amey, 2008). Giving water to the new born baby, 53.4% subject their infant to water between 0-3 months, 32.7% give water from 0-6 months. The majority of the respondents 32.5% give their infants formulas such as SMA from 6-12 months; 37.5% give Ogi (pap) to their infants for the first time between 0-6 months; and finally, 39.3% begin to give their infants a family diet between 6-12 months. This simply suggests that nursing women in Nigeria practice infant feeding the way and manner that it suits them and that their practices are based on the accessibility of materials available to them. The qualitative extracts that follow offer nurses' perceptions of such infant-feeding practices.

Extract 1: An Interview with a Nurse in Group Medical Hospital, Ibadan

She has this to say in respect to the pattern of infant feeding among women in Ibadan:

(i) Exclusive breast feeding; (ii) Mixed feeding; and (iii) Complementary feeding

Extract 2: An Interview with a Nurse in Oluyoro Hospital, Ibadan

She mentioned the following as the pattern of infant feeding among women in Ibadan:

(i) Exclusive breastfeeding and (ii) Complementary feeding

Extract 3: An Interview with a Nurse in University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital, Ibadan

She said: "There are different patterns of infant feeding such as Exclusive breastfeeding and mixed feeding too."

The Social Status of Nursing Mothers as a Determinant of Infant-Feeding Practices in Nigeria

Table 3: If Respondents are aware that their social status determine infant feeding practice

Options	SA	A	I	D	SD
My level of education could affect how I feed my child	350 **69.4%**	88 **17.5%**	28 **5.6%**	08 **1.6%**	30 **6.0%**
The social class of nursing mothers influence the way they feed their child	262 **52.0%**	68 **13.5%**	108 **21.4%**	30 **6.0%**	36 **7.1%**
The amount of money women have determine infant feeding practice	320 **63.5%**	85 **16.9%**	44 **8.7%**	23 **4.6%**	32 **6.3%**
Nursing women exposure is capable of determining infant feeding practice	315 **62.5%**	73 **14.5%**	50 **10.0%**	45 **8.9%**	30 **6.0%**
The more people nursing women interact with contribute to infant feeding practice	295 **58.5%**	80 **15.9%**	40 **7.9%**	44 **8.8%**	45 **8.9%**
The environment nursing mothers stay determine infant feeding practice	101 **20.0%**	73 **14.5%**	155 **30.8%**	125 **24.8%**	50 **10.0%**

Source: Field Work, 2020

The social status of individual nursing mother goes a long way to strongly determine the well-being of her children right from birth via the children's feeding practices. Put differently, there is a strong synergy or nexus between the good care of the child and the social status of the nursing mother. The above Likert table measures the social relationships of nursing mothers as determinants of infant-feeding practices in Nigeria by using six indicators. Five out of the six indices strongly agree that the social status of nursing mothers determines infant feeding practices. A majority of the respondents, 69.4% strongly agree that their level of education could affect how they feed their children.

Education is a powerful tool to transform an individual into a well-informed and well-socialized person. This includes the way a nursing woman feeds her child as a result of the volume of information she attains from different sources on how best to feed a child at every stage of childhood. The table also demonstrates that the environment a nursing woman lives in is inconsequential regarding the feeding practice of a child: 30.8% of the

respondents were indifferent to the suggestion that the environment nursing mothers live in determines infant feeding practice. This is simply because everybody is expected to make where they stay very clean all the time so that dirt does not in any way affect the feeding practices of their children. The qualitative extract below supports the argument above.

Extract 4: An Interview with a Nurse at University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital, Ibadan

Oh yes, there is relationship between women social status and the quality of infant's look through feeding. Women that are economically okay, they are literate and well exposed have good knowledge about infant care generally not only feeding but women that are illiterate and are in very low class do not have good knowledge about infant feeding. Thet do this, because they do not have money to attend good and qualified health facility during antenatal where they will teach them how to take good and proper care of their child at any level. They prefer to go to TBA or faith homes. And should anything go wrong, most of them give up there.

When nurses were asked how does this happen, the following responses were advanced:

Extract 5: An Interview with a Nurse at Adeoyo Hospital Ibadan

If they are in working class group, they may not have enough time for feeding their infant and young children and some women are shy or ashamed to feed their baby in public places.

Extract 6: An Interview with a Nurse at Lafia Hospital Ibadan

Yes, this is very true. Women's status determines infant feeding. For instance, the working class does not have time for the child as soon as they resume work after delivery. The baby begins another life style in a crèche home while those who are into business or not working at all have quality time for their infant and young children.

Extract 7: An Interview with a Nurse in University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital Ibadan

Oh yes, there is relationship between women social status and the quality of infant's look through feeding. Women that are economically okay, they are literate and well expose have good knowledge about infant care generally not only feeding but women that are illiterate and are in very low class do not have good knowledge about infant feeding. Do This is because they do not have money to attend good and qualified health facility during antenatal where they will teach them how to take good and proper care of their child at any level. They prefer to go to TBA or faith homes. And should anything go wrong, most of them give up there.

Extract 8: An Interview with a Nurse at Group Medical Hospital Ibadan

Most nursing mothers in the city of Ibadan mingle with very low class or status women. This is because majority of women in Ibadan are those who did not go to school and are not involve in civil job but rather they are

petty traders or those in the informal sector. Only few who are well learned mingle with women of their own calibre.

Extract 9: An Interview with a Nurse in Oluyoro Hospital Ibadan

Well, most of them mingle and interact with people of their class. Even when they have opportunity to interact and mingle with women in high class, inferiority complex is another problem.

Extract 10: An Interview with a Nurse in University of Ibadan Teaching Hospital Ibadan

Nursing mothers in Ibadan are not the same. They are in different classes based on their level of education, economic status and exposure. From the foregoing, an average nursing study her environment and look for those they fall within the same category in every sense of it and chose them as people they interact and mingle with.

Discussion

Infant feeding is a global practice that has universal standards that can protect infants and their countries from malnutrition. The need for a country to enlighten nursing or pregnant women during their antenatal periods about the most medically accepted way and manner of taking good and adequate care of infants especially in the area of feeding to avoid infant's related diseases cannot be overemphasized. With the rapid growth and development of technology and science, no woman can claim ignorance of the medical advice about infant-feeding practices either directly or indirectly.

It is necessary at this juncture to recognise that it is one thing for women to be knowledgeable about infant-feeding practices, and it is also something totally different for these same women to put into practice what they know or the knowledge that they acquire. Indeed many factors or indicators come to play at the individual's level. Therefore, it is worthwhile to ask to what extent is the social status of nursing mothers or women generally capable of influencing infant-feeding practices as stipulated by health care providers, especially Nigeria struggling with economic stability. In Bangladesh, a similar study was conducted basically looking at education as a determinant of infants feeding in the country. The findings of the research showed that the prevalence of under nutrition in the form of stunting, underweight, and wasting varies significantly across maternal educational status. Rates of under nutrition were significantly lower among children of higher educated mothers (stunting: 17.2%, underweight: 26.3% and wasting: 10%) as compared to children of illiterate mothers (stunting: 37.5%, underweight: 46% and wasting: 13.6%). In addition, children of educated mothers were less likely to become moderately stunted (OR=0.41, p-value<0.01), underweight (OR=0.46, p-value<0.01, and wasted (OR=0.71, p-value<0.10) as compared to children born to illiterate mothers in unadjusted models. These findings persisted even after being adjusted for some important socio-economic, demographic, and health related characteristics. Consequently, the above results showed that the level of education of average women in Bangladesh strongly determines their knowledge and the extent of their care for their infants, most especially their feeding practices which also decide the health status of their children and their survival (Hasib, Golam, Hasan, & Helen, 2014).

In Nigeria, the synergy between the social status of women and infant-feeding

practices takes a different trend, contrary to what the health care provider advice is given to pregnant women during their antenatal periods. In a country like Nigeria where poverty is the order of the day, infant-feeding practices become individualized. It is not that mothers do not know what the health care providers say but practicing infant-feeding becomes an intricate or complex task. This is why most children in Nigeria, especially in rural and some semi-urban areas, are subjected to real malnutrition. Some similarities may be drawn between this malnutrition and that in Bangladesh where almost 30% of the study children were found stunted, 40% were underweight, and 11% wasted, of which 10.6% were moderately acutely malnourished (MAM) (Hasib., et al., 2014). Nigerian women have the knowledge about infant-feeding practices either directly or indirectly. In fact, some of them who are have learned about and being experienced in this subject matter teach other women about it. Some, because of their wealth of experience and the way they take good care of their own children, become informal consultants to others who want their own children to be like theirs. Findings in Bangladesh which are similar corroborate the above argument. Getting knowledge from proper sources about child feeding significantly increases maternal education (from 17% to 36% educated mothers) (Hasib, et al., 2014).

Conclusion

Results from this empirical study succinctly show that nursing mothers are well informed as far as infant-feeding practices are concerned. In fact, it is important to say that they are aware of the consequences of poor infant feeding. However, it must be stated that for nursing mothers in Nigeria, their social status or the class to which they belong is a key determinant of the infant-feeding practices they use. This finding corresponds with the information about infant-feeding practices obtainable from India and Bangladesh. Nursing mothers' social class or status as far as infant-feeding practices are concerned has also reduced infants' malnutrition in Nigeria.

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Recycling Ceramic Sanitary Wares' Wastes as Raw Materials for Reproduction in Ceramics and Development of Metal Polishes in Nigeria

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Abstract

Firing into glassy substances creates irreversible chemical change in clay bodies which makes them impossible to return to their plastic state. The ceramic body, therefore, becomes a non-degradable substance that does not decompose. Sanitary ceramic wares are usually highly-fired substances that are characterized by their high strength, low-absorption, translucent, sonorous, and non-porous quality. As a result, characteristics of ceramic sanitary wares constitute major problems when they become shards and abandoned objects in the immediate environments. Due to the available ceramic raw materials in ceramic wares such as clay, most ceramists believe that there is no need to recycle ceramic waste for ceramic re-use as ceramic raw materials and metal polishes. This paper examines the physical and chemical properties of these ceramic wastes and the possibility of them being recycled into useful means for ceramic reproduction and for their development into bar-polishing compounds for finishing in creative metal works, office furniture, and household utensils. The key methodological concepts in the content of this study involve the appraisal of the characteristics and properties of ceramic wastes and the threat that they pose to the local environment. Ultimately, this study serves as a source of inspiration for the growing generations of ceramists and is a starting point for further research efforts in ceramic shards recycling for useful purposes in ceramic practices and the visual arts generally. It is also observed that recycling ceramic sanitary wastes would provide job opportunities for Nigerians and help in environmental waste management.

Keywords: Ceramic waste, Recycle, Reproduction, Compounding, Polish.

Introduction

Ceramics is simply defined according to Otimeyin (2015:1) as the application of heat on any earthy raw material. This could be clay, sand, limestone, feldspar, coal, granite, or gypsum. Of all these clay is by far the most widely used and most salient. It is pertinent to note here that ceramics production is incomplete until the ceramics pass through the

heat treatment which transforms the clay and related materials from their natural state into a rock-like, irreversible state that is impervious to water (Osariyekemwen, 2015).

Most of the ceramics' and metal polishes' raw materials in use in Nigeria today are sourced from their natural places of origin. Raw material development is critical to the success of the ceramic sub-sector of the nation's economic and industrial growth. Ceramic raw materials may be principally clay, silica or mixture of suitable materials for body and glaze compositions. The possible body composition ingredients are kaolin, ball clay, grog, feldspar, flint, quartz and bentonite, while that of glaze composition includes basic oxides, acidic oxides, and amphoteric oxides. The following oxides and materials used in the three areas enumerated above are clay, flint, feldspar, whiting, zinc oxide, tin oxide, talc, borax, lead oxide, magnesium oxide, sodium oxide, potassium oxide, strontium oxide, and barium oxide. However, the basic materials needed in glaze and clay body compositions according to Emodah (2006:2) are silica, clay, and feldspar. These materials are available everywhere in the world.

There are several reasons for the ceramist to use different clay body and glaze compositions. One is to better the working conditions of the clay body and glazes. These working conditions are maturing temperature, refractoriness, strength, and durability, the glaze and clay body fitness, texture, and colour (Osariyekemwen, 2015). Thermoplastics are easily recycled because of their physical and chemical properties which make them melt, so they can easily be reshaped (the science daily 2007). This, however, is not the case with ceramics. As Peterson (1998:7), cited in Kalilu, Akintonde and Ayodele (2006:20), observes, ceramics materials are formed from raw materials and raw materials are in mineral forms, which are essential to industry. Such minerals, Ridpath (1975)

remarks are inorganic substances which have not been formed by living process. Theys are the materials that make up rocks and stones. In short, ceramic materials are products made of rocks and stones.

Ajayi (2003:58) describes rock as any solid substance that forms part of the earth's crust. This solid substance may be hard, like granite or may even be soft like mud. Rocks are generally classified into three groups according to their origin, mode of formation, and physical appearance. They may be igneous rock, sedimentary rock, or metamorphic rock. Because clay is the product of rock, it is important to consider its geological origin. Otimeyin (2008) contends that clay is formed from the disintegration of granite or feldspartic rocks. This is possible when small mineral grains, eroded from other rocks, form a soft kind of earth made from different minerals. Nelson (1966) informs us that clay is derived from the disintegration of granite and other felspartic or pegmatite rocks, which as they decomposed, deposited alumina and silica particles. The two minerals combined with water to form pure clay, composition of which is expressed chemically as $AL_2O_3.2SiO_2 2H_2O$. Rhodes (1996) also asserts that clay is the product of the geological weathering of the surface of the earth, and since this weathering process is continuous and goes on everywhere; clay is an extremely common and abundant material in nature.

Because of the ceramic raw materials in clay, most ceramists believe that there is no need to recycle ceramic sanitary wres for re-use as ceramic raw materials. But most sanitary wares used in Nigeria are products of a fired clay body. Firing, which makes the clay glassy, creates an irreversible chemical change. This chemical change makes it impossible for the clay to return to its plastic state. Therefore, sanitary wares, highly fired materials, possess the characteristics of high strength, low-absorption, and translucency.

Sonorous and non-porous, they are non-degradable substances (non-decomposable materials). Almost every home has sanitary facilities installed for use. Unavoidably, most of these sanitary wares are abandoned all over the country either because they are damaged or have become old fashioned. As non-degradable elements, they constitue a hazard to the environment. One way to remove this hazard from the environment and also make discarded sanitary wares useful is to recycle them, using locally developed methods and technologies.

This article examines the possibilities that exist in the recycling of ceramic sanitary waste for reproduction in ceramics and repurposing into substances for finishing in metal art works. Therefore, it discusses and appraises the experiment on elemental analysis of recycled ceramic sanitary wastes for reproduction carried out by Osariyekemwen Daniel Nosakhare at the Centre for Energy Research, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. It also reports the work done by Samson Ogheneruemu Ukweku on the development of sanitary wares shards into bar metal polishes for creative works finishing.

Elemental Analysis and Application Techniques

After identifying ceramic waste dumps that are environmental hazards, the researchers took samples of the sanitary ware waste for milling. These samples were milled into a finer powder for ceramic body composition. Before the formulation of adequate body compositions and the selection of a body composition for final production, the researchers carried out elemental tests on the milled ceramic waste and ball clays in the laboratory with the aid of a mini-pal energy dispersive X-ray spectrometer which helped in the analyzing of the constituents present in the ceramic waste and ball clay.

These ceramic waste and ball clay samples also were tested for elemental analysis in the laboratory to determine whether the required ceramic elements were still intact after their initial firing. To carry out this elemental test, the researchers sought the help of experts in material science from a standard laboratory at the Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The results of this testing show that the ceramic wastes still had the three principal elements that are used in ceramic body compositions. Silica, used in the body as glass former; alumina as amphoteric oxide, which acts as a stabilizer in the body composition; and feldspar which acts as a flux that aids in melting or fusion in the body were intact. In the case of the ball clay, the required constituents were also intact. The processes and procedures used are as presented in plates 2 and 3.

After the elemental analysis, the formulation of different body compositions for samples tests was carried out. Elemental analyses aimed at chemical analysis and recycling prospects of ceramic wastes generated from sanitary ware were performed. The elemental chemical test on both milled ceramic wastes and ball clay was conducted at the Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Also, physical tests for plasticity, shrinkage, particle size, mechanical strength and porosity were carried out on samples compositions in a soil laboratory at the Civil Engineering Department and Ceramic Departmental Studio, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, Edo State.

Below, Plates 1-3 show the apparatus and machine used in carrying out the chemical and physical tests on milled ceramic waste and clay. The chemical tests on milled clay and ceramic wastes, done at the Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), ABU, Zaria, were carried out with the aid of mini pal 4 version analytical software

system. The mini pal is a compact energy dispersive X-ray spectrometer designed for the elemental analysis of a wide range of samples. The system is controlled by a PC running the dedicated mini pal analytical software. This mini pal 4 version in use is PW 4030 X-ray spectrometer, which is an energy dispersive microprocessor controlled analytical instrument designed for the detection and measurement of elements in a sample (solid, powders and liquids), from sodium to uranium.

Plate 1:The inscriptions on the Mini Pal 4 Spectrometer Source: Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), ABU, Zaria

Plate 2: The Mini pal 4 Spectrometer with displayed Pellets **Source: Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), ABU, Zaria**

Plate 3: The complete system that runs Mini pal 4 Spectrometer analytical software Source: Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), ABU, Zaria

Studio Practice and Procedures

The methods, apparatus, and equipment used in gathering information or data were carefully recorded for use. This description of the research experiment of the elemental analysis of samples presents in a logical and sequential manner, the steps and procedures adopted during experimentation in laboratories. The samples for analysis were weighed and further ground in an agate mortar and a binder (PVC dissolved in Toluene) was added to the samples, carefully mixed and pressed in an hydraulic press into pellets. The pellets were loaded in the sample chamber of the spectrometer and voltage (30kV maximum), and a current (1mA maximum) was applied to produce the X-rays to excite

the sample for a preset time (10 mins in this case). The spectrums from the samples were then analyzed to determine the concentration of the elements in the samples as shown in the following table.

Elemental Analysis Sample Results

Sample Identity: Ball Clay

Application	<Standardless>
Sequence	1 of 1
Measurement time	12-Mar-2014 14:08:50
Position	2

Compound	Conc. Unit %
Al_2O_3	19.6
SiO_2	61.2
K_2O	1.91
CaO	0.48
Sc_2O_3	0.03
TiO_2	3.45
V_2O_5	0.19
Cr_2O_3	0.10
MnO	0.003
Fe_2O_3	11.40
NiO	0.12
CuO	0.070
ZnO	0.03
Ga_2O_3	0.041
ZrO_2	0.2
Rh_2O_3	1.0
Re_2O_7	0.10
Total	**99.924**

Table 1: Shows the elemental result of ball clay from the Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Chemical test results of the milled ceramic waste shown in the table 2 below indicate that all the elements in it are important for the purpose of reproducing new ceramic items. From the test analysis, the compound elements show that the acidic oxides which constitute the glass former added up to 60.7% while the neutralizer summed up to

17.1% and the basic oxides which make up the fluxes stood at 22.2%.

Sample Identity: Ground Ceramics Waste

Application	<Standardless>
Sequence	1 of 1
Measurement time	12-Mar-2014 14:21:09
Position	4

Compound	Conc. Unit %
Al2O3	17.1
SiO2	60.7
P2O5	0.70
SO3	0.070
Cl	0.608
K2O	4.34
CaO	10.40
TiO2	0.743
V2O5	0.042
Cr2O3	0.042
MnO	0.061
Fe2O3	4.413
NiO	0.040
CuO	0.039
ZnO	0.184
Ga2O3	0.002
ZrO2	0.1
BaO	0.19
OsO4	0.082
IrO2	0.13
Total	99.986

Table 2: Shows the elemental result of ceramic waste from Centre for Energy Research and Training (CERT), Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

The spectrums from the sample results as analyzed in tables above helped to determine the required concentration of the elements in the sample as being adequate before an appropriate body composition was formulated for use in the sample slabs. Thereafter, further tests for plasticity, porosity, tensile strength, drying and firing shrinkage on produced sample slabs from ceramic waste line blending composition were conducted in order to ascertain their suitability for reuse. Similarly, further testing for sieve analysis

was conducted at the Civil Engineering Department, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, Edo State. Below is the sieve analysis test result of the milled ceramic waste and ball clay.

Sieve Analysis of Milled Ceramic Waste and Ball Clay before Body Composition of Test Slabs

Procedure for Mechanical Sieving

This process covers the sieve analysis that was carried out on milled ceramic waste and ball clay powder before various body compositions were formulated. The main purpose of this test was to determine the particle size distribution of materials before use.

Apparatus

1) Set of sieve with small variation in opening size by ratio of 2:1.

2) Brush.

3) Dry oven.

4) Weighing Balance.

5) Mechanical sieve shaker with 25 mm deep (half height).

Plate 4: The Mechanical sieve shaker with 25 mm deep (half height)
Source: Soil laboratory, Civil Engineering

Procedure

1. The natural moisture content was taken.

2. Oven dry, cool and weigh in of the samples through electronic weighing device#.

3. Arrangement of the selected sieves as shown on plate 63 from the highest to the least with a receiver below and a cover on top to prevent escape of dust.

4. Agitation or shaking mechanically was carried out.

5. Weighing and recording of each fraction of the sample retained in each sieve.

6. Sum of the mass retained (M/R) in each sieve was made to give the total mass retained.

7. Calculation of the percentage retained in each sieve as

$$\frac{Mass}{Total\ Mass} \times 100 \quad .$$

8. Calculation made of the percentage passing by 100- cumulated percentage retained.

9. Drawing of the graph.

Calculation and Summary Report

Each fraction recovered was weighed to the nearest 0.1 cm, after all of the fractions were recovered and weighed. The sum of the entire fractions was taken as the sum of the specimen's weight for calculation. The sum of the entire fractions and the original samples weight conformed to 1.0 gm. The percentage retained on each sieve are reported on the summary report chart below.

Sieve Analysis of Milled Ceramic Waste (Wet/Dry Sieving)

Sample No: 1

Description: milled ceramic waste

Total mass dry sample: 242.0

Riffled sample Passing 6.3 mm

US Test Sieve Size	Mass Obtained G	Total Mass obtained G	Percent Retained %	Total Passing %
5 mm				
3.30 mm				100
2 mm	0.70	0.70	0.38	99.62
1.18 mm	14.0	14.0	7.60	92.02
600 micron	48.0	48.0	26.07	65.95
425 micron	24.0	24.0	13.03	52.92
300 micron	20.0	20.0	10.86	42.06
212 micron	16.77	16.77	9.11	32.95
150 micron	18.29	18.29	9.93	23.02
75 micron	20.60	20.60	11.19	11.83
63 micron	21.70	21.70	11.78	0.05
Total	184.06	184.06		

Table 3: Shows the sieve analysis result of ceramic waste

Source: Soil Laboratory, Civil Engineering Department, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi

Soil Analysis

SAMPLE No: 1

Silt fraction	Coarse	3%
	Fine	26%
Sand fraction	Medium	52%
	Coarse	17%
Gravel fraction	Fine	2%
	Total	100%

10% = 0.075 mm

30% = 0.212 mm

60% = 0.425 mm

Coefficient of uniformity – Cu

$$\mathcal{C} = \frac{D_0}{D_0} = \frac{0.425m}{0.075m}$$ Cu = 5.6

Sieve Analysis of Ball Clay (Wet"/Dry Sieving)

SAMPLE No: 2

Description: Ball clay

Total mass dry sample: 177.00 g

Riffled sample Passing 6.3 mm

	Mass Retained G	Total Mass	Percent	Total Passing % 100
3.36 mm	14.5	14.5	11.95	88.05
2.36 mm	10.5	10.5	8.65	79.40
2 mm	10.6	10.6	8.74	70.66
1.18 mm	12.6	12.6	10.39	60.27
600 micron	10.6	10.6	8.74	51.53
425 micron	9.6	9.6	7.91	43.62
300 micron	11.8	11.8	9.73	33.89
212 micron	12.05	12.05	9.93	23.96
150 micron	11.00	11.00	9.07	14.89
75 micron	8.5	8.5	7.01	7.88
63 micron	9.5	9.5	7.83	0.05
Total	121.25	121.25		

Table 4: Shows the sieve analysis result of ball clay

Source: Soil Laboratory, Civil Engineering Department, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi

SAMPLE 2 Ball clay

Silt fraction	Coarse	2%
	Fine	58%
Sand fraction	Medium	34%
	Coarse	06%
	Total	100%

10% = 0.075 mm

30% = 0.150 mm

60% = 0.212 mm

Coefficient of uniformity – Cu

$$\mathcal{C} = \frac{D_0}{D_0} = \frac{0.212m}{0.075m}$$

Cu = 2.8

Studio Development of Ceramic Sanitary Shards into Metal Polishes

This section reports Samson Ogheneruemu Ukweku's research efforts in developing ceramic sanitary shards into bar polishing compounds. The development of ceramic sanitary shards into metal polishes is another gainful way of recycling them into a useful means of surface finishing in creative metalwork. It is important to mention here that bar metal polishes (known as polishing compounds) are usually produced from extremely hard natural or synthetic substances in combination with fatty materials. Ceramic sanitary wares as mentioned earlier are characterized by high strength, translucent, non-porous and hard glaze, thereby non-degradable. The above properties of the ceramic sanitary wares make their shards (wastes) suitable for recycling into abrasive grits for the production of bar polishing compounds, the means for smooth lustre surface finishing

in creative metal works.

The size of abrasive particle that constitutes a given polishing compound determines its functionality. John (2003) states that "all abrasives, with the exception of the naturally appearing fine powders such as talc, must be crushed to the particles size required for use. Sizes in use vary from 4 grit, which measures about 6 millimeters (1/4 inch) in diameter, to as fine as 900 grit, which measures about six microns (0.00024 in required when used for the polishing of scratch-free surface on high-quality optical lenses, mirrors and metal colour attainment." Joseph (1991:329) observes that "each hard abrasive particle acts like a single point cutting tool. With hundreds if not thousand available in a small area of a compound, the effect they produce is quite significant." Coarse grades or grits of an abrasive are used for compounding when high volume of the material is needed to be removed. Finer grades are generally used after coarser grades to produce a high smooth surface finish that is not possible with the coarse grades.

Sourcing Ceramic Sanitary Shards Fatty Substances and Implements for Pulverization

Ceramic shards and abandoned objects were collected from a dump site (plate 5) at Ekehuan Campus, University of Benin, Nigeria. The shards and objects were washed and then stored in a plastic bowl ready for processing into grits (grains). Processing them into grains involved crushing with locally sourced implements such as mechanical, manual milling machines, and improvised crushing tools (such as steel metal plate, hammers, mortar and pistons). A steel metal plate of about 13 mm in thickness was collected from a scrap metal site in Benin City. Small and big sledge hammers used by the researcher

were bought from retailing building material shop at Lagos Street around King's Square in Benin City, Edo State. The adapted mortar was an improvised one produced from an air-conditioned (A/C) compressor that was cut into two parts. A discarded car shaft from a scrap metal dump in Benin City, Edo State was used as an improvised piston for pounding, and a manual hand milling machine branded "SFINX" was purchased from a mechanical tools and equipment shop. Beeswax was also sourced as a binder.

Plate 5: Abandoned ceramic sanitary wares and shards in dump site in Benin City
Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Pulverization, Sifting and Compounding the Metal Polishes

Pulverization of the ceramic sanitary shards collected for recycling became necessary to achieve the procurement of grits sizes required to carry out the needed experiments in the study. Therefore, the ceramic sanitary shards were subjected to various pulverizing processes which included crushing, grinding, and milling (plates 6-7). In order to procure the right size and uniformity in size of grits, the ceramic sanitary abrasive grits in powder form were subjected to sifting operations using sieves of different grades (plate 8-10).

The researchers employed the use of factory graded sieves. It is important to state here that the factory graded sieves come in the following specifications: 600, 400, 250,

230, 220, 180, 150, 120, 100, 80 and 60 grades, etc. The higher the specification indicated above, the smaller the size of grits the sieve produces. During the research, grade sizes of 60, 80.100, 120 and 150 were adopted. After the sifting process, the compounding of the metal polishes was carried out (plates 6 and 7). The sifted and graded grains were weighed to determine the volume before being blended separately with melted beeswax which served as binder. The resultant outcome was a polishing compound in bar form (see plates 9, 10 and 11).

Plate 6: crushing the ceramic sanitary shards into particles.

Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Plate 7: pulverizing crushed ceramic sanitary particles into fine grains with hand milling machine.

Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Plate 8: sifting ceramic sanitary grains with 100 grade sieve

Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Plate 9: mixing and blending the ceramic sanitary grits with melted beeswax

Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Plate 10: the blended recipe undergoing cooling process

Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

Plate 11: compounded
Photo: Philip Olowe, 2015

A test polishing operation was carried out to determine the efficacy of the research recipe It was observed that the bar polishing compound produced by recycling ceramic sanitary shards can be used to achieve high smooth and lustre surface in creative metal works finishing.

Conclusion

The firing of clay bodies into glassy substances usually creates irreversible chemical changes which makes them impossible to return to their plastic state. They become non-degradable substances that do not decompose. Characterized by their high strength low-absorption, translucent, sonorous and non-porous elements, sanitary ceramic wares constitute major problems when they become shards and abandoned objects in the environments. Being non-degradable, they are notaffected by weather metamorphosis. However, ceramic sanitary waste can be recycled into useful means to aid art practices. Raw material from ceramic waste, when analyzed elementally and composed into bodies with adequate and agreeable ball clay, can be used successfully to reproduce ceramic items that vitrify well with transparent and opaque glazes as an interface when gloss fired. It is also possible to develop bar polishing compounds from recycled ceramic waste for finishing in creative metal works, office furniture, and household utensils.

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Forensicity and Dialectism in Chimamanda Adichie's *Americanah*

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Abstract

One of the ways Chimamanda Adichie's third novel, *Americanah* (2013) reflects reality is through its consistent references, inquiries, and inclusions of significant historical and contemporary developments in Nigeria. Using a new historical approach, this study demonstrates how this novel becomes a vital forensic inquiry into thorny historical and societal issues that continue to generate public concern, debate, and even controversy.

Keywords: Forensic, Dialectism, Society, Representation, Interpretation.

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Introduction

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2009) refers to the "the danger of a single story" in her celebrated speech delivered on October 7th at the TED conference. She warns that if only a single story is told and heard about another person and country, we risk a critical misunderstanding. However, when there are diverse presentations and representations of any social issue, we are in a better position to strike a balance and arrive at a reliable conclusion that can contribute to bringing about a desired transformation, indicting the guilty and vindicating the innocent. Adichie maintains that "stories have been used to dispossess and to malign. But stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people. But stories can also repair that broken dignity… when we reject the single story, when we realize that there is never a single story about any place, we regain a kind of paradise." Her assertions are equally relevant when considering issues relating to historical presentation and interpretation in literature. One of the ways of making a fictional work realistic, concrete, and aesthetically endearing is to creatively invoke memorable contemporary and historical developments through allusions, character mimesis and various intertextual representations and conformations. This study is particularly concerned with how Chimamanda Adichie has mirrored society in *Americanah*, using her fiction to investigate, interrogate, and dialectisehistorical events. In order to do so, it is necessary first to recognise that Adichie as a writer is shaped by the times in which she lives. As Roshni Duhan (2015, pp. 192-197) asserts

> [a] literary man is as much a product of his society as his art is a product of his own reaction to life. Even the greatest of artists is sometimes a conscious, sometimes an unconscious exponent of his time-spirit. The time-spirit is the total outcome, the quintessential accretion of all the political, social, religious and scientific changes of a particular age. The historical aspect of literature…cannot be ignored. Thus literature reflects his zeitgeist or the

Time-Spirit... No writer can escape the influence of his age. Every man is… the citizen of his age as well as of his country… One belongs to one's century and race, even when one reacts against one's century and race. Thus literature always expresses the thoughts and sentiment of human mind which are closely connected with and conditioned by the age. The influence of the age on the human mind is due to the fact that the latter is constantly influenced by the spirit of the age and reacts to it vividly and vigorously… We all know that literature mirrors society. What happens in a society is reflected in literary works in one form or the other.

Like their authors, books are also products of their times, embodying their writers' reactions to and recording the mileu in which they live. Duhan (2015, pp. 192, 194) remarks that

[l]iterature indeed reflects the society, its good values and its ills. In its corrective function, literature mirrors the ills of the society with a view to making the society realize its mistakes and make amends. It also projects the virtues or good values in the society for people to emulate. Literature as an imitation of human action often presents a picture of what people think, say and do in the society. In literature, we find stories designed to portray human life and action through some characters who, by their words, action and reaction, convey certain messages for the purpose of education, information and entertainment. It is impossible to find a work of literature that excludes the society, since no writer has been brought up completely unexposed to the world around him. What writers of literature do is to transport the real-life events in their society into fiction and present it to the society as a mirror with which people can look at themselves and make amends where necessary. Thus literature is not only a reflection of the society but also serves as a corrective mirror in which members of the society can look at themselves and find the need for positive change. It is, thus, clear that if we are interested in literature, its influence is bound to move us amply.

Duhan's perception of the multidimensional functions of a work of literature conforms with that of Huzain Arisky (2019) who also views literature as a powerful tool for societal transformation, claiming that literary art, influenced by social and political institutions, is the result of social action and in turn gives rise to social action. The literary text, then, can, therefore, always be affirmed to be an integral and inseparable part of what is a much larger cultural, political, and social discourse. Connected to the historical moment of its creation, the literary text is directly involved in the making of history and can be utilized to investigate history.

Theoretical Framework

Literary criticism can be compared to a building construction project which often uses the plumb line, in this case theoretical framework, to ascertain the alignment of the structure. According to *Wikipedia* (2020), the major use of the plumb line in a building project is to "ensure that constructions are 'plum' or vertical" ("Plumb line"). The builder's

plumb line enables him to determine the vertical at any given point at each stage of the construction work. In the same vein, a theoretical framework serves as a veritable guide to a literary critic, enabling him to maintain a steady orientation in his evaluation of a work of literature. Chinyere Nwahunanya (2012, pp. 1-5) states that

> [a] theory of literature is therefore *sine qua non* for a proper appreciation of literature. A sound critical theory is the basic foundation upon which any critical procedure must stand, and from there emerge. From critical theory we get the basic assumptions for the study of literature and we gain an insight into literary categories, using generalizable principles. The literary theorist re-examines the fundamental assumptions behind the critical evaluation of any tradition of literature with the aim of correcting them if they are faulty, setting up proper criteria, and thereby aiding readers in the correct interpretation of literary texts. Through analytic descriptions, critical theory anatomizes the essential nature of literary artifacts and isolates their components. …From all the above, it ought to be clear that critical theory is the basis of all literary criticism.

Jonathan Culler (2007, p. 1) notes that literary criticism involves "the systematic study of the nature of literature and of the methods used in the practical reading of literature. By literary theory, we refer not to the meaning of a work of literature but to the theories that reveal what literature can mean." A. T. P. Nwaru (2014, p. 21) concurs, asserting that theoretical systems are constructs which allow the critic to investigate aspects of literature and pass along insights that are yielded up. New Historicism is a critical theory which evolved in the 1980s largely through the work of the American scholar and critic, Stephen Greenblatt and really gained a global influence in the 1990s. New Historicism claims to be a more neutral approach to historical occurrences and to be sensitive in assessing diverse cultures. It strives to reconnect a work of art with the historical period in which it was produced by linking it with the cultural and political movements of its era. A major assumption of the theory is that every work of art is an output or product of the time or moment that created it. In consonance with the French philosophical historian Michel Foucault, New Historicists believe that literary studies and their relationship to history need to be broadened, arguing that 'history' is textual. Steven Lynn (1994, p. 120) elaborates this point when he states that "the new historicist assumes that history is a story, a construct necessarily written and re-written." Because it is impossible for history to be written without ideological and institutional analysis, Linda Hutcheon (1998) also implicates the historian, the theorist, and the critic. Bressler (1999, p. 238) states that New Historicism

> declares that all history is subjective, written by people whose personal biases affect their interpretation of the past. History, asserts cultural poetics, can never provide us with truth or give us a totally accurate picture of past events or the worldview of a group of people. Disavowing the old historicism's autonomous view of history, cultural poetics declares that history is one of many discourses or ways of seeing or thinking about the world. By highlighting and viewing history as one of many equally important discourses such as sociology and politics, and by closely

examining how all discourses (including that of textual analysis itself) affect a text's interpretation, cultural poetics or New Historicism claims to provide its adherents with a practice of literary analysis that highlights the inter-relatedness of all human activities and admits its own prejudices. In New Historicism, literary and non-literary texts are not ranked but are analysed on equal Significance with each other, all influencing all other texts; a development in reaction and in dialogue with formalism.

Issues and Discussions

Adichie's investigations, representations and utilization of social issues and historical developments in *Americanah* are transnational. One of the dominant historical representations we meet in the novel is that of a landmark occurrence in the United States of America (USA), the historic nomination of the first black man, Barack Obama, as the presidential candidate of the Democrats and his subsequent election to the White House as the President of the world's most powerful nation in November 2008. Obama's presidency was inaugurated on 20th January 2009 amidst loud global jubilation, particularly among people from the black race. The various stages of Obama's emergence and eventual electoral victory are elaborately infused in the novel. In Nigeria, a number of significant historical developments beginning from the administration of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in the late seventies and early eighties, to that of Major General Muhammadu Buhari who ousted the Shagari administration to Generals Babangida and Abacha, and then to the civilian-elected administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo are also insightfully foregrounded and interrogated. Just as in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Adichie is

faithful to historical accuracy in foregrounding and discussing some historical events by using the real names of those national leaders before referring to conspicuous moments in their leaderships. Adichie is also preoccupied with issues bordering on emigration, love, race, and identity politics. Again, as in her debut, *Purple Hibiscus*, a military dictatorship forms a significant background in this third novel. This military dictatorship and the disorderly society and economy created by it encourage people to flee f if they can afford to do so. Ifemelu's emigration to America and Obinze's precarious existence in his undocumented stay in London are prompted by the harsh socioeconomic realities of their nation orchestrated by high-wire politicking and its military dictatorship. As Nwanyanwu (2017, pp. 2-3) observes

> [t]he post-independence period in Nigeria during the 1980s and 1990s has been marked by massive economic and academic emigration to the stable and prosperous West (notably the United States of America and the UK) …Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's third novel *Americanah* takes us into the sojourns of her female protagonist Ifemelu and other Nigerian youngsters who try to escape the choicelessness of the Nigerian society in the 1980s.

Subscribing to the expression "massive… academic emigration," Nwanyanwu references the "brain drain," that period in Nigeria's chequered political history which saw the departure of capable and seasoned Nigerian intellectuals to other nations of the world which they considered safer and better, where they sought the much spoken of greener pasture. Adichie's consistent reflection and portrayal of such issues in the history prompts Akingbe and Adeniji (2017, p. 37) to refer to her as "a burgeoning

Nigerian writer who continually forges the link between Nigeria's past and present." In *Purple Hibiscus*, a seasoned academic at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka makes a similar decision as Ifemelu and Obinze in *Americanah* which is also the result of a suffocating military dictatorship. Adichie demonstrates that without the dictatorship and the unstable socioeconomic condition that accompanies it, there would probably have been no cogent reason for Ifemelu's and Obinze's hasty and desperate emigrations to the US and UK. Throughout her thematic preoccupations of emigration, race and transculturalism, Adichie's exploration of history traverses three continents – Africa, Europe and America.

In her endorsement of *Americanah*, Binyavanga Wainaina maintains it is "powerful and the most political of Chimamanda's novels." Investigating and interrogating the issues surrounding the presidential candidacy of Barack Obama, Adichiee identifies most of her fictionalized historical characters by their real names (sometimes in full), characterizing them in conformity with some of the actual events in their lives. This boldness is a feature of third generation Nigerian writers, a group to which she belongs. First and second generation Nigerian writers generally resorted to fictionalization. If Chinua Achebe, that remarkable first generation Nigerian writer, were to belong to the third generation, the character of Chief Nanga in *A Man of the People* would have probably taken the full or part of the name of a notable Nigerian politician.

When Ifemelu and her estranged American partner Blaine survive "the fight, mostly because of Barack Obama, bonding anew over their shared passion. On election night… he held her tightly as though Obama's victory was also their personal victory" (p. 7), Adichie implies that Obama's presidential candidacy and possible electoral victory is a veritable healing, unifying and conciliatory element in their strained relationship. She uses this scenario to demonstrate how the euphoria surrounding the possibility of a black man being elected to the White House galvanised and unified Americans from all races and colours. Our next meeting with Obama's electoral issues in the novel occurs at a conversation at a dinner party in Manhattan where an Obama supporter, a white man, excitedly states that "Obama will end racism in this country" (*Americanah*, p. 290). It it is a cheering thought for the guests at the party. The narrator goes on to mention the name of Barack Obama's spouse, "Michelle Obama" (p. 296) and to use her in typical discourses about racism and American political culture. Delineating the character of Michelle Obama and conorming with reality, Adichie breaks the boundary between artistic production and historical traces. Most of the historical issues bordering on race and identity politics in the novel are revealed through Ifemelu's blogs. She writes:

[h]is pastor is scary because it means maybe Obama is not the Magic Negro after all. …but have you been to an old school American Black Church? Pure theatre. But the guys basic point is true: that American Blacks (certainly those his age) know an America different from American Whites; they know a harsher, uglier America. But you're not supposed to say that, because in America everything is fine. …and if Obama thinks so then he isn't the Magic Negro and only a Magic Negro can win an American election. And what's a Magic Negro, you ask? The black man who is eternally wise and kind. He never reacts under great suffering, never gets angry, is never threatening. He always forgives all kinds of racist shit. He teaches the white

person how to break down the sad but understandable prejudice in his heart. You see this man in many films. An Obama is straight from central casting. (*Americanah*, p. 321)

Adichie subtly interrogate issues of racism and identity politics in the United States of America which have been in existence for centuries in the context of the emergence of the first black man, Barack Obama as a Democratic Presidential hopeful in 2008. Shane A. McCoy (2018, p. 279) states that:

> *Americanah* (2013) re-imagines racial solidarity between African immigrants of the "new" African diaspora and African American of the "old" African diaspora. Adichie's counter-narratives offer a cultural insider a "valid source of knowledge" for interrogating cultural hegemony in the US. The novel's protagonist Ifemelu, and her anonymously authored blog, which contains cultural commentary on race relations in the US form the perspective of an African immigrants… Through her blog, Ifemelu rhetorically signals racial solidarity with African American, but the protagonist also divulges how average white American readers assume that all blacks regardless of national origin share in the same experience of blackness.

At a point during the debate and contest for either Hillary Clinton's or Obama's ticket in the Democratic Party, Ifemelu says, "I like Hillary Clinton. I don't really know anything about this Obama guy" (p. 329). Here, Adichie suggests that not all blacks in America, endorse Obama's presidential aspirations despite the fact that they all have been suffering centuries of racial injustices. That, of course, demonstrates the beauty of democracy exemplified in the United States at that remarkable point in history. Still reminiscing on the price that black Americans paid and continue to pay on account of racism, Ifemelu blogs: "Barack Obama, looking as he does, would have had to sit in the back of the bus fifty years ago. If a random black guy commits a crime today, Barack Obama could be stopped and questioned for fitting in the profile. And what would that profile be? Black man" (p. 338).

Ifemelu, however, becomes Obama's staunch supporter and fan when she encounters him in his globally acclaimed autobiography, *Dreams From My Father. A*s the narrator states

> [a]t first, even though she wished America would elect a black man as president, she thought it impossible, and she could not imagine Obama as president of the United States; he seemed too slight, too skinny, a man who would be blown away by the wind. Hillary Clinton was sturdier. Ifemelu liked to watch Clinton on television… She wished her victory, willed good fortune her way, until the morning she picked up Barack Obama's book, *Dreams From My Father*, which Blaine had just finished… She examined the photographs on the cover, the young Kenyan woman staring befuddled at the camera, arms enclosing her son, and the young American man, jaunty of manner, holding his daughter to his chest. She read *Dreams From My Father* in a day and a half, sitting up on the couch…she was absorbed and moved by the man she met in those pages, an enquiring and intelligent

man, a kind man, a man so utterly, helplessly, winningly humane… she

believed Barack Obama. (*Americanah*, p. 353)

Because of this singular encounter, Ifemelu declares her support for Obama's aspirations. She remarks, "If only the man who wrote this book could be the president of America" (p. 353). The narrator then observes that subsequently,

[e]very morning, Ifemelu woke up and checked to make sure that Obama was still alive. That no scandal had emerged, no story dug up from his past. She would turn on her computer, her breath still, her heart frantic in her chest, and then reassured that he was alive, she would read the latest news about him, quickly and greedily, seeking information and reassurance, multiple windows minimized at the bottom of the screen. Sometimes, in chat rooms, she wilted as she read the posts about Obama and she would get up and move away from her computer, as though the laptop itself were the enemy, and stand by the window to hide her tears even from herself. How can a monkey be president? Somebody do us a favour and put a bullet in this guy. Send him back to the African jungle. A black man will never be in the White House, dude, it's called the White House for a reason. (*Americanah,* pp. 353-354)

Delineating the characters of Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, Michelle Obama, and Oprah Winfrey (p. 356), citing the title of Obama's real autobiography, *Dreams From My Father*, and raising some exact issues contained in the heated debates of America's

presidential election of 2008, Adichie does not just follow the path of historical accuracy; she pushes her novel into what some critics refer to as faction. The same thing can be said of her allusion to the tragic death of "Princess Diana" (p. 232) of Wales on 31 August, 1997. Concerning that incident, *Wikipedia* (2020) documents

[i]n the early hours of 31 August 1997, Diana, Princess of Wales died in hospital after being injured in a car crash in a road tunnel in Paris. Her partner Dodi Fayed, and their driver, Henri Paul, were pronounced dead at the scene…. Some media claimed the erratic behaviour of paparazzi following the car, as reported by the BBC, had contributed to the crash. ("Princess Diana")

Alluding to this historical development in reference to the arranged marriage between the fictional characters of Okoli Okafor and Crystal Smith in England, the narrator states that:

[n]ow here he was a ghost of a name, about to get married in England. Perhaps it was also a marriage for papers. Okoli Okafor. Everyone called him Okoli Paparazzi in University. On the day Princess Diana died, a group of students had gathered before a lecture, talking about what they had heard on the radio that morning, repeating "paparazzi" over and over, all sounding knowing and cocksure, until, in a lull, Okoli Okafor quietly said, "but who exactly are the paparazzi? Are they motorcyclists?" and instantly earned himself the nickname Okoli Paparazzi. (*Americanah*, p. 232)

Here the narrator makes a vivid historical allusion by deploying the lexical item, 'paparrazi' in connection with the death of Princess Diana of Wales. The word 'paparrazi' was constantly on air when the death of the princess was announced to the world on August 31st 1997. These independent photographers who take and document the pictures of high profile people and celebrities, often while such personalities go about their usual life routines, were reported to have been 'erratic' in the manner in which they followed the princess' car just before the accident in a road tunnel in Paris. Her partner, Dodi Fayed, and their driver, Henri Paul from injuries sustained from the crash.

Okoli Okafor is Obinze's schoolmate who immigrates to England from Nigeria "during one of the long strikes" (p. 232) for an undocumented existence in London. He is planning to take a British wife in order to facilitate his documentation and consolidate his stay in London "now that Blunkett is after them"(p. 231). The ultimate aim of such a marriage is often to secure the much elusive national security number that will enable an immigrant to work legally. Obinze is on a similar mission at the Marriage Registry when he unexpectedly sees Okoli's name as the narrator states: "Behind the desk a whiteboard was propped on a wall, venues and dates of intended marriages written on it in blue; a name at the bottom caught his eye: Okoli Okafor and Crystal Smith" (p. 231).

In the 1980s and 1990s under the military regimes of Generals Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha strikes at universities were a regular occurrence. It was not only Nigerian intellectuals who emigrated to the more stable West in droves. Many parents, after waiting in vain for several months for resumption of tertiary institutions, withdrew their children and sent them overseas either to continue with their education or to 'hustle.' In *Americanah* (2013, p. 98), the situation is deftly captured:

[i]n the newspapers, university lecturers listed their complaints, the agreements that were trampled in the dust by government men whose own children were schooling abroad. Campuses were emptied, classrooms drained of life. Students hoped for short strikes, because they could not hope to have no strike at all. Everyone was talking about leaving.

Adichie also incorporates incidents that happened during the dictatorial regimes of Generals Babangida and Abacha, and even interrogates questionable economic and political developments that occurred under the civilian administration of President Olusegun Obansanjo (1999 to 2007). As in *Half of a Yellow Sun,* characterisations and allusions to these historical figures and issues associated with them are only partially veiled as Adichie uses their actual names and even discusses some of the notable events that took place on their watch. Adichie's indictments remind us all that history will inevitably judge the actions and the inaction of a leader or ruler in office. She begins her insightful investigation with a demonstration of the futility of the primitive accumulation of public wealth and its consequent institutional collapse as was experienced during the failed banks saga durin the regime of General Sani Abacha who ruled the country between 1993 and 1998. This incident is reflected in the utterances of a character simply identified as Chief on the occasion of the visit of Obinze and his cousin Nneoma to the Chief's residence for possible assistance. Obinze is unemployed.

After his guests left, Chief turned to Nneoma. "Do you know that song 'No One Knows Tomorrow?" Then he proceeded to sing the song with childish gusto. *No One Knows Tomorrow! To-mor-row! No One Knows Tomorrow!...*

"That is the one principle that this country is based on… Remember those big bankers during Abacha's government? They thought they owned this country, and the next thing they knew, they were in prison. Look at that pauper who could not pay his rent before, then Babangida gave him an oil well, and now he has a private jet!" Chief spoke with a triumphant tone… while Nneoma listened and smiled and agreed. Her animation was exaggerated, as though a bigger smile and a quicker laugh… would ensure that Chief would help them. (*Americanah,* pp. 24-25)

This childish celebration of the instability of the state on the part of the Chief transmits Adichie's critique: that Babangida's 'settlement' approach as a leader cannot be said to be wholesome and exemplary and that Abacha's setting up of a Failed Banks Tribunal during his regime might not done for altruistic reasons andwith patriotic intentions. Bach et al. (2001) corroborate ther treatment of the historical circumstances in the following way:

> What Babangida started, Abacha deepened and consolidated. Babangida's iron-fisted autocracy pales into relative insignificance, indeed almost becomes a benevolent dictatorship, compared to the executive brigandage that characterised the Abacha government. By unleashing a state-sponsored brutality on real and imagined opponents – in politics, banking… There was equally the Failed Banks Tribunal set up to investigate thieving bank chieftains, but which soon degenerated into a witch-hunt.

While Abacha is associated with the Failed Banks Tribunal which instead of serving altruistic purposes became a means of repression, Babangida today is remebered as the Nigerian leader associated with a "settlement" ideology. Adichie raises this issue in the novel when the Chief states, "Babangida gave him an oil well," referring to a pauper who became super-rich over night, to the point of purchasing a private jet. Not stating the reason for the generous gift of an oil well (a state asset) from Babangida to tan unnamed individual, the motive behind the mouth-watering gift is left open to question. It is highly irregular that a huge asset which constitutionally belongs to the entire nation should be gifted to one man by the Head of State. However, such a demonstration of the unbridled corrupt and nepotic propensities was characteristic of the Nigerian ruler during his time in office (1985-1993). Closely situated in the text, the witch-hunting Failed Banks Tribunal and Babangida's settlement ideology suggest that the former dictatorship is as retrogressive and devastating as the latter. Fayemi's (1999, p. 70) observations in this regard are even more revealing:

> The Nigerian economy did not escape Abacha's grip. He ran it as a personal fiefdom. Unlike Babangida who parceled out the state to friends and mentors within the military, Abacha kept the spoils of office for himself and his family, a small coterie of his security apparatus and his small circle of foreign friends.

Perhaps it is because of its inclination to "give out an oil well," a state asset, for the cenrichment of a single man as Adichie's narrator (2013) states, or its "parceling

out the state to friends" as Fayemi (2001) observes, that te Babangida administration is generally known as the administration that institutionalized corruption in Nigeria. If Babangida's government institutionalized corruption, then Abacha's government certainly institutionalized the daylight robbery and looting of the national treasury. Ironically, Abacha set up the Failed Banks Tribunal which tried and jailed some chief executives of failed banks for financial impropriety, while he himself was busy stealing the country blind. Twenty-two years after his demise, millions of dollars, part of his loot, are still being recovered and repatriated from several foreign countries, including America.

The Chief, a typical nepotistic, acquisitive, and corrupt Nigerian politician and capitalist, interrogates President Olusegun Obansanjo's privatisation programme as an institution lacking transparency, being riddled with corruption, and providing a means through which the nation's politicians and their cronies fraudulently enrich themselves to the detriment of the poor. "Chief was his usual garrulous self" (p. 26) during Obinze's visit to his home in search of economic assistance. He reveals the true nature of his relationships to the despots: "I was Babangida's friend. I was Abacha's friend. Now that the military has gone, Obansanjo is my friend. Do you know why? Is it because I am stupid?" (p. 26). Obinze, of course, responds in the negative, and the Chief goes on to make more startling and indicting revelations:

> They said the National Farm Support Corporation is bankrupt and they're going to privatize it. Do you know this? No. How do I know this? Because I have friends. By the time you know it, I would have taken a position and I would have benefited from the arbitrage. That is our free market! The

corporation was set up in the sixties and it owns property everywhere. The houses are all rotten and termites are eating the roofs. But they are selling them. I am going to buy seven properties for five million each. You know what they are listed for in the books? One million. You know what the real worth is? Fifty million. I need somebody to front this deal. (*Americanah*, p. 26)

Obansanjo's privatisation programme which began in 1999 after he took over as president continues to raise more questions than answers today. The Sunday, June 14, 2020, issue of the *Premium Times* reported that a group known as Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP) is still urging President Muhammadu Buhari to use his "good offices and leadership position to revisit and refer allegations of corruption and abuse of process in the privatisation of public enterprises in Nigeria between 1999-2011 to the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission and the Independent Corrupt practices and Other Related Offenses Commission for further investigation." According to thw *Premium Times*, this group's request is based on privileged access to the Senate Ad-Hoc Committee Report that was earlier involved in the investigation of the matter. According to Mr Adetokunbo Mumuni, the leader of the group,

> SERAP has obtained and carefully read the full report of the Senate Ad-Hoc Committee on Investigation of the Privatisation and Commercialization Activities of the Bureau of Public Enterprise (BPE) from 1999 to 2011, which contains damaging allegations of corruption, presidential interference, and abuse of due process in the selection of core investor, valuation of Public

enterprises, pricing of shares/assets, determination of workers terminal benefits, and use of proceeds of privatisation. (*Premium Times*, June 14, 2020)

In *Americanah,* the Chief interrogates the manner in which this historical privatisation programme was conducted to the disgust of many Nigerians. In a report entitled "How Obansanjo and Atiku Destroyed Nigeria's Privatisation Process" – a *Sahara Reporters* issue of August 12, 2011, the online news agency notes that "Former President Olusegun Obansanjo and his deputy, Atiku Abubakar, may have influenced the sales of government enterprises to their friends." This opinion according to *Sahara Reporters* is based on the 'revelations' of Mallam Nasir El-Rufai, a former Director General of Bureau For Public Enterprise (BPE) who appeared before the aforementioned Senate Ad-Hoc Committee. El-Rufai pointed out that "the president and I were always quarreling over issues of privatization. Each time I told him we have a process… that they should advise their friends to be the highest bidder."

President Obasanjo's administration. however, is remembered positively by Obinze's mother. She reminds her son of the opportunities there are in Nigeria when he is consistently frustrated in the labour market after graduating with good grades from the university, and his visa application at the US Embassy fails as a consequence of post 9/11:

> He was living with his mother, driving her car… He disliked her calm good cheer, how hard she tried to be positive, telling him that now President Obansanjo was in power, things were changing; the mobile phone companies and banks were growing and recruiting, even giving young people car loans.

(*Americanah*, pp. 233-234)

This commendation is earlier amplified when Ifemelu's father in a phone conversation with her says, "One could not describe Obansanjo as a good man, but it must be conceded that he has done some good things in the country; there is a flourishing spirit of entrepreneurship" (p. 201).

Adichie also makes a veiled allusion to Major Gideon Gwaza Orkar's failed coup d'etat of 22nd April, 1990 when the narrator comments

> On the day of the coup, a close friend of the General called to ask if she was with him. There was tension; some army officers had already been arrested. Aunty Uju was not with the General, did not know where he was…. Finally, The General called to say that he was fine, the coup had failed and all was well with the Head of State. (*Americanah*, pp. 80-81)

This coup recalls the one led by Major Orkar in April 1990 against the Babangida regime which remains one of the bloodiest, both during and after the putsch in Nigeria's coup history. It is the coup which shook the very foundation of the Babangida regime as the General was almost toppled. The narrator narrows the coup allusion to the Babangida regime when she reveals how the General eventually dies:

> The General died the next week, in a military plane crash. It was on a Saturday afternoon. …The General's ADC, crackled through a bad connection, but was still clear enough to give her details: the crash happened a few miles

outside Jos, the bodies were charred, there were already rumours that the Head of State had engineered it to get rid of officers who he feared were planning a coup. (*Americanah,* p. 86)

A plane crash involving mainly middle ranking and a few high ranking officers occurred during the Babangida regime (1985-1993) with the same kind of rumour, that "the Head of State had engineered it to get rid of officers who he feared were planning a coup." In respect to the notable military action of April 22, 1990, which is similar to that depicted in *Americanah, Wikipedia* (2020) observes

> Major Gideon Gwaza Orkar (October 4, 1952 – July 27, 1990) was a Nigerian military officer who staged a violent coup against the government of General Ibrahim Babangida on April 22, 1990. Orkar and his conspirators seized the FRCN radio station, various military posts around Lagos and the Dodan Barracks, Lagos, the military headquarters and presidential residence. Babangida was present when the barracks were attacked but managed to escape by a route. In his coup address, Orkar called for the excision of five northern states. However, the coup was crushed by the Babangida regime and Orkar was executed… Major Orkar and 41 other conspirators were convicted of treason and executed by firing squad on July 27th, 1990 by the government of General Ibrahim Babangida. ("Gideon Orkar")

The military plane crash on a 'Saturday' under the Babangida regime in *Americanah* mirrors the account found in *The New York Times* issue of September 28, 1992 located

beneath the caption, "163 Nigerians Dead As a Military Plane Crashes Near Lagos" which states that

> [a] Nigerian military transport plane crashed soon after takeoff from Lagos , killing all 163 people aboard… Many of those killed on Saturday night in the crash of the Hercules C-130 were believed to be middle-ranking army, navy and air force officers attending a staff college course in Northern Nigeria…. The plane crash was Nigeria's worst air disaster since 1973, when a royal Jordanian Airlines Boeing 707 burst into flames on landing at Kano, another city in the North, killing 176 people. …many of the dead were believed to have been officers taking a course at the Nigerian Command and Staff College at Jaji, in northern Kaduna State, and that some others of them were instructors.

Adichie recalls this event. In *Americanah,* the plane crash that also claims the life of "The General" and other persons occurs on a "Saturday" (p. 86). The *Los Angeles Times* adds another dimension to *The New York Times* report, noting that

> [a] military transport plane crashed into a swamp shortly after takeoff from Lagos, and all 163 army officers, relatives and crew members on board were killed… The crash occurred Saturday evening but was not discovered until Sunday morning, when bodies were found floating in the swamp outside Lagos. The Hercules C-130 aircraft disappeared from the radar of Lagos' Murtala Muhammed Airport three minutes after takeoff at 5 p.m. Saturday.

Many of the passengers aboard the plane were officers of a military college in Jaji Town who had gone to Lagos for a navy celebration.

Adichie's phrase, "the crash happened a few miles outside Jos" (*Americanah,* p. 86), draws on Nowa Omoigu's (1998) detailed factual account of the incident entitled "The Crash of NAF 911 on September 26, 1992" where it is stated that

> [m]uch of the morning of Saturday, September 26, 1992 was dominated by activities related to environmental sanitation. Shortly before 1730 hrs a Nigerian Airforce Military Transport plane, a Lockheed C-130H-LM HERCULES (L-82), production number 4624, registration number NAF 911, piloted by Wing Commanders J.P. Alabesunu and A.S. Mamadi finally got the okay from the control towers to take off – enroute to *Kaduna and Jos* in the northern part of the country. From the Kaduna airport, its unique passengers planned to make their way by road back to the Command and Staff College in Jaji. Consisting predominantly of middle-ranking officers drawn from the 19th, 20th, and 21st regular courses of the Nigerian Defence Academy, accompanied by a few from the 18th course along with some foreign students, they had been in Lagos on a Naval tour as part of the senior division course. (italics mine)

The "rumours that the Head of State had engineered it [the plane crash] to get rid of officers who he feared were planning a coup"(p. 86) bring to mind the suspicions of many Nigerians after that ugly historical incident that a powerful official's hand was behind the crash. Omoigu (1998) observes that although the aircraft had disappeared from the radar and reportedly crashed at 17.35 hrs after taking off from the Murtala Muhammed International Airport Lagos at about 17.30 hrs,

> [n]o organized rescue effort was arranged within a time frame that would have meant anything to the victims of the crash. However, it is clear that the control tower knew something had gone wrong and notified the Airport Commandant. At about 8p.m., Lt Colonel Kayode Are, one of the Directing Staff at the Command and Staff College in Jaji, placed a long distance call to his course-mate in Lagos, Lt. Colonel Owoye Azazi, CO of the Intelligence Group at the Lagos Garrison to get information about the crash. Azazi… placed a call to Captain Al Mustapha, Chief Security Officer to Lt. General Sani Abacha, who was at that time Chief of Defence Staff… However, no orders were forthcoming from Abacha on whether or how to respond… Therefore, early on Sunday morning, General Adisa, Commodore Akhigbe, Lt. Col. Azazi and Captain Deinde Joseph set off for the Air Force Base. They were told that the plane crashed a few minutes after takeoff… There were reports of scribbled notes by some of the survivors, indicating that they survived the initial impact… On Monday, the Head of the Lagos Garrison Intelligence group reportedly spoke with the US Defence Attache about the possibility of sending Chinook Helicopters to help. However, the rather curious response of the Nigerian Army High Command – as communicated by the Military Assistant to Lt. General Salihu Ibrahim,

then Chief of Army Staff, was that for reasons of national pride, a request for foreign help was not appropriate. The details of how "national pride" became a reason to delay recovery of our fallen heroes at that stage are best explained by those involved – and those they were reporting to at higher levels i.e Generals Abacha and Babangida.

Omoigu (1998) reveals one of thesources for his assertions, quoting a respected Nigerian journalist and newspaper columnist, Remi Oyeyemi who documents that it is on record that in less than an hour of the crash, the British government offered to rescue the victims and the offer was turned down by IBB. It is also on record that the U.S. government informed the IBB administration that they had a ship on the high seas very close to Nigeria that could have been on the scene within few hours of the crash to help in the rescue effort. This offer was also was turned down by the IBB.

Indeed, the ugly historical incident of September 26, 1992 still leaves more questions than answers. Although General Abacha is now dead and cannot defend himself for any level of culpability, Babangida is alive and aging. He is yet to see any need to clear the air and perhaps absolve himself from any form of culpability. To continue to be mute in the face of rumours of orchestrating the crushing and silencing of over 163 destinies lives gives validity to their allegations. As a popular Igbo proverb states, he who keeps silent has already concurred. Babangida's silence over this matter 28 years after he left office can be interpreted by many as acquiescence and absolute culpability as 'rumoured.' A young writer like Adichie interrogating this event 21 years after its occurrence points to the matter continuing to generate national debate.

Americanah raises another thorny historical issue when Bartholomew and Aunty Uju consider the death of Kudirat Abiola. Bartholomew asserts that "Kudirat's death will not be in vain, it will only galvanize the democratic movement in a way that even her life did not! I just wrote an article about the issue online in *Nigerian Village"* (*Americanah*, p. 116). Kudirat Abiola is the late wife of Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the acclaimed winner of June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria, acclaimed as the freest and fairest in the nation's political history. But its mandate was never actualized because it was annulled by the Babangida administration under whose supervision the election was conducted. Upon Babangida's "stepping aside" and Abacha's ascension to power, Abiola was arrested and incarcerated by Abacha because of his insistence to serve as president. It was upon his incarceration that his wife Kudirat stepped up her protest alongside other pro-democracy forces in the country, both for the release of her husband and for the actualization of June 12 mandate. She was perceived as a threat by the Abacha junta and gunned down in a street in Lagos on June 4, 1996. *Wikipedia* (2020) reports that

> Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, popularly known simply as Kudirat Abiola, was a Nigerian pro-democracy campaigner. She was assassinated while her husband, Moshood Abiola, was being detained by the Nigerian government. He was the winning candidate in elections that had taken place in Nigeria in 1993, and was arrested shortly after they were summarily annulled by the ruling junta. ("Kudirat Abiola")

This account is corroborated by Obi-Ani (2019) who states that: Kudirat Abiola led the struggle to actualize and re-validate the June 12, 1993 presidential election. The

General Sani Abacha regime was prepared to silence all opposition to the annulled election and spared no effort in targeting NADECO and Civil Rights Organizations in the country. Despite the danger to her life, Kudirat Abiola mobilized all social, cultural, and even political groups to oppose the military stand on June 12, 1993 election. Even when it became clear that the military would go beyond threat to assassination, she never budged. Many opposition political leaders were eliminated, but Kudirat Abiola continued to fight for her husband's rights. It was in the process of seeking justice for her husband's annulled presidential election that she was fatally shot in broad daylight on June 4, 1996.

Bartholomew's assertion in *Americanah* that "Kudirat's death will not be in vain…" (p.116) is a prophecy that was fulfilled. Barely a year after Abiola's death in incarceration, on 7 July, 1998, years of pro-democracy struggles of people like Kudirat culminated in the restoration of democratic order in Nigeria on May 29, 1999. A number of national monuments including a tertiary institution and the Abuja National Stadium have been named after her husband, Chief M.K.O Abiola. Also, on June 6, 2018, Abiola was posthumously awarded the highest title of honour in Nigeria, GCFR, by President Muhammadu Buhari's administration, and Nigeria's democracy day was changed to June 12, all in recognition of the democratic struggles of people like Kudirat and Abiola. Kudirat's death is not in vain.

also mythologises the execution, by firing squad, of a notorious Nigerian bandit on 29th March, 1987, in Benin City in the present day Edo State when she states that

[i]n primary school, Ifemelu had watched the firing squad that killed

Lawrence Anini, fascinated by the mythologies around his armed robberies, how he wrote warning letters to newspapers, fed the poor with what he stole, turned himself into air when the police came. Her mother had said, "Go inside, this is not for children," but half-heartedly, after Ifemelu had already seen most of the shooting anyway, Anini's body roughly tied to a pole, jerking as the bullets hit him, before slumping against the criss-cross of rope. (p. 148)

Anini is identified by the ignoble role he played and his exact name. He robbed and terrorised financial institutions as well as the citizens in Benin City and its environs. Concerning Anini and his notorious activities, *Wikipedia* (2020) documents

Lawrence Nomanyagbon Anini (c.1960 – March 29, 1987) was a Nigerian bandit who terrorized Benin City in the 1980s along with his sidekick Monday Osunbor. He was captured and executed for his crimes. Lawrence Anini was born in a village about 30 kilometers (20 mi) from Benin City in the present-day Edo State. He later dived into the criminal business and soon became a driver and transporter for gangs, criminal godfathers and thieves. In August, 1986, a fatal bank robbery linked to Anini was reported in which a police officer and a child were killed. That same month, two officers on duty were shot at a barricade while trying to stop Anini's car. During a span of three months, he was known to have killed 9 police officers. He wrote numerous letters to media houses using political tones of Robin Hook-like words to describe his criminal acts. Anini was once

believed to be a spirit in possession of magical powers; it was also believed that he could teleport at will. On December 3, 1986, he was caught at a house in Benin City. The country's military leader, Ibrahim Babangida, demanded a speedy trial. Anini was convicted of most of his charges and was executed on March 29, 1987. ("Lawrence Anini")

Igbinovia (1998, p. 131) states that:

Anini, 26 years old was Nigeria's most notorious armed robber. His image was larger than life, dwarfing those of Ishola Oyenusi, the king of robbers in the 1970s and Youpelle Dakuro, the army deserter who masterminded the most vicious daylight robbery in Lagos in 1978 in which two policemen were killed. Anini spear-headed a four-month reign of terror between August and December 1986 that gripped…Nigeria. While he and his gang reigned, they killed, maimed, kidnapped, robbed and raped their victims. The episodes were replicated with increasing sophistication, brazenness and arrogance. At the end of it all, 20 persons – 11 policemen and 9 civilians were dead.

Accordingly, in the 1980s, the name Anini was a popular metaphor for crime and criminality, Any young person with a propensity for nefarious activities, particularly in school, was usually branded an Anini. Many feared the name since the notorious Anini was widely speculated to be in possession of magical powers: namely, the ability to teleport – to appear and disappear at will. Anini's siege of Nigeria was a nightmare and also a metaphor for horror. Igbinovia (1998) agrees that Justice Omo-Agege, the Chairman of the First Benin Robbery and Firearms Tribunal which tried and sentenced Anini and his cohorts, aptly stated that "Anini will forever be remembered in the history of crime in this country, but it would be of unblessed memory. Few people if ever, would give the name to their children" (Igbinovia, 1998, p. 31).

Adichie's portrayal of Anini's lifestyle in *Americanah* confirms that his eventual fate (death by firing squad) is justice well deserved, served for his notoriety and atrocities, and that his act of "feeding the poor with what he stole" (p.148) does not justify his criminality and violence in any way. The presentation of Lawrence Anini in *Americanah* is both a condemnation of crime, violence, and criminality and a warning to all of ill-motives and nefarious propensities, no matter how mystical, powerful or even successful they may seem to be. Otwin (1987, p. 259) concurs when he states that Anini's final fate as a bandit was a 'face to face with the law.'

Historical figures in *Americanah* not only act as political and social critiques, they also bolster verisimilitue in the novel's setting. For instance, Adichie's allusions to the election of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979 and the life and times of the legendary Afro musician Fela Anikulapo Kuti are cursory.

Don looked into Ifemelu's eye and told her how he had nearly visited Nigeria, just after Shagari was elected, when he worked as a consultant to an international development agency, but the trip fell through at the last minute and he had felt bad because he had been hoping to go to the shrine

and see Fela perform. He mentioned Fela casually, intimately; as though it was something they had in common, a secret they shared. (*Americanah,* p. 150)

Both Shagari and Fela are figures in the novel who conform to historical and fictional realities. President Shagari ruled between 1979 until the 31st of December 1983 when he was overthrown by Major General Muhammadu Buhari. Fela's famous shrine is still maintained by his descendants and attracts many foreign nationals as well as Nigerian citizens from all walks of life. Unlike Don, the American citizen who wants to visit the shrine in order to see Fela perform" (p. 150) but for whom "the trip fell through at the last minute," President Emmanuel Macron of France actually visited the shrine on July 3rd, 2018. *Wikipedia* (2020) documents that

[t]he New Afrika Shrine is an open air entertainment center located in Ikeja, Lagos State. It serves as the host location of the annual Felabration music festival. Currently managed by Femi Kuti (eldest son of Fela Kuti) and Yeni Anikulapo- Kuti, it is the replacement of the old Afrika Shrine created in 1970 by Fela Kuti… The New Afrika Shrine showcases photo galleries of Fela and music performances by Femi Kuti and Seun Kuti thus making it a tourist attraction. On July 3rd, 2018, French President Emmanuel Macron visited the shrine and pre-launched the Season of African Cultures 2020 in France. Macron said he had visited the shrine as a student in 2002. ("New Afrika Shrine")

Americanah also recalls the euphoria that greeted the death of General Sani Abacha on June 8, 1998, and carefully contrasts it with General Muhammadu Buhari's brutal and repressive regime .Obinze remembers that "once during his final year in the University, the year that people danced in the streets because General Abacha had died, his mother had said… as though her friends who were leaving for teaching positions in Canada and America had confirmed to her a great personal failure. …While Andrew was checking out, General Buhari's soldiers were flogging adults in the streets, lecturers were striking for better pay, and his mother had decided that he could no longer have Fanta whenever he wanted but only on Sundays, with permission" (*Americanah*, p. 232).

In this excerpt, the celebration as occasioned by the death of General Abacha in the excerpt is precipitated by the harsh political and economic realities the nation faced under his regime. This situation prompts a large number of intellectuals who are Obinze's mother's colleagues to emigrate en masse mainly to Canada and America where they envisaged better conditions for their services. In Nigeria, their salaries as university lecturers were hardly paid were allowances, and the institutional infrastructure was not maintained. Although Obinze's mother decides to remain in the country, Obinze, is insistent about emigrating to America in search of greener pastures, although he knows "how unreasonable the American embassy could be – the vice chancellor, of all people, had once been refused a visa to attend a conference – but he had never doubted his plan" (p. 232). It is amidst this chaotic situation that Abacha suddenly dies, and "people danced in the streets" thinking their ordeals under his dictatorship would die with him. In his *The Last 100 Days of Abacha,* Adeniyi (2005, p. 228) notes

[t]he sad thing is that General Abacha so much dehumanised Nigerians that the nation that mourned the death of General Murtala Muhammed in 1976 as if he was a member of everyone's family trooped to the streets last week to rejoice about the demise of its leader. How will history remember Abacha? – Ken Saro- Wiwa, Kudirat Abiola, Shehu Yar'Adua, not to talk of Olusegun Obansanjo, Ibrahim Dasuki and Chris Anyanwu. All of these persons, dead or alive, are the testimony to Abacha's reign of terror. Perhaps only questionable characters who were ready to say 'no-one-but-you' prospered from his regime. He personalized the state and its resources. At the end, he was buried like any other commoner. With nothing. He preyed on our fears but he can no longer do anything. Dead. And buried!

Adeniyi's rhetorical question, "How will history remember Abacha?" has been answered in part by Abacha's representation in Adichie's *Americanah* and also *Purple Hibiscus*. Adeniyi (2005, p. 228), in a direct reference to General Abacha, remarks, "Here was a man on whom history placed so much opportunities to go down as a hero yet he squandered all. He chose to be obstinate against positive current." In the postscript of Adeniyi's *The last 100 days of Abacha*, Colonel Abubakar Umar, a former military governor of Kaduna State echoes popular opinion of Abacha when he states

[t]he Abacha years in Nigeria were no doubt, a tragic period in the political history of our nation. While General Abacha is dead, and hence now carries the blame for all our socio-economic and political misfortunes, people who can reflect on that era must remember that he had many willing, and even eager collaborators for his tyrannical 'transition programme' which ruthlessly imposed deceit, terror and violence on the citizenry. (p. 233)

In his article captioned "Nigeria Shames itself by Posthumously Honouring Abacha" in the May 14, 2020 issue of *Vanguard* newspaper Olu Fasan maintains that

Sani Abacha, Nigeria's kleptomaniac and despotic former dictator died… But if anything reminds us of him, it is Shakespeare's famous words: 'The evil that men do lives after them.' For 22 years after Abacha's demise, he is still talked about in local and international media. Not for any good he did – he did none as a dictator! – but the evil he perpetrated. Worldwide, Abacha's name is a byword for utter brutality and grand corruption.

Adichie's literary investigation of General Buhari's regime of the early eighties also reflects his hardship and high-handedness and his oppression and suppression of the citizenry. Buhari's regime which lasted between 31st December, 1983 and 27th August, 1985 tdid see many citizens facing disheartening economic hardship as essential commodities were in very short supply. People queued up in long lines to be able to purchase rice, beans, and tins of milk, from warehouses, shops, and supermarkets in quantities highly regulated and regimented by military men and women who flogged them like animals. Many Nigerians also suffered unjustified incarcerations and torture during the Buhari era. *Americanah* sheds light on this regime when Obinze finds himself

IN DETENTION, he felt raw, skinned, the outer layers of himself stripped

off. His mother's voice on the phone was almost unfamiliar, a woman speaking a crisp Nigerian English, telling him, calmly, to be strong, that she would be in Lagos to receive him, and he remembered how, years ago, when General Buhari's government stopped giving essential commodities, and she no longer came home with free tins of milk, she had begun to grind soya beans at home to make milk. She said soya milk was more nutritious than cow milk and although he refused to drink the grainy fluid in the morning, he watched her do so with an uncomplaining common sense. (*Americanah*, p. 281)

This memory surfaces at the Manchester Airport detention facility when Obinze, having traveled to the United Kingdom without proper documentation, is about to be deported back to NigeriaNow that Buhari has returned to power and is currently serving as Nigeria's civilian president, one wonders how and what will be remembered of him. On June 23, 2020, Godwin Tsa in his *Daily Sun* newspaper report captioned "Southern Leaders Slam N50bn Against Buhari, Malami Over Alleged Marginalisation" remarks that "[a] group of elder statesmen and leaders of socio-cultural platforms in Southern Nigeria have instituted a N50 billion suit against President Muhammadu Buhari at the Abuja division of the Federal High Court over alleged lopsided appointments of the administration." This allegation has followed the administration from its inception in 2015.

Before Obinze's deportation, he and Duerdinhito, a Brazilian, discuss the Nigerian soccer victory in the Atlanta 1996 Olympic games. The narrator states: "They talked while emptying their vacuum cleaners, about the 1996 Olympics, Obinze gloating about Nigeria beating Brazil and then Argentina" (*Americanah*, p. 251). One of the important figures behind Nigeria's soccer success is named when Duerdinhito says, " Kanu was good, I give him that. But Nigeria had luck" (p. 251). Kanu Nwankwo was Nigeria's Super Eagles Captain who led the team to that victory. Adichie's reflection of and allusion to Kanu, and indeed the entire Super Eagles squad, is a well-deserved commendation Their valiant effort remains vivid and indelible in the hearts of many Nigerians today: many of them are still receiving garlands in one way or the other from government and other organizations. In *Americanah,* those with honest commitments, dedication to duty, and patriotism are remembered and given their due respect.

Aptly, Adichie's romance with history in *Americanah* climaxes in the personal rather than the historical past on a note of glamour with her allusion to an iconic beauty when Ranyinudo tells Ifemelu "his wife, when she was a student, was voted the most beautiful girl at the University of Lagos, and in Ifemelu's imagination, she looked like Bianca Onoh, that beauty icon of her teenage years, high-cheekboned and almond-eyed" (*Americanah,* pp. 412-413). Bianca Onoh is a Nigerian who was a popular metaphor for beauty not only in Nigeria and Africa but the entire world in the late 1980s and even in the 1990s, having won several prestigious beauty contests from the national level to the global platform. Commemorating her career as a beauty queen, Bianca,on December 4, 2018, recorded her own personal history:

Thirty years ago this day, 4th Dec. 1988, I ventured in trepidation onto the grand stage of the National Theatre, Lagos, as a contestant in the MOST

BEAUTIFUL GIRL IN NIGERIA PAGEANT by Silverbird Productions. By the grace of God I won the contest. I was then a law undergraduate at the University of Nigeria. The rest, as they say, is history. Then it was the era of 'winner takes all' as pageant winner. From there I took off to Banjul, where the MISS AFRICA Pageant was held and I once again emerged the winner. Next was the MISS CHARM contest in MOSCOW which saw me emerge as Miss Drushbah. After that was the MISS INTERCONTINENTAL Pageant. I am the first African ever to have won this pageant. This was an awesome experience which provided a wonderful opportunity to visit over 20 countries of the world in the space of one year of 'reign' (a great privilege for a mere student) including 12 European countries as well as several other world destinations including Singapore, Japan, Russia, Taipei, Dubai, Republic of China, Hong Kong where I represented Nigeria at the Miss World beauty pageant and Cancum, Mexico where I was the country's representative at the MISS UNIVERSE Pageant. It is to God's glory that I went this far. Today, as always, I continue to celebrate the amazing opportunities God has thrown along my path in life. This is just one of them. (Bianca Ojukwu, 2018, *Fb*)

Conclusion

As a forensic and dialectic tool, Chimamanda Adichie's *Americanah* can be said to be an excellent melting pot of historicity and artistry. Adichie's treatment of history does not just convey and deepen *Americanah's* critiques of despotism and dictatorship, it also

contributes to the novel's aesthetic value. *Americanah* not only connects (or reconnects) its readers to the historical past, enabling them to better interpret the present; it reminds us all that we must leave behind an admirable record of our achievements. Like Chinua Achebe's maxim about the importance of knowing when the rain started beating one, *Americanah* demonstrates the importance of knowing and understanding that we are what history has made. As the Igbo saying goes, one who does not remember when the rain started beating him will also not remember when it stops.

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A Wholesome Method to Engaging Human Trafficking as against Victim-Centred Policy Approach in Nigeria

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Abstract

Research and policy approaches regarding illegal migration/human smuggling/ trafficking in Nigeria have focused on the victims and the traffickers to the detriment of the real push factors influencing illegal migration and the re-migration of returnees. The rhetoric that places the entire blame of this activity at the doorsteps of human traffickers rests on a victim-centred approach made of focused information and campaigns about the criminal activities of human traffickers, warnings to the public of falling prey to the overtures of human traffickers, the creating and upgrading laws against human traffickers as well as the expanding outfits that carry out policy enforcements against this common enemy,

interviews of the so-called victims which reveal other concerns, interactions with victims/ returnees rescued by the government and international organisations from the hands of human traffickers that result in diagnoses, and the main challenges promoting illegal migration other than that of traffickers, though their role is not undermined. Becuse of their activities and their role in the entire illegal migration ring, I choose to refer to them as gatemen, waiting to guide anyone gullible and frustrated enough to get on the route of illegal migration. Deception on the part of political office holders and public administrators has generated discussion from Machiavelli, Michael Walzer, Sissela Bok ,and Maureen Ramsay. Using historicocritical and key informant interviews (KIIs) to analyse the broad issues and findings from the respondents against governments' efforts to end human trafficking, this study argues that the victim-centred approach diverts government from what it ought to be doing and reveals that there is a lack of policy initiatives to address the social challenges which encourage would-be victims to choose illegal migration as a way out. The lack of concrete steps to address further challenges faced by returnee victims, who still consider remigration despite the hardships they faced during their first attempt, supports this conclusion. Finally, recommendations are made as to what should be done to end human trafficking.

Keywords: Victims, Human traffickers, Poverty, Political deception, Human security, Illegal migration.

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Introduction

Human trafficking has received more than its fair share of attention from the global community (Kelly 2005; Adepoju 2005). Leaders and politicians at the highest level, educators and researchers, and ordinary citizens have become increasingly aware of human trafficking (Adepoju 2005: 92). Laczko and Gozdziak (2005), confirming the number of interest groups involved, note a gathering of over a thousand people at an EU conference concerned with preventing and combating the trafficking of human beings held in September 2002 in Brussels (p. 6). IIn Nigeria, awareness of the trafficking of human beings has been a topical issue since the 1990s (Carling 2005; Odorige 2016). The Nigerian government has been active locally and, has connected and worked in partnerships with international groups. Nigeria became a signatory to the transnational Organized Crime Convention and its Trafficking in Persons Protocol on 13th December 2000. Article 5 of the Trafficking Protocol enjoins state parties to criminalize practices and conducts, "which subject human beings to all forms of exploitation which includes in the minimum, sexual and labor exploitation[1]. In 2003 the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons was established in Nigeria. It is an agency that enforces the law against human trafficking. Nigeria stands as one of the leaders in the ECOWAS Plan of Action 2002 against human trafficking. The actions in the plan outline prevention and awareness raising; protection and support of trafficked persons; specialization training; collection exchange and analysis of information; establishment of efficient mechanism of travel and identity of documents delivery; and monitor and evaluate initial plan of action[2].

1. https://www.naptip.gov.ng/?page_id=112. Accessed 19 January 2021
2. UNESCO 2006 Policy paper; Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Root Causes and Recommendation

Adepoju (2005p.75) points out that Nigeria is among the leading countries in the sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region which have broken their normal culture of silence and are speaking loudly about the issue. National, state owned, and private television and radio stations have engaged, in airing information on the challenge either as news items, jingles or dramatic illustrations. This ensures that the information reaches a wider audience, and the dangers of human trafficking is understood by all. Also, billboard advertisements from time to time are displayed at strategic points in the capitals of the affected states (Edo and Delta) to ensure that the public is aware of the activities of human traffickers. The Nigerian government has also been working with destination countries of trafficked women and girls. Several memoranda of understanding (MOU) have been signed with these countries among which are Italy, Great Britain, Netherlands, and Germany. These MOU have enabled training for officers of the law in Nigeria to detect and identify victims of trafficking and traffickers. This is to ensure that victims can be rescued, and traffickers identified and prosecuted.

However, all this activity of ratifying international instruments, participating in conferences, and prosecuting traffickers has not discouraged would-be and ex-victims from still dreaming of travelling to Europe via the illegal migration channels and the patronage of smugglers and traffickers. Most disturbing are returnees who have experienced the dehumanizing treatment on those routes. According to a detailed list in *Human Trafficking in Nigeria: Root Causes and Recommendation. United Nations University–World Institute for Development Economics Research*, a UNESCO report (2006 p. 22-31), there are several forms of human trafficking for exploitative purposes in Nigeria. The peculiarity of each differs from region to region. This paper restricts its inquiry to the illegal migration routes through the desert to Libya enroute to the Mediterranean Sea to Italy. This route is familiar to people of Edo and Delta regions of Nigeria; they form the interviewed group for this research both in Nigeria and Europe.

First, clarification is needed to understand the difference between the two different but similar and equally illegal scenarios of human smuggling and human trafficking. The American National Security Council home page provides a definition of both terms.[3] While human smuggling is a violation of a country's borders and immigration laws, human trafficking is a violation of a country's people's vulnerabilities; holding persons in compelled service such as involuntary servitude, slavery, debt bondage and forced labour, targeting persons as object of criminal exploitation. Trafficked persons are usually coerced into the journey (Vazrynen 2003; Chibba 2012). The smuggled can be voluntary, illegal migrant, individuals who seek out the service of smugglers, human traffickers are the highest patrons of human smugglers; persons can double as both human smuggler and human trafficker. The UN directed Vienna process on transnational organized crime perception of both crimes implies that 'smuggling' is a migration issue that has to be dealt with by legal and bureaucratic means, while 'trafficking' is a human rights issue and, as a consequence, the victim deserves protection' (Chibba 2012).

The interviews reveal that victims of human trafficking who fall under the category of deserving protection still see migration via this route as the only option they have to alleviate their poverty, hopelessness, and unemployment. Clearly, illegal migration is connected to the lack of human security needed to help them forge ahead into the future. The UN Commission on Human Security defines human security as measures, solutions,

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3. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/administration/eop/nsc/transnational-crime/threat. Retrieved 06/08/2021

and actions that 'protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment ... (thus) human security entails both protecting people from critical and pervasive threats ... (and) empowering them to take charge of their own lives.' Human security emphasizes the need for comprehensive, integrated and people-centred solutions that together can help people develop the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (UN 2007 cited in Chibba 2012).

The political theory of lie, deception, diversion, or discretion promoted by Machiavelli and Michael Walzer makes a case for political or administrative managers to use the above closely related terms for discretional purposes of administration or leadership (Pasquerella & Killilea 2014). Other scholars considering the concept (like Bok Sisela 1989) reject the realist argument that politics demands deception, propsing that for sensitive issues, an established policy that guides action should be the focus (cited in Pasquerella & Killilea 2014). The attention paid to human traffickers and people smugglers by the Nigerian government will amount to mere diversion or deception, if equal attention is not paid to socio-economic challenges pushing illegal migration via these routes. If returnees who fall under those deserving of protection according to the UN definition of trafficked victim, still dream of the opportunity being trafficked, then policies addressing human security and discouraging the patronage of illegal migration have not been effective.

Methodological Issues

This research used both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary data collection via key informant interviews (KIIs) was done with two categories of people.

The first group consisted of undocumented migrants who travelled to Europe through the Mediterranean Sea, while the second group subsumed those who were caught halfway through their journey and returned to Nigeria or repatriated from Europe to Nigeria. Members of the second group were mostly residents in the government shelters in Benin City, Nigeria, at the times they were interviewed. These interviewees were persons with ties to Edo and the Delta States of Nigeria either as residents or were originally from one of the communities in the states. The common thread between the two categories is the interviewees' ties to these two states and that all had attempted the journey to Europe through the illegal migration routes.

The interview involved two phases; phase one was the collection of data from the target group residents in the two cities in Europe (Budapest-Hungary and Munich-Germany). The researcher's PhD research, volunteering, and community network activities helped earn the trust of participants, enabling the environment for the interviews to take place without demand for renumeration. The second phase of the interview was done on behalf of the researcher by a colleague who travelled to Benin City, Nigeria, from Hungary to conduct similar research. She had access to the shelters through authorization from the ministry in charge. Of note is the fact that respondents were reluctant to speak before the operators of the shelters. They shared their contacts with the researcher to meet more privately, where they responded more freely. We both got verbal consents from the participants that the interviews were for research purposes only, not requiring personal identification.

The research had two objectives for conducting the interviews. The first was to ascertain the connection of transnational links in the human trafficking trade: the

connection of would-be migrants and migrants at the destination countries, which according to Faist (2000. p.191) are transnational spaces, a combination of ties created by social networking separated into transnational circuits, transnational communities, and kinship groups. The second was to know the impacts of government and international agencies' activities on those returnees to help their resettlement in their country of origin and discourage remigration. The KIIs confirmed that interactions between those residents in Europe and residents in Nigeria and how they influenced decisions to make the odious journey to Europe by *road*, as it is commonly called among locals. This kind of travelling depicts an irregular migratory route is not characterized by the regular procedure of visa procurement, ticket purchase, possession of BTA, and making the journey through one of the international airports in Nigeria.

The narratives are not gender-focused. While the female/child has been the focus of irregular migration, the interviewees in this study are from both genders with varying experiences. Reports and literature on migration tend to focus more on the victim syndrome of the majority who make the journey to Europe through irregular means. However, from the interviews, historicocritical research, and direct observation, it became increasingly important to draw a distinction between the actual victims who were coerced by family members and traffickers and those whose decision to travel was the result of personal evaluation of the economic and social circumstances in Nigeria. The wave of migrants without gender barriers, compelled to taking the risky road journey to Europe, are on the rise. There are 'would be' migrants who may not be fully aware of the risks involved. Others who are returnees who are familiar with the routes and their inherent dangers but nonetheless are willing to attempt to get back to Europe. In the transit towns

to Europe, individuals who established links in the early migration pathways to Europe and who collaborate with migrant communities in Europe are the main drivers of this wave on the road routes.[4]

It is within this dynamic cusp that this article seeks to inspire a new approach to investigating human trafficking, human smuggling, and irregular migration by focusing on the push factors before, during, and after trafficking. It departs from the usual focus on victimhood in trafficked women and children for the sake of sexual exploitation. While not ignoring this aspect, it takes into perspective the lack of political will on the part of government and other supporting international bodies partnering with local institutions, which ought to hold the governments accountable in addressing the social and economic challenges driving irregular migration. The attention given to human traffickers seems to be a diversion, since government has failed to address the push factors causing people to patronize illegal migration networks. Semi-structured interviews began in 2017 with persons from Benin City eho were resident in Europe. Undocumented migrants' residing in Budapest-Hungary and Munich-Germany were willing to share their experiences with me because of my own immigrant origin from sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The methodological perspective was one shared by Carling et al. (2014) on insider-outsider divide in migration research, where the insider researcher is a member of migrant group. As Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) remark, hidden populations often refuse to cooperate with researchers or provide false information to protect themselves and the other actors in the background who could be anything from a relative to a trafficker or both. The second part of the interviews was carried out in Benin City mostly in the government

4. Europol annual report 2008 where Nigeria trafficking networks was specifically mentioned. Downloads/annual_report_2008.pdf

shelters for returnees.

All the informants were interviewed face-to-face and on voluntary basis without demanding renumeration for the time spentduring the interview. The interview time ranged from 20 to 90 minutes. There were more females than males interviewed. A total number of 29 persons were interviewed. The interviews were conducted between 2017 and 2018. All of those interviewed for this research are people who have travelled through the Libyan route to Europe. Some were only able to make it to Libya before they were 'rescued' by IOM and returned to Nigeria, while those in Europe, considered the 'lucky' few, travelled through the Mediterranean to arrive in Europe. They are still resident in Europe under undocumented status, praying for the right opportunities to regularize their stays.

Grounds of Human Trafficking

Kelly (2005) presents the causes of human trafficking in terms of globalization of transport, markets and labour, poverty, women's social economic inequality, economic transition, and economic and social dislocation from conflicts. Analyzing the causes of trafficking from a Nigerian perspective, I have structured this discourse in terms of push, pull, and reinforcement. Push consists of the factors that make persons decide emigration from Nigeria is the only solution to their social and economic challenges. Pull subsumes the factors of the destination that draw people out of Nigeria to Europe. This includes a transnational web of relatively immobile persons, migrants and refugees who have settled for a long time outside their origin country (Faist 2000), whose tales or remittance and links to facilitators of illegal migration cannot be ignored. Especially for those who were repatriated or returned midway in the journey, factors of hopelessness that make migration (illegal) seem to be the only possible option also reinforce pull. These people are more often ostracized from their communities due to the shame of returning with 'nothing.'

To begin, the main drivers of trafficking in persons are identified as rapidly deteriorating socio-political and economic conditions, deepening poverty, deteriorating living conditions, high rates of unemployment, a lack of opportunity, human deprivation, conflicts and the feeling of hopelessness (ILO 2003; Salah 2004; Adepoju 2005; Carling 2006; UNESCO 2006; Omoregie 2013; Odorige 2016). The everyday reality of a majority of Nigerian children in many Sub-Sahara African (SSA) countries is that poverty could compel young children into all manner of unconventional labour. The evidence of deepening poverty is obvious from reports about the appearance in various towns of people who obviously had no jobs. They are increasing in number, living in shanty towns, in desperation and poverty. For instance, street children beggars who simply work on the streets, without families or homes and are prone to violence and abuse riddle Benin City and elsewhere (Adepoju 2005; Awosola & Omoera 2008; Omoera & Awosola 2008; Omoera 2011; Omoera 2013). While street begging was not traditionally an option to getting out of poverty for the people from this region, street begging and hawking is on the rise, involving both children from the local communities and children coming from various parts of the country to major cities.

The foregoing demonstrates the lack of policy initiative to address the problem of deepening poverty. Poor families from the Edo/Delta region usually resort to various forms of servitude riddled with exploitation. The deteriorating living conditions have

brought about breakdown in many families, separation, and divorce, death of spouse or of both parents. These conditions have left many children without a guardian. They, therefore, resort to begging, and exposure to exploitation, of which the option to be trafficked rank high among the many negative options. Problems created by poverty and underemployment are expressed by several of the interviewees. One said, "I travelled to Libya because of my family condition. I could not finish school; we were suffering nobody to help."

The strong family ties that bind the people largely accounts for both the trafficking carried out in Europe and the city of Benin because many of the women or children who are trafficked are under pressure to be the family 'messiah:' the chosen one to deliver the family out of the pangs of poverty. The traffickers are aware of this and play that tune to persuade likely victims. Three major scenarios stand out. First, in cases where the traffickers (locally called trolley) are the initiators of the movement, **one vict**im said, "I met the people who took me in Benin, and they told me that I should help my family." In the second scenario when the victim was asked, "Why did you travel out of Benin?", the reply was "Because of my mother and family condition, we don't have somebody to help us. I just feel like I should try and help my family that is why I left Nigeria." Another remarked, that "everything was just upside down (hopelessness) nobody to help. I had a friend whose sister would bring girls to her……we lost my father and mother, nobody to take care of us, as the eldest child, I had to look for a way to help my younger ones."

An account of note is that of a woman, Osayi, an undocumented migrant who lives in Europe. She paid smugglers to bring her younger brother through the Mediterranean; his survival through the stormy waters was a 'miracle' as he was feared dead at one point.

The anxieties she suffered bringing her brother to Europe should have stood as a deterrent not to attempt that route again. However, a few months down the road after her brother had settled as an undocumented migrant, she was making arrangement for her younger cousin to come through that same dangerous route. Evidence of remittances reflected in the acquisition of property, the status transformation of migrant's family, and stories of an Eldorado lifestyle where the grass is greener (peddled mostly by traffickers) are the major pull factors that inspire the taking of risks. According to Omoregie (2013), in field research conducted between 1990 and 2000, over 70% of all the modern houses in Ikpoba Okha Local Government Area (a municipality in Edo State)were built from the proceeds of trafficked girls to Europe. The interview with Osayi about bringing her brother and planning to bring more members of her family to Europeis demonstrates that transnational networking influences illegal migration, and supports of the position of Okojie et al. (2003 :86) that trafficking rings in Nigeria are able to control the entire trafficking process via family and ethnic ties.

The challenges created by these pull and push factors are reinforced by the lack of political will on the part of the government. The failure to develop policies to tackle poverty, the deterioration of infrastructure and livelihoods, and non-structured compulsory and supervised basic education for children and young adults who are the targets of the traffickers make human trafficking a perennial problem. The present state of affairs in Nigeria contrasts sharply with section 17 and 18 of the Nigerian constitution which deals with issues of access to education for all and creating an enabling environment for suitable employment for all. The government of Nigeria has been involved in several

economic revival schemes, but lack of data and proper accountability cast doubt on the viability of these programmes.

Furthermore, there is the plight of the "rescued" returnees who suffered untold hardships in the deserts and in Libya before returning home with the promise of support by IOM and the Nigerian government. Several of persons in this category interviewed have experienced hopelessness, because they have not received the promised support. An online publication by the Human Rights Watch and VOA on the investigation of traumatizing conditions in the government shelterssupports the claims made by the young women.[5] The social stigma these women suffer is another challenge. They are seen as failures because of their inability to succeed where others have. Their interviews support Tyldum and Brunovski's (2005: 26) claim that a majority of known victims of trafficking choose to travel abroad, either to find a job, a husband or *wife*, seek asylum, or even to earn money through prostitution. In the process, they fall victim to traffickers.

Clearly, the majority of migrants who cross borders everyday are not manipulated to the extent of being classified as trafficking? Obtaining a better understanding of the experiences of returned migrants would help us better understand who the victims are and which factors increase their vulnerability to traffickers. Remarkably, in the interviews the factors identified driving illegal migration overlap across the three identified categories. The human traffickers appear pushing, pulling, and reinforcing, as they persuade migrants to use their services. The table that follows is a tabulation of the factors driving migration.

	Push factors	Pull factors	Reinforcements
1	Rapidly deteriorating socio-political and economic conditions	Tales of greener grass on the other side	Lack of political will to tackle challenges
2	Deepening poverty	Family and friends living abroad	Unfulfilled promises to returnees
3	High rates of unemployment	Transnational network	Family rejection
4	Lack of opportunities/	Evidence of remittances	Stigmatization
5	Human deprivation human rights violation	Traffickers	Traffickers
6	Conflicts	Desire for adventure	Feeling of hopelessness
7	Feeling of hopelessness	Attaining self-worth	Conditions in government shelters for returnees

Figure 1. Factors influencing migration (Odorige 2016)

The Traffickers or Human Smugglers *aka* Gatemen

A journey that starts as trafficking in persons may end up being smuggling or vice versa. The UN optional protocol 2000 states that "trafficking in persons" means "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receiving of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, or abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services,

5. https://www.voanews.com/africa/nigerian-trafficking-survivors-lack-support-report-shows https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/08/27/you-pray-death/trafficking-women-and-girls-nigeria. Accessed 10 December 2020

slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in paragraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used."

Evelyn (not her real name) paid 500,000 thousand naira (1100 US dollars) to a woman (supposedly a smuggler) to take her to Italy, and spent 2 months on the way to get to Libya. In Libya she was sold to a Libyan as a trafficked victim and locked up for re-sale which drives home the point that because of the clandestine nature of the transactions, pacts are never kept just like in all criminal deals, and are usually rigged by 'double crossing'. The case of Rubi (not her real name), who in her search for adventure got the services of a man to transport her to Libya in 2008 and chose to stay in Libya as the conditions were favourable there. She was working as an employee in a restaurant, after Ghaddafi was ousted and situations deteriorated in Libya, and had to be return to Nigeria in the company of trafficked victims on an IOM plane, and she was very angry to be referred to as a victim of trafficking. In her words, 'I went on my own.'

According to Modupe Adeleye (2013), traffickers are individuals who source, buy, and sell victims for trafficking. Both men and women can be traffickers. Durkheim's (1960: 353) analysis of pathological forms of division of labour, or in this case society, should produce social solidarity. When divisions of labour or *society* ceases to bring forth solidarity, pathology helps in the temptation to reckon as irregular form of division of labour, criminal occupation, and other harmful social vices. Illegal migration in all its inherent forms lead to forms of labour created in a sphere where social solidarity is no longer feasible.

Indicators in Nigeria show a systemic erosion of social solidarity especially as it relates to government responsibility to the citizens, the vulnerable, and the poor. This situation is captured succinctly in the statement by the Commission for Africa (2005: 106) that "Africa has suffered from governments that have looted the resources of the state; that could not or would not deliver services to their people; that in many cases were predatory, corruptly extracting their countries' resources, that maintained control through violence and bribery; and that squandered and stole aids." Actions like these have contributed to the eroding of social solidarity at personal and public levels, in families and in society.One of its consequences is the escalation in human trafficking. Government spending policies in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, are increasingly elite-centred, being products of a system in which only those in power benefit, whether in the area of access to security, social welfare and remuneration. Government solidarity's centering on the elites (leaders) who are without consideration for the teeming populace prompted Chinua Achebe to pen "The problem with Nigeria is simply and squarely poor leadership" (1983). Among the poor and the vulnerable of society, those become illegal migrants, victims of trafficking, human smugglers, and traffickers, also lack the sense of social solidarity that is supposed to keep the society whole.

Human traffickers are gatewo(men) who wait on the margins of society for people looking for a way out. Their operations are shielded within the community of their victims, because it is a network of friends, family, church members, neighbours, prophets/pastors, and juju priests. This last group possesses enormous spiritual leverage, driving fear into the victims and their family, reminding them of repercussions of the gods and spirits should secrets be revealed, or victims and their family members dare deviate from paying

the 'debt.' In the words of one victim, there is "so much hopelessness, I fear poverty pass death (pidgin) for I am more afraid of poverty than death." Victims often seek out traffickers on their own initiative and are thus recruited (UNESCO 2006: 39). The gateman or woman is always there to open the doorway to the road route for the migrant to be smuggled to his or her destination. This is often the result of an agreement between two parties: a prospective immigrant who lacks the opportunity to immigrate legally and a human smuggler who offers his services in the form of forged documents and/or transportation through the illegal route, which he/she understands, having mastered the language of the security agents along the way and at the borders. Often both parties are satisfied with the deal (Carling 2006) although manipulation, exploitation, diversion, and breach of trust underpin what is coercive trust. Based on social depravity, family expectations, coercion, and false assurances from the courier, this trust demonstrates the abilities of traffickers to respond quickly to changing political and economic conditions and counter-trafficking responses (Shelley, 2002: 40-42).

The Nigerian Government and International Organizations

Expressing her hopelessness, a Libyan returnee, interviewed in the shelters, said,"The organization that returned us back, promised to set us up in business when we go back to Nigeria. Since we came back to this country, nothing! I learned to make liquid soap and they gave 2800 naira as startup money [6.5 dollars] for a business that requires at least 80,000 naira to start [about $200]. It's not going to work. If I see another chance, I will go back to try again because I don't see anything here [Nigeria]. The organizations are not serious; they are like our government. I am too frustrated to be afraid." Ironically,

this interviewee's description of the inhuman treatment she suffered at the hands of traffickers on the road to Libya and kidnappers in Libya, she should be afraid to try again. Rape is an understatement ehen learning of the near-death tortures she experienced.

As Durkheim (1951: 354) would point out, whoever has served p his apprenticeship in many occupations could at least set up himself in business if he has the means; people are supposed to be helped by anti-trafficking measures rather than suffer as a result of them. Dottridge (2007: 1) discusses trafficking as a multidimensional problem embodying social, economic and criminological perspectives that call for a multidimensional approach. Unfortunately, in Nigeria, the criminological approach takes centre stage and may be connected to what are exceedingly weak provisions in the UN protocol on trafficking to protecti its victims. Optional rather than compulsory, this protocol does not encourage governments to prioritize the rights of trafficked persons. Protection from stigmatization, access to education, vocational skills acquisition and employment possibilities should be treated as human rights that cannot be compromised.

According to John Locke, "the purpose of the government and law is to uphold and protect the natural rights of men. So long as the government fulfils this purpose, the laws given by it are valid and binding, but when it ceases to fulfil it, then the laws would have no validity." Jean Jacques Rosseau's ideal of the social contract advocates that no citizen should ever be so rich enough to buy another and none should be so poor enough to be forced to sell himself (Knowles 2001:306). There has been a hue and cry about the jumbo allowances of the Nigerian political office holders, though their allowances have been shrouded in secrecy until recently when Senator Shehu Sani made public their salaries in an interview with BBC. Stober (2018) arrived at a calculation that

it wouldtake 792 years for the average Nigerian to earn what the Nigerian senator earns annually, suggesting that corruption is largely responsible for the shortcomings and poor performance of Nigeria's political economy (Agbiboa 2013). With a few industries, the lack of infrastructural development, and ever rising unemployment in Nigeria, human traffickers and the victims of human trafficking are the results of corrupt leadership. Bravado about the criminality of human trafficking needs to be matched with focused support for victims' reintegration into the society. But getting the government to shift its *modus operandi* is not an easy task if there is no political end (Laczko 2002).

Undermining the Social Psychological Effects of Girl-Child Discrimination

Dogo (2014) and Omoera (2020) have highlighted the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society. It often the case that the male role is propped up as dominant, involving wealth and power, and the women are cast in subordination to men because of biological determinants deemed *katabolic* for men which makes them energetic, variable, eager, passionate, and interested in venturing into waters yet uncharted and *anabolic* for women which make them passive, sluggish, stable, and uninterested in the world beyond their immediate sphere of dominance (Dogo 2014). These dterminants legitimize oppressive rules against the girl-child or woman as natural and inescapable. This systemic discrimination is underscored by the KIIs conducted in this study. The submissive status of the Nigerian woman is directly related to her self-esteem. Adepoju (2005) recalls traditional settings where parents often prefer to send girls into domestic servitude and use the income to finance the education of boys because girl children are regarded as economic assets. From a young age they are gradually integrated into the family's productive sector. Regardless

of the push to eliminate child labour, the practice is widespread in Nigeria.

Children's assistance in form of childcaring, street hawking, herding, and fetching water or fuel wood – releases the adults, to attend to 'other' tasks. Whenever there is the need for extra hand, it is often the case that families see no qualms in withdrawing girls from school so that they can help. It is taken for granted that this discrimination against the girl-child within families hasno effect on her. Subordinated to the male-child , the girl-child can be given away too early for marriage or servitude for the purpose of raising an extra income for the family or the education of boys. The KIIs confirm that lack of self-worth initiated at the family and societal levels are responsible for some of the runaway cases. Here the girl is willing to seek out traffickers on their own volition or agree to leave her family should the traffickers come searching. This is an account from an interviewee: "I used to live in the village with my family, my father gave out my elder sister in marriage as a fourth wife to a man because he needed money to buy seeds for planting that year. I know the man maltreats my sister and she is not happy. When my former schoolmate came to inform me that her sister who lives abroad is looking for girls who would like to travel and since I had already dropped out of school to help my father in the farm, I decided to follow her to the city so that I will not be given away in marriage like my elder sister. I know my father will not send me to school so I decided to go where I can find a better life for myself."

The strengthening of human rights laws in many societies protects the fundamental rights of women, but in Nigeria discrimination against the girl-child is slow in receiving legislative attention. Rebellion, by succumbing to overtures from traffickers, is how some girls choose to change their situations. After all there is not much difference between how

they are seen at home and the way the traffickers see them. Challenging reintegration programmes for returnees, the lack of policy initiative s are not in place to check the stigmatization of repatriated victims of trafficking who are seen as failures. Their returns represent broken dreams for their families, who had hoped that their statuses were about to change because of their *sister's* or *daughter's* or *mother's* travelling abroad. Moreover, returnees are seen as carriers of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). Adepoju (2005) informs that for some of them this stigmatization leads to isolation, trapping them in poverty with personal trauma and mental health challenges.

## Analysis of Push and Reinforcements Factors
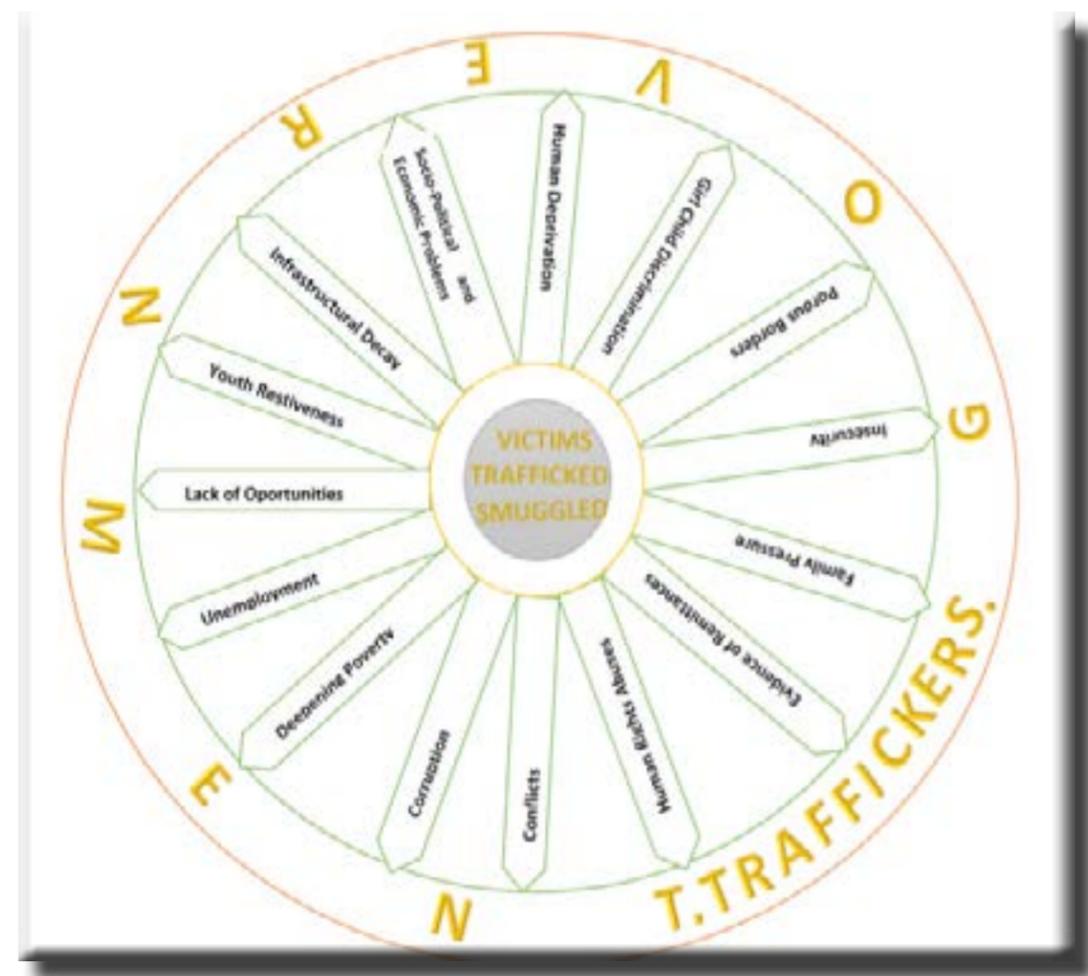
Figure 2: Activities that influence push factors (Odorige 2016)

In Figure 2, the diagram details the push factors driving illegal migration in Nigeria. Of all the 15 challenges recorded, only three are connected to traffickers. The first push factor involves pressures from friends and families who may be connected to a trafficking network. Evidence of remittances is the second related challenge, indirectly linked to traffickers as they are quick to cite this as a persuasive tool to push their victims into concurrence. Human rights abuse is the third push factor when related to the lack of action on the part of government to address discrimination against the girl-child. The inability of the government to constructively address damaging traditional practices that subordinate the girl-child to male children needs far more attention than there is now.

Conclusion

Human trafficking impacts education, youth empowerment, and the socio-economic and psychological wellbeing of Nigerians. Foua and Diriwari's (2019) suggestion about the creation of effective child protection mechanisms as key to eliminating child trafficking must be taken seriously. In addition, legal instruments that effectively protect the girl-child's rights must be put in place. Considering the negative drift of t governance away from a people-centred government to an elitist one which is inimical to social growth and development, the Nigerian government must commit to a plan to address the challenges of deepening poverty, widespread unemployment, human deprivation, youth restiveness, lack of opportunities, human rights abuses, and widespread corruption. There is the need to use development communication strategies to get affected communities that are susceptible to human trafficking, to decide against the illegal migration. This can be in via theatre productions, videos screening, showing the grave human right abuses

and suffering that victims encounter on their journeys, and the need to accept returnees back into society. Discussions can follow afterwards involving the whole community. Representatives of groups can express their desires, including girl-children and young men too, to deter parents from putting pressure on their children and showing children ,especially those without guardians who have lost their parents, that there are options beyond going with the traffickers. Acceptance of returnees also needs to be infused into these discussions. Considering the dehumanizing treatment returnees have suffered, it is essential to develop special legislation to protect them economically, socially medically, and mentally. The existing shelter needs experienced social workers who empathize with their situation. Efforts must be made to ensure that the victims (particularly the sisters, daughters and mothers) are settled in an economic venture after they complete their vocational trainings. International organizations supporting the shelters should channel funds in such a way that NGOs in donor countries form alliances with local NGOs for the sake of accountability so that the funds are distributed appropriately. NGOs from donor countries could act as supervising partners. While these recommendations are useful to remediate the challenge, a national action plan that checks the socio-economic challenges facing Nigeria is key to eliminating human trafficking in the SSA countries. In short, affected state governments should prioritize supporting returnees and facilitate the communication with vulnerable communities regardless of their national government's efforts. The campaign against, arrest, and prosecution of traffickers is more effective if backed with government's, NGOs' and international agencies' efforts to help Nigerian families see a brighter future.

Acknowledgements

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Liberal Humanitarian Ideology in Femi Osofisan's *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* and *Twingle Twangle: A Twynning Tayle*

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Abstract

Political entities, it is said, aim to better mankind although a thorough evaluation of the practicality of and commitment to their programmes often reveals a complete reversal as they generally operate in a parallel fashion to their set objectives. Even the most down-to-earth democracies of the world today are bedevilled by corruption. Liberal humanitarianism, for example, with its 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) accomodates egocentric tendencies. Accordingly, the motives of Taye and Kehinde in *Twingle*

Twangle: A Twynning Tayle and the Minstrels in *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* bring the despicable and the hypocritical to the fore in drastically material worlds. When politically empowered, human nature makes nonsense of any social instinct. This paper observes that the messianic ventures in these plays resemble those of world powers propelled by liberal humanitarianism and examines the incongruent nature of that ideology when it is juxtaposed with stark realities.

Keywords: Liberal humanitarian ideology, Political entities, R2P.

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Introduction

From varied spheres of appraisal, it is observable that every drama has one ideological concern or the other. Sometimes, even high comic forms have expresions of ideological positions embedded in their thematic concerns. whether a dramatist assumes the role of the most down-to-earth farcical raconteur, as seen in Ola Rotimi's *Grippam* and Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement*, or becomes a chronicler of past cultural events or historical epochs as in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*, and Ola Rotimi's *Ovonramnwen Nogbaisi* and *Kurunmi*, certain ideological standpoints are brought to the fore. It is, therefore, impossible to say that some plays have ideological leanings while others do not. This is in view of the fact that works of literature reflect the society from which they draw their 'raw materials.' To state the obvious, society is made up of people, who, either consciously or otherwise, share or vary in their views, and or opinions, concerning every issue that is crucial to their mutual coexistence. Put succinctly, a society where everyone, given certain circumstances, reasons alike, shares identical viewpoints on virtually, every issue, and behaves unmistakably alike, is absolutely unimaginable and utopian.

Playwrights, like other creative artists, and their works, do not exist in any form of abstraction; neither are they completely independent of the society characterized by a flux of ideals, philosophies, ideologies, perspectives on issues and general viewpoints derived from both logical and illogical reasoning. Dennis Akoh is of the view that "drama, and indeed literature, is necessarily an ideological production; we cannot escape the traps of the ideological project, especially, within the complex nexus of postmodernist discourse" (2006, p. 6). Also, Bercorvitch (1986: 636), cited in Akoh, remarks that

> [t]here is no escape from ideology; that so long as human beings remain political animals they will always be bounded in some degree by consensus and so long they are symbol-making animals they will always seek in some way to persuade themselves (and others) that *their* symbology is the last, best hope of mankind. (2006, p. 10)

Louis Althusser, cited in Akoh, is of the view that every experience in the world is regulated by ideology, and since every individual subscribes to a variety of ideologies, ideologies then become filters for everything that is seen, heard, felt, and experienced. This representational capacity of ideology makes it a simulacrum of realities. Different individuals possess different filters (ideologies), which may have different representations of same situations in life, and when reality is filtered, the ultimate result is that the 'sifted' lot being altered becomes illusion. Hence, the Althussarian viewpoint (158) as quoted in Akoh, maintains that: the individual in question believes in such and such a way, adopts

such and such a practical attitude, and, what is more, participates in certain regular practices which are those of the ideological apparatuses on which 'depend' ideas that he has in all consciousness chosen as a subject (2006, p. 13).

Pushing this argument a bit further, it is worthwhile to mention that, after the World War II, some social scientists declared the demise of ideology. This gave birth to the "End- of- Ideology" debate. According to John Jost (2006), in an article titled "The End of the End of Ideology," there were four related claims that led to the end- of- ideology conclusion. The first, he maintains, springs from the viewpoint that ordinary citizens' political attitudes lack the kind of logical consistency and internal coherence that would be expected if they were neatly organized according to ideological schemata. The second claim is that most people are unmoved by ideological appeals and that abstract credos associated with liberalism and conservatism lack motivational potency and behavioural significance. The third claim is that there are really no substantive differences in terms of philosophical or ideological content between liberal and conservative points of view. The fourth is that there are no fundamental psychological differences between proponents of left-wing and right-wing ideologies. From the title of this article, and judging from his argument therein, there is no gainsaying that Jost, himself, does not agree with the End-of-Ideology theorists.

Some critics express a somewhat pessimistic view on the agility and sustained vigour of ideological standpoints. For instance, in the introduction to his book, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Terry Eagleton (xii) states that "if the 'end-of-ideology' theorists viewed all ideology as inherently closed, dogmatic and inflexible, postmodernists' thought tends to see all ideology as teleological, 'totalitarian' and metaphysically grounded. Grossly

travestied in this way, the concept of ideology obediently writes itself off". Eagleton further explains that the abandonment of the notion of ideology belongs with a more pervasive political filtering by whole sections of the erstwhile revolutionary left, which in the face of a capitalism temporarily on the offensive has beaten a steady shamefaced retreat from such 'metaphysical' matters as class struggle and modes of production, revolutionary agency and the nature of the bourgeois state" (xiii). The pro- "End- of- Ideology" theorists tend to uphold the view that human life and existence generally are guided by intuition; the idea of which tend to support the utopic absolute freedom. But, this is not the case anywhere in the world as absolute freedom, if critically appraised, is tantamount to the absence of freedom. In spite of the debates on the demise of ideology, Niyi Osundare expresses a strong fidelity on its existence and efficacy. In his "Tribute to Wole Soyinka at 70," a talk to a gathering of artistes and culture workers reported in *The Guardian* of 19 June, 2004, Osundare, using socialism cum communism as his reference points, emphatically asserts

> No matter what anybody may say about Communism or Socialism today, those ideals are far from dead. It would be ahistorical to think otherwise. Once ideas reach the world, and hit the consciousness of people, they never die. I wonder whether anybody can put an actual date to the time Jesus Christ lived. Or the time Mohammed lived or even the time Buddha lived. But their ideas are still very much with us today. (www.cafeafricana.com/Tribute-WoleSoyinka.html).

What then is ideology or what can possibly be termed ideological? The limitation of

one's understanding of ideology to Marxism and other such politico-economic theories, like socialism, capitalism, communism, fascism, and totalitarianism, is misleading. Ideology, while embracing all these in its purview, has a wider scope, meaning, and epistemologically distant history than any of these concepts. Karl Mannheim is of the view that although Marxism contributed a great deal to the original statement of the problem, both the word and its meaning go farther back in history than Marxism, and ever since new meanings of the word have emerged which have taken shape independently of it (49). Ideology refers to a set of ideas that constitutes one's goals, expectations, and actions. It can be thought of as a complete revelation. Its main purpose is to offer either change in society or adherence to a set of ideals where conformity already exists. In the *Althusserian* sense, ideology is "the imagined existence (or idea) of things as it relates to the real conditions of existence"(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideology, para. 1).

As explained in the *Encyclopedia of Postmodernism*, ideology is the mechanism by and through which individuals live their roles as subjects in a social formation. A term of primary importance in classical Marxist theory, ideology denotes either a false consciousness of the world or a distorted reflection in consciousness of real social relations. A second and more neutral meaning is also present in Marx: ideology describes all consciousness of living in the social world forming part of the superstructure of all societies (Victor Taylor & Winquit p.185). Our ideology is one of the most closely held set of values and feelings, and it acts as the filter through which we see everything and everybody. In fact, these beliefs are often so close to us that we do not realize that they are there (www.sparknotes/com/us-governmentandpolitics/section1.rhtml para.1).

Mannheim identifies two distinct meanings of the term ideology – the Particular

and the Total (pp.49-50). The Particular conception of ideology, according to him, is implied when the term denotes that we are sceptical of the ideas and representations advanced by the opponent. Such ideas or representations, he goes on to explain, are regarded as more or less conscious disguises of the real nature of a situation, the true recognition of which would not be in accord with his interests. These distortions range from conscious lies to half conscious and unwitting disguises, from calculated attempts to scam others, to self-deception. This conception of ideology, which has only gradually become differentiated from the commonsense notion of the lie, is particular in several senses. Mannheim juxtaposes this notion of ideology with the Total conception which he sees as referring to the ideology of an age or of a concrete historic-social group, for example, of a class, when we are concerned with the characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind of this epoch or of this group. He further maintains that

> [t]he distrust and suspicion which men everywhere evidence towards their adversaries, at all stages of historical develop-ment, may be regarded as the immediate precursor of the notion of ideology. But it is only when the distrust of man toward man, which is more or less evident at every stage of human history, becomes explicit and is methodologically recognized, that we may properly speak of an ideological taint in the utterances of others… We begin to treat our adversary's views as ideologies only when we no longer consider them as calculated lies and when we sense in his total behaviour an unreliability which we regard as a function of the social situation in which he finds himself. (p. 54)

Whatever the positions of the critics of ideology are, appraisals of Osofisan's dramaturgy in this work from the perspectives offered by these ideologies aim at facilitating our understanding of the playwright's thematic preoccupations. The ideological standpoints of the liberal-humanists adopted in this article examine two of his plays, namely, *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* and *Twingle-Twangle: A Twynning Tayle* (*Esu...* and *TTATT*).

In its most general form, humanitarianism is an ethic of kindness, benevolence, and sympathy, extended universally and impartially to all human beings. Humanitarianism has been an evolving concept historically but universality is a common element in its evolution. No distinction is to be made in the face of suffering or abuse on grounds of gender, sexual orientation, tribe, caste, age, religion, or nationality. Humanitarianism can also be described as the acceptance of every human being for plainly just being another human, ignoring and abolishing biased social views, prejudice, and racism in the process. If utilized individually as a practiced viewpoint, or mindset, a better society, devoid of any of the features of dystopia, is guaranteed.

Whereas most other accounts of humanitarianism focus on recent initiatives, Barnett begins his historical account with the antislavery and missionary movements of the 19th century. He argues that humanitarianism has gone through three distinct stages: the imperial form (1800–1945), the neo-humanitarian form (1945–89), and the liberal form (1989–present), with most institutional development occurring in the post-WW II era. (https://www.amazon.com/Empire-Humanity-Humanitarianism-Michael-Barnett/dp/0801478790). It is this liberal form of humanitarianism that this paper seeks to appraise in the two plays of Osofisan – *Esu...* **and** *TTATT*. Liberalism is an attitude,

philosophy, or movement that has, as its basic concern, the development of personal freedom and social progress. Liberalism and democracy are now usually thought to have common aims, but in the past, many liberals considered democracy unhealthy because it encouraged mass participation in politics. However, at present, liberalism may be identified with movements to change the social order through the further extension of democracy (Encarta, 2009).

Humanitarianism, on the other hand, is concerned with an ideal situation or set up which is suggestive of the minimization or total eradication of human problems and suffering; as well as the concomitant improvement of the living conditions of the generality of humans. Liberal humanitarianism anchors its tenets on those humane principles of life aimed at bettering the lots of humanity generally. Collectivism, egalitarianism, common good, togetherness, as well as communal co-existence, selflessness and philanthropic disposition are the offshoots of liberal humanitarianism. It is, therefore, opposed to egoism. Whereas egoism regards self-interest as the only logical human motivation, liberal humanitarianism aligns itself with altruism, which is the belief that acting for the benefit of others is right and good, and can be seen as the bedrock of a just society. This is justifiable if one considers the vicarious suffering and subsequent death of Jesus Christ on the cross. The Christian faith believes that this level of liberal humanitarianism is what has been divinely designed for the liberation, as well as, the salvation of humanity in entirety. But a critical appraisal of this claim presents it as utopian as mankind is held captive by forces beyond its control.

This, perhaps, may explain one of the key areas of divergence between Soyinka's and Osofisan's creative impulses, especially, as seen in *The Strong Breed* and *No More the Wasted*

Breed respectively. However, the point has to be stressed that liberal humanitarianism may successfully be executed if based on platforms of heroic individualistic approach as exemplified by Emma in Wole Soyinka's *The Strong Breed* and Olunde in *Death and the King's Horseman*. It may also occur as a result of a concerted and collective efforts and will power of a group as seen in the denouements of Osofisan's *Another Raft* and *Red is the Freedom Road*. Whichever form it takes, its central essence is the betterment of humanity.

Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels

One major feature of liberal humanitarianism, as identified by Barnett is the Responsibility to Protect, which he refers to as the R2P principle. The R2P principle was established in 2005 as an agreement among all UN member states to prevent atrocities and to respond to the perpetration of atrocities when states are unwilling or unable to do so. Edward Newman, in "The Limits of Liberal Humanitarianism in Europe: The 'Responsibility to Protect' and Forced Migration" (2018), is of the opinion that there is arguably a special liberal commitment to offer some degree of protection to forcibly displaced populations which is relevant to Europe's response to the 2014-15 refugee crisis, because these countries have tended to be champions of the R2P principle and thus explicitly commit themselves to a higher standard of humanitarianism.

The problematization of the issues surrounding liberal humanitarianism in light of its commitment to salvaging the plights of the oppressed or depraved, as seen in Osofisan's *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* brings to the fore the illogicality of contravening human nature which is practically immersed in egocentricity. If indeed, the human heart is desperately despicably evil (*The Holy Bible King James Version*, Jeremiah 17: 9) then the practicability of liberal humanitarianism can only be nothing but a fiasco as demonstrated by the likes of Redio, Epo Oyinbo, Sinsin and Jigi. Human nature in a drastic materialistic world makes a nonsense of any socialist instinct. Redio, Epo Oyinbo, Sinsin and Jigi represent the egoistic capitalists; Omele represents the few compassionate liberal humanitarians trmaining in a postmodern materialistic world in which every venture is geared towards self-aggrandizement. The Male Leper (also as Orunmila), commends Omele's heroic humanitarian deeds in the following words:

> My son, this is no time for speeches.
>
> And I shall spare you one.
>
> Esu Laaroye, lord of the crossroads,
>
> Trickster, he set you a test, to see
>
> Whether between compassion and greed,
>
> You would know the road to take:
>
> Between hollow material wealth,
>
> So ephemeral,
>
> And the unseen riches of tenderness.
>
> You alone passed the test, you alone
>
> Pitied the woman we sent along
>
> Even in spite of her wretchedness.
>
> So we said let's test him again,
>
> Just to be sure and we came down ourselves.
>
> Me and Yeye Osun, disguised in

The frightful skin of Obaluaye, as lepers.

But again you did not let us down!

Again you let your humanity

Yield to unusual compassion.

Salute…

The rest is for our audience

To learn from your example…. (pp. 68-9)

As Omele demonstrates, within the purview of liberal humanitarianism one may locate the idea of infinite perfectibility of the human species epitomized in an idealistic, pietistic character. One wonders what is the rationale behind his (Omele's) decision to saddle himself with the pains and afflictions of others, and to stubbornly refuse to let go. He maintains

[b]ecause it doesn't matter to me. I have one life, and it's not worth much. I've always lived in want, as a vagabond. Oh yes, my life itself has been like a leprosy. So I am used to it, I can live like this for the rest of my wretched life. But look at them, aren't they handsome as they are? They have a name, a career, they have kids. They have money in the bank, an insurance policy; no doubt, their life is a hymn to the future. Society needs them, not dregs like me. I'll keep the disease! (p. 66)

This Christ-like mentality for the sole good of others that forms part of what is utopian in this play is absolutely inconsistent with the present day realities of human existence. Ideally, one would have expected the play's felons, because of their hard-heartedness, to have ended with the Male Leper's (Orunmilla) pronouncement of doom: "Well … let the disease go to those who have won it, those who seek to be rich without labour. Who have put their selfish greed first before everything, including their humanity! (*The minstrels cringe in terror*)" (68). However, the reversal of that curse by the playwright and the freeing the vicious minstrels – Redio, Epo Oyinbo, Sin Sin and Jigi – from the repercussions of their inhumane lifestyles indicates the absence of space in a postmodern world for any form of orchestrated efforts at liberal humanitarianism. This utopian mentality immanent in the praxis of the so-called liberal humanitarianism is highlighted in the play if one examines the speeches of the minstrels in the denouement:

Redio: … There is just no miraculous answer to life's disasters.

Even a play must face the truth.

Female Leper: For whom are you speaking?

Jigi: For ourselves, both as actors and as citizens.

Epo Oyinbo: There is no magic to the riddle of evil.

Sin Sin: Kindness cannot be willed by the waving of a wand.

Redio: No incantations can cure the anguish caused by greed of politicians.

Jigi: And prayers are not sufficient to counter the violence in the street.

(p. 70)

The above spells doom for humanity, if indeed kindness and compassion are

banished by 'anguish,' 'disasters,' the 'greed of politicians,' and 'violence' which were allowed to thrive. What the authorities or the 'powers that be' merely do is look on helplessly, or at the most, pay the situation lip service.

Osofisan's proffered panacea to the pathetic status quo in the play is equally utopian in nature. His idea of massive mob of people "marching and shouting "yes" or "No" and waving their fists in defiance is a utopian approach in today's socio-political scenario. Labour unions, press and the public in entirety have shouted more than enough, yet, the inimical status quo remains the same. Jigi might be right in asserting that "prayers are not sufficient to counter the violence in the street" (70), considering the fact that, the various religious sects in this nation, and indeed other African nations have prayed more than enough, but all to no avail. Foreign aid has not improved the lives of the people in third world countries. Tom Rogan, for instance, in an article, titled, "What Happened to Obama's Humanitarianism?" asserts with disdain that

> [m]any of President Obama's senior foreign-policy officials are students of liberal humanitarianism, which is a style of international relations that seeks robust American leadership to combat global suffering. Yet in President Obama's foreign policy, liberal humanitarianism is now nearly non-existent. Instead, what liberals once proudly celebrated has now become a dirty theory for an administration that is extremely hesitant about using American power to pursue moral objectives (http://www.nationalreview.com/article/387285/our-unrealist-president-elbridge-colby. (para. 1)

Mannheim has observed that the utopia of liberal humanitarianism arose out of the conflict with the existing order (p. 197). According to him, it establishes a "correct" rational conception to be set off against evil reality. This counter-conception, he maintains, is not used, however, as a blueprint in accordance with which at any given point in time the world is to be reconstructed. Rather it serves as a "measuring rod" by means of which the course of concrete events may be theoretically evaluated. The utopia of liberal humanitarianism is conceived of as a formal goal projected into the infinite future whose function it is to act as a mere regulative device in mundane affairs (p. 197).

Mannheim further posits that in liberal humanitarian thought the utopian element receives a definite location in the historical process — it is the culminating point of historical evolution. In contrast with the earlier conception of a utopia which was suddenly to break upon the world completely from the "outside", this signifies in the long run, a relative toning down of the notion of sudden historical change (pp. 201-2). Henceforth, the utopian view sees the world moving in the direction of a realization of its aims, of a utopia. From another angle, as well, utopianism becomes increasingly bound up with the process of becoming. Mannheim further stresses the fact that "the idea which could be completely realized only in some distant time, in the course of the continuous development of the present becomes a norm, which, applied to details, effects gradual improvement. Whoever criticizes details becomes bound up by that very criticism with the world as it is. Participation in the most immediate trends of present-day cultural development, the intense faith in institutionalism and in the formative power of politics and economics characterize the heirs to a tradition who are not interested merely in sowing, but who want to reap the harvest now" (p. 202).

On a final note, we may agree with Akoh as he maintains that *Esu and the Vagabond*

Minstrels markedly defines Osofisan's first major shift from popular justice to socialist humanism (2006, pp. 100-101), a shift that has been described in terms of a move towards self-regeneration (Bamidele "Alternative View" p. 156) in its Nietzschean philosophical conceptualization of Good and Evil. But more important is the playwright's hope for the post-colony that is ruled by a new humanism which requires love and compassion. This can only be attained through the regeneration of the human spirit within an already repressively materialistic society in search of social transformation. According to Asein Samuel Omo (1980, p. 39), cited in Akoh (2006, p. 103), Osofisan combines Christian love with revolutionary socialist humanism but the totality of it all bears a direct relationship to his conception of a truly African value system, the African's view of himself, his society, and his definition of the purpose of his own art.

He, according to Akoh, therefore emphasizes the need for man's reconciliation of the environment with himself and the moral force which rejects him. This is the fulcrum upon which the concept of African socialism is built and sustained – a needed sense of community that is re-echoed in *Twingle-Twangle*. This is why Omele becomes the desired new spirit of the age as a replacement to the monster-spirit of materialism. He is not an individualist hero *per se*; rather, he represents a spirit, a philosophy of compassion which fights a hostile climate of war, hunger, hatred, and rabid monism. Instead of fighting one another, Osofisan seems to be saying that all that humanity needs is the humane-spirit, the Christ-like spirit found in Omele. This messianic tendency and vicarious inclinations evident in Omele's character are obviously incongruent with natural human tendencies in present economic circumstances, and hence, utopian.

Twingle-Twangle, a Twynning Tayle

One of the striking features of world politics in the last two hundred years, according to Barnett, was the rise of humanitarianism, the sustained efforts by outsiders to save lives and help those too weak to help themselves. He paints an expansive portrait of that ascent, breaking it down into three distinct ages. From the 19th century to World War II, humanitarian intervention existed as part of colonialism, commerce, and Western 'civilizing' missions. During the Cold War, it became part of the East-West struggle and the worldwide movement toward state sovereignty and national development. The end of the Cold War gave birth to an ambitious project of liberal humanitarianism that was tied to globalization and the spread of liberal democracy and human rights. However, as human beings are naturally self-centred, and this has a way of casting the objectives of humanitarian projects in a somewhat dim light.

In *Twingle-Twangle, a Twynning Tayle*, Femi Osofisan highlights the dualism that characterizes the generality of human existence. The two extremes, and/or alternatives, to which human beings' actions or inactions are attributable, are captured early in the play, mostly in the "Prologue: A Gossip" as well as in the character portraits of Mama Ibeji and Baba Ibeji. In the "Prologue: A Gossip", for instance, these extremes are expressed in the pairings of "war or peace", "the knife or the spoon", and "blood or water". Emphasizing this dualism, Taye and Kehinde are brought to the fore as the plot of the play unfolds. Here, the first issue to consider concerns the main objective(s) behind Taye's and Kehinde's mission to strange lands away from their hometown. How realistic is their motivational impetus, as imposed on them by their father? Of what import are the experiences they garnered to the ultimate betterment of their immediate community? Is there any possible

verisimilitude between such a venture and the modern ideals of liberal humanitarianism?

Taye and Kehinde embark on a journey of self-discovery, each following a distinct concept of life. Whereas Kehinde is militaristic in his approach to issues, Taye is subtle, calculative, and astute. This is evidenced by their leadership techniques in Etido and Ereko respectively. Whereas Kehinde ruled the people of Etido with iron hand preferring expansionist warfare to welfarism, Taye handles the people of Ereko with tact and an egalitarian inclination. Their individualistic quest for political maturity incidentally turns out to be a mission that tends towards liberal humanitarianism. Etido and Ereko were salvaged by Kehinde and Taye respectively. Taye delivers Ereko from an incident that would have constituted a national embarrassment. He drinks the hot stew that the suitors to the princess of the land could not, thereby saving the princess from extra years of spinsterhood, which of course, could have been somewhat of a national embarrassment.

On the other hand, Kehinde delivers the land of Etido from the menace of a monster – Bilisi, who, over the years, has been devouring the beautiful virgins of the land, occasioned by the land's inexplicable level of subservience to its whims and caprices. Kehinde kills the dreaded amphibious monster, and saves the life of Lawunmi, the princess, and is proclaimed the king of the land. This, of course, is reminiscent of the Sophoclean Sphinx of the Athenian play titled *Oedipus Rex*. The experiences in the two segments of the play illustrate the innate strategic essence of the humanitarian inclinations. Of course, in each instance, the "deliverer" is bestowed with the highest political authority in the land.

Conclusion

In both of the selected plays, the incongruent nature of liberal humanitarianism is demonstrated by their egocentric characters. The motives of Taye and Kehinde in *Twingle Twangle: A Twynning Tayle* and the Minstrels in *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* bring the despicable and the hypocritical to the fore in drastically material worlds. The main motives of the seemingly messianic ventures of these characters establish the utopian nature of this ideology, but when politically empowered, human nature makes nonsense of any social instinct.

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The Use of Multimedia Tools in English Teaching in Nigeria

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Abstract

The 21st century is the age of information and digital economy. The rapid development of information technology provides us with advanced teaching means—multimedia in a globalized world. Multimedia has many advantages in teaching English, such as offering more information, saving time and stimulating students' imagination and creativity. This paper illustrates the necessity of multimedia in English teaching and elaborates the advantages of multimedia teaching and problems associated with it with reference to the Nigerian environment. Using a literary method, this article also contends that in spite of its many advantages multimedia should not be used blindly in teaching English and offers some strategies on how to properly use multimedia to deliver quality education in Nigeria.

Keywords: Multimedia, English teaching, Globalized world, Quality education in Nigeria.

Introduction

The 21st century is the age of globalization and digital economy in which English has increasingly become an international language (Omoera, 2008). With the rapid development of science and technology, emerging multimedia and its application to teaching has become germane. Multimedia technology, featuring audio and animation effects, offers a favourable platform for reform and exploration in the English teaching model. It has been proven that multimedia technology plays a positive role in promoting the activities and initiatives of students and teaching in English classes (Young & Bush, 2004).

As David Graddol (1977) states, "technology lies at the heart of the globalization process; affecting education work and culture". Thus, technology is one of the most significant drivers of both social and linguistic change. Facing the challenges and demands of the 21st century, English is no longer taught by a single English teacher, standing in front of a classroom with only a blackboard, chalk, and a tape recorder (Panthee, 2012). The wide application of multimedia technology has opened up a brand new field for English teaching. But in Nigeria, there exists a contradictory situation in teaching English. People proficient in multimedia have no idea about to teach English while some English teachers know little or nothing about multimedia. There are many questions when some English teachers use multimedia, among them, What is multimedia? Why do we choose multimedia to assist in English teaching? How do we make good use of multimedia?

Conceptualizing Multimedia

Multimedia is the use of computers to present text, graphics, video, animation, and

sound in an integrated way. When we talk about multimedia, CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning) should not be ignored. Since the media can be integrated by using computers, it has a close relationship with CALL. Sometimes people even use the term CALL to stand for multimedia.

Components of Multimedia

Multimedia is composed of various components: text, animation, sound, and video. These components contribute differentially to the learning of materials at hand.

Text: It is fundamental element in all multimedia applications. It conveys most information (Vanghan, 2004). We can use ordinary text or various typographic effects for emphasis or clarification when teaching English. In order to catch the reader's attention, teachers can use different font sizes, colour, and styles to present information and emphasize a certain word or phrase.

Graphics: This term refers to images and pictures, such as charts, diagrams, and photographs, which contain no movement. Pictures for language learning, graphics can stimulate interest and motivation, improve understanding the ability of language, and offer special references to objects and topics (Wright, 2003). Graphics play a very important role in the language teaching process.

Animation: Animation is the rapid display of a sequence of images of 2-D or 3-D artwork or model positions in order to create the illusion of movement. Simply speaking, it ranges from the basic graph with a simple motion to a detailed image with complex movements. Assisted by the use of animation, teachers can highlight key knowledge

points and heighten students' motivation (Vanghan, 2004).

Sound: It is speech, music, or any other sound that is stored and produced by computers. This has more advantages than the tape recorder. With multimedia, teachers can use more vivid and fruitful sound to help student learn English.

Video: This is the visible part of a television transmission and the broadcasting of visual images of stationary or moving objects. Compared with animation, video can offer even more vivid information, but will consume more storage space than animation (Vanghan, 2004).

The Setting of a Multimedia Classroom

In the traditional classroom setting, most English teachers use conventional equipment, like a blackboard, chalk, and tape recorders. More modern equipment is available in a multimedia classroom. In a typical multimedia-PC classroom setting, one finds: (1) a MPC–multimedia personal computer; (2) a VCD/DVD player–video compound disk/digital video disk; (3) an amplifier and hi-fi acoustic system; (4) an overhead/slide projector; (5) a screen/curtain; (6) a projecting apparatus; (7) internet access; (8) a cassette tape recorder; and (9) a camera recorder.

The Necessity of Development of Modern Educational Technology in Nigeria

Modern educational technology, characterized by more information and stronger intuition, combines modern education with modern technology. The development of modern educational technology not only promotes the development of educational

methods, but it also promotes the development of educational thinking and modeling. Zhong (2003) has noted that only multimedia teaching can develop and improve the modern education technology. Globally, multimedia is stepping into the frontline of education – the classroom teaching.

There is no doubt because of global economic development and strong competition that the Federal Ministry of Education in Nigeria pays attention to quality education. Assisting the development of English teaching, multimedia is one way to promote the development of quality education. Multimedia English language teaching enables students to involve a variety of sensory organs in the learning process and stimulates their corresponding cortical functions. This stimulation results in the passion for understanding and memorizing knowledge. This in turn produces better learning outcomes and improves classroom efficiency. Multimedia English teaching is a good educational platform and adds vigour fto a quality education.

Cognitive psychology studies have shown that of 94% of the information learned through the visual and auditory means, 78% is obtained through sight while 16% is acquired through hearing. The eyes are the most important information organs in the human body (Wang, 1992). Only the multimedia teaching system can fully mobilize the students' sensory organs, and get the best of the cognitive effects. Using multimedia teaching is very necessary, especially in English teaching, for its effective co-ordination better completes teaching tasks. As well, studies have shown that many students are tired of traditional English classes and interested in new style learning. They have positive attitudes towards computer technology used in the classroom, and because such technology does have a positive impact, multimedia teaching has many advantages over other media when teaching English.

The Use of Multimedia Technology in Teaching

English is one of the important mediums of communication in the world, so it is important to learn the language. As a result, English language teaching has been one of the important subjects in education. In fact, there are more non-native than native speakers of the language. This diversity of contexts in terms of learners' ages, nationalities, and learning backgrounds has become an important feature of English language teaching today.

As Samuels (2013) argues "more recent developments in social media and information technology are taking foreign-language education in new directions." As English language teaching models change rapidly, there has been a significant growth in the literature regarding the use of technology in English language teaching. This literature unequivocally accepts technology as essential. Rana (2013) posits that "teachers need to stop following the same old ways of teaching and experiment and acknowledgethat the world is changing and we need education that augments that change." Thus, it is important for Englis language teachers to be aware of the latest and best equipment and to have information about what is available in any given situation.Some are useful for testing and distance education; some for teaching business English, spoken English, reading, listening or interpreting. Here it should be noted that there are so many techniques applicable to English language teaching that they now threaten "to undermine the classroom completely as a place of study" (Motteram, 2013). Teachers should appreciate new technologies butnot allow them to take over the role of the teacher or limit the functions of traditional teaching

methods.

The Advantages of the Use of Multimedia in English Language Teaching

As the multimedia technology becomes more readily available to all of us, it seems appropriate that the language teachers should integrate it into their lesson and assessment planning in the same way they have been doing with video, film and computer-assisted learning strategies, because "the use of technology for teaching and learning is moving their institution in the right direction" (Healey et. al., 2008). The following are some of the advantages of multimedia technology.

Motivates Students to Learn English: traditional teaching methods are becoming unpopular and less effective in the English-language classrooms. At present, multimedia technology, with the help of audio, visual and animation effects, motivates the students to learn English quickly and effectively. According to Rana (2013), "We also need to take into account that as human beings, we are very visual beings; that what we see tends to affect our judgement more, and technology helps in bringing that visual aspect to education. Who here would prefer a lecture class over a presentation?" Multimedia technology makes for easy access to information regarding the culture of the target language. With abundant information and crossing time and space, multimedia technology creates a real-life or native speaking country context for English language teaching, which greatly cultivates students' interest and motivates them to learn the language.

Develops Students' Communicative Competence: it is hard to achieve the goal of learning English language through the traditional teaching in the globalised world

because it hampers the students' capacity to understand the structure, meaning, and function of the language. Such teaching methods make the students passive recipients of knowledge. Multimedia technology has been a great helping to integrate teaching and learning and provides the students greater incentives, ensuring "students' future competitiveness at the workplace" (Healey et. al., 2008). Suleyman (2008) remarks that the utilization of multimedia technology "breaks the monotony of traditional class teaching and is enjoyable and stimulating." For example, the use of PowerPoint activates students' thinking and capacity to comprehend the language. Its audio and visual effects help students transform English learning into capacity cultivation. Power Point creates a positive environment for classroom activities such as group discussions and subject discussions and debates, which offer more opportunities for communication among students and between teachers and students, encouraging positive thinking and increasing communication skills.

Broadens Students' Knowledge about the Culture of English: the use of multimedia technology, "connected to the target culture" (Ren et al., 2009), offers students more information than textbooks, and helps them to be familiar with cultural backgrounds and real-life language materials. The learners not only improve their listening ability; they also learn the culture of the target language. This creates an information-sharing opportunity among students and encourages them actively participate in the class activities that help them learn the language more quickly and effectively.

Improves Teaching Efficiency: using multimedia technology in language classrooms improves teaching content and makes the best of class time. It breaks the teacher-centred traditional teaching method, fundamentally improves the teachers'

teaching efficiency, and has become "central to language practice" (Motteram, 2013). In large classes, it is difficult for the students to have speaking communication, but the utilization of a multi-media sound laboratory materializes face-to-face teaching. Traditional teaching techniques only emphasize teachers' instruction and provide limited information to the students, but multimedia technology goes beyond time and space, and creates more real-life environments for the teaching of English. It stimulates students' initiatives and economizes class time, providing more information to the students.

Enhances Interaction among Students and between Teachers and Students: Motteram (2013), considering the effectiveness of technological use in the language classrooms, argues that it is still "the case that most teachers work in physical classrooms and looking at ways that these spaces can be augmented with digital technologies is a very good starting point." Multimedia technology focuses on the active participation of students, and enhances the importance of interaction among students and between teachers and students. Oneof the main uses of multimedia technology in the classrooms is to improve students' abiliies to listen and speak, and thereby develop communicative competence by creating a context for the exchange of information among students and between teachers and students, emphasizing "student engagement in authentic, meaningful interaction" (Warschauer, 2000). In this, the teacher's role as a facilitator is particularly prominent and improves the traditional classroom teaching model.

Creates a Conducive Teaching Environment in the Classrooms: the use of multimedia technology in the classrooms creates a favorable environment for language teaching. Highlighting the importance of its use, Healey et al. (2008) contend that "bad teaching will not disappear with the addition of even the most advanced technology;

good teaching will benefit from appropriate use of technology to help learners achieve their goals". This technique makes the language class lively and interesting, motivating the students to participate in the classroom activities. Multimedia technology has its own features such as visibility and liveliness that produce special effects on the participants. While teaching English language, the sounds and pictures can be set together that enhance the active participation of both teachers and students. The teachers can show pictures and images of native-speaking situations to enrich the sharing of information effectively. In the similar way, using the multimedia technology, the students in the class can receive abundant information about the language clearly.

Provides Opportunities for English Teaching: outside the Classroom: teaching English with multimedia technology focuses on "how English language teachers, teacher educators, and administrators can and should use technology in and out of the classroom" (Healey et al., 2008). This means that multimedia technology provides opportunities to have English teaching not only within, but also outside the classroom situations. It creates a multimedia language environment for teaching English. Teaching should be handled by the teachers, but being student-centred is one of the principles of good language teaching. Sometimes, students' problems are addressed in the classroom teaching, but at other times they should be handled outside the classroom. This is "usually carried out using asynchronous tools, such as e-mail or conferencing systems" (Warschauer, 2000). In such circumstances, students can take the advantage of multimedia technology, contacting the teachers through the internet to have their problems resolved.

Arouses the Students' Interest: Albert Einstein had a famous saying: interest is

the best teacher. According to Tolstoy (2008), "successful teaching is not to force, but rather to stimulate student's desire." Teachers should try to get students interested in what is being taught and impsrt to students passion and enthusiasm to participate in the learning process. Multimedia tools also can stimulate the students' strong desire to study English actively.

Improves Students' Self-Learning Ability: the purpose of teaching in the classroom is not only to impart knowledge to students. The most important thing is teaching students how to learn and making them change from "You want me to study" to "I want to learn" in their thinking, to move from passive learning to active learning. The use of multimedia is conducive to transitioning students from the traditional passive learning to an active state for independent study. For example, teachers can select appropriate e-work arrangements for students from the multimedia courseware after class, so they can complete relevant extra-curricular work and send messages to the teacher through their own e-mails, and the teacher can send electronic E-mail marking responses to the students. In this way, students cannot only see their learning outcomes in the shortest period of time, but also sustain interest in their own learning.

Improves Students' Innovative Ability: multimedia teaching can also develop a student's ability to innovate. As Einstein remarked, "Imagination is more important than knowledge, and is a source of knowledge." In teaching, the teachers should to tap the imaginations of students. Multimedia offers unlimited resources in textbooks for imaginative engagement.

Increases Classroom Capacity: with only a tiny mouse, teachers can avoid multiple exchanges of tape recorders, video recorders, and overhead projectors, greatly increasin e

the output of information, speeding up the pace of the classroom, increasing the density of the classroom, and saving a lot of time by not writing on the blackboard. Multimedia teaching rhythms are adapted to meet the student's desire for knowledge.

Disadvantages

Multimedia breaks the original traditional model – "blackboard + chalk" model for us to create new, modernized teaching methods to overcome the drawbacks of traditional teaching. It changes 'dry' learning content into the vivid, interesting, visual, audible, and dynamic content. However, teaching English in Nigeria with multimedia has many problems:

Confusion: Some English classes, when totally dependent on multimedia, ignore the role of teachers. Some teachers also enter the teaching content into the computer courseware, making the computer courseware take on the role of textbooks in the classroom. Other teachers but a CD-ROM courseware for their lessons or copy other people's courseware, dmonstrating only the work of others and changing 'teaching-centred' into multimedia-centred thinking.

Performance on Behalf of the Lead: While teaching, the instructor arouses students' enthusiasm and guides students to active learning. Multimedia only plays a supporting role in this process. But now the multimedia presentations are used to replace the guidance of teachers completely. Some teachers show tas many teaching materials as possible to attract the students' interest. Because it may be difficult for some students to grasp what needs to be learned in a short time, English teachers should keep this proverb in mind

when preparing a lesson: more haste, less speed. Because students may only pay attention to the pictures, and d not pay to what they should really master in the classroom, teachers need to do ehat multimedia cannot—consolidate the information from the presentation for the students.

Lack of Special Skills: Not only does the preparation and workload of teachers increase virtually when using multimedia technology but multimedia teaching requires teachers to be proficient operators of multimedia computers and programs. Unskilled operation of the computer affects the instruction flow, which in turn discourages students from learning if the happens frequently in class.

Overuse of Multimedia: The advantages of multimedia technology, unfortunately, can result in dependence on it. Dependence on multimedia can turn the classroom into a show stage in which teachers are the sole information-givers to their students. We should remember in a multimedia classroom environment that the educational focus is on learning and instructional goals instead of the multimedia itself because multimedia is merely a tool or vehicle for instruction.

Emphasis on the Supplement: Multimedia technology is a supplementary tool for English language teaching, not an end in itself as the blackboard is "supplemented by the overhead projector, another excellent medium for the teacher-dominated classroom, as well as by early computer software programmes" (Warschauer, 2000). If teachers become totally dependent on multimedia devices during teaching, they may be 'slaves' to multimedia technology, unable to be facilitators for their students. Teachers should understand that the multimedia technology is to be used as a supplement or tool gor effective teaching and learning. For example, "electronic

communication within a single class might be viewed as an artificial substitute for face-to-face communication" (Warschauer, 2000).

Lack of Communication between Teachers and Students: It is important that there should be many communicative activities in the language classroom. Teachers should teach the students how to pronounce certain words, to comprehend the sentences, to improve thought patterns, and to express what they have learned. Though the use of multimedia technology in the language classrooms enhances the interest of the students, it ldoes not promote interaction among the students and between teachers and students. Healey et al. (2008) claim that "teachers used pen pals before they had access to keypals, print magazines and newspapers before they had online news, and work in groups face to face before they collaborated in virtual worlds". When multimedia is used to replace the teacher's voice with computer sound and the teacher's analysis with visual images, students have a very limited time for speaking communication and are considered only as viewers rather than the active participants in the classrooms.

Lack of Real-Time Teaching: Language teaching requires lots of discussion formed through questions and answers between teachers and students. The teachers ask real-time questions , guiding the students to think, and build their capacity to give the answers. "[S]tudents need to be given maximum opportunity for authentic social interaction" (Warschauer, 2000). When teachers, with the help of multimedia technology, prepare pre-arranged courseware for language teaching that lacks real-time effects in the classroom, students become unable to give feedback to their teachers. The cultivation of students' thinking should be the major

objective in teaching and using of multimedia technology. The students should be given opportunities for thinking, analyzing, and exploring their world.

Loss of Students' Logical Thinking: The use of multimedia technology in teaching makes students understand the content of courses easily, but their abstract thinking is restricted and their logical thinking impaired. The process of acquiring knowledge first goes through the perceptual stage and then the rational stage, "developing critical thinking and autonomous learning while maximizing beneficial interactions" (Healey et al., 2008). Accordingly, the teachers should understand that perceptual recognition and rational apprehension are both very important steps in the students' learning process. If students only perceive images shown on the screen, their ability to think logically is restricted. The diminishing process of acquiring knowledge is a major concern for today's students. Again, multimedia technology should be used to assist language teaching. It should not replace teachers.

The Expensive Way of Conducting Language Classes: Using multimedia technology in English language teaching is an expensive way of conducting language classes (Panthee, 2012). Keeping this in mind, administrators and policy makers should not only help language teachers realize "the potential benefits of technology, and prompt them to learn to use technology in their teaching," they also should understand "the significant role of technology so they can foster the learning process by providing the necessary structure, support, and infrastructure" (Healey et al., 2008). Over time, multimedia results in higher expenses though it will help make for more effective education. Expenses that are related to implementing new technologies in education usually entail purchases of hardware and software, staffing, and training for at least one networked computer laboratory. It is often the case in poorly-funded language classes that the hardware itself is made possible by a one-time grant, with little funding left over for software, staff training, and maintenance.

Strategies for Using Multimedia

Combining Modern Teaching Methods with Traditional Teaching Methods: There is no doubt that modern teaching methods have many advantages over traditional ones. Compared to traditional textbook or workbook, a multimedia program can provide immediate feedback on the correctness of the learner's response. Nevertheless, traditional teaching methods are still commonly used because of their own strong points. Teachers should combine their strong points with modern teaching methods, which not only raise classroom teaching quality and efficiency, but also improve teaching and learning environment between teachers and students.

Viewing Multimedia as the Assistance to Teaching: Multimedia features including sound, animation, video, and record allow computers to model skills to help students and teachers assess them. The option to provide guidance only when needed makes it possible for computers to support learning flexibly. Multimedia enables students to manipulate and create material to learn by doing. When we use computers in the teaching, we should understand they can assist but cannot take place of all the other teaching methods. It is wrong for the teachers to take no notice of textbooks when they are designing courseware. Now that multimedia can only help English teaching, teachers should get a clear idea of how and when to make good use of them. Application of multimedia technology aims

to improve teaching, but teaching is not intended for multimedia. There is no doubt that teaching needs multimedia, but using multimedia does not mean enhancing teaching efficiency. For example, if the teaching can be completed in a few minutes in an ordinary classroom, it is certainly unnecessary to use multimedia. Because of all kinds of media in multimedia technology, sometimes students may concentrate not on teaching contents but on media. If so, students are not able to grasp teaching contents well. That means not every class need multimedia teaching. One important principle is: When simple is best, keep it simple."

Building the Ideal Relationship between Teachers and Student: Application of modern teaching methods can make teaching efficient and do part of work for teachers. Some people to hold the view that machine can take place of human beings. Teaching is more challenging for teachers now that the expectations are more complex. In the information age, the role of teachers has evolved, moving from abeing the "holder" of knowledg) to being a "facilitator" (helping students to learn the way each learns best) when learners take advantage of the potential of multimedia as learning tools. In the learner-centered approach, students became the learning's subjects.

Strengthening Teacher Training: Multimedia-assisted English teaching requires teachers with multimedia computer operating experience. This is a challenge for teachers using multimedia because of heavy preparation and increasing workload.

The Principles of Multimedia-Assisted Teaching are 1) Scientific principles: namely, courseware design cannot appear to have any errors; 2) Subsidiary principle: although multi-media teaching has many advantages, it is only supplementary and does not act as a substitute for people; 3) Interactivity principle: the more interactivity between teachers and students, students and multimedia, more effective results we will have; and 4) Combination principle: this combines the advantages of modern teaching and the traditional teaching organically.

Globalization and Language Teaching

Globalization has been defined by Giddens (1990) as 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'. Although there seems to be a consensus that we are living in an increasingly globalized world, there is by no means agreement about related issues. Five such disagreements are: (1) some believe that globalization began in 15th century Europe, when Europeans began to map and colonize the world; others see it as a phenomenon of the latter part of the 20th century; (2) some see globalization as essentially a 'done deal'; others as a 'work in progress' which is unequally developed in different parts of the world; (3) some see globalization as both progress and progressive (benign and indeed 'good'); others see it as the steamroller of late modernity taking away all that is authentic and meaningful in our lives; (4) some see globalization as hegemonically western, and above all an extension of American imperialism; others see the process as more egalitarian, and reject discussion in terms of Western dominance over 'the rest'; (5) some discuss globalization in a prescriptive way, as a way of life that should be adopted; others see it as sociological descriptor of events going on around us.

With these issues in mind, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton (1999) argue that there are three general responses to them—the hyper-globalist's, the sceptic's, and the

transformationalist's. To the questions, 'What's a new?' and 'what exactly is going on?, the hyper-globalist's response is that we are living in a new and unprecedented world, where global capitalism, governance, and culture have replaced more local institutions, such as local financial institutions and business, national governments and local cultures, and in general terms have upset old hierarchies and ways of life. The sceptic's (primarily a neo-Marxist) response is that we are simply living in an age of capitalism by updated and more efficient means (above all recent developments in information technology). Finally, the transformationalist's response is that we are living in an age of greater unheaval and change, with unprecedented levels of interconnectedness among nation states and local economics and cultures, which are thanks in part, though not exclusively, to technological developments.

In ELT, until quite recently, a hyper-globalist position dominated discussions regarding the spread of English as a benign outcome of globalizing forces. However, from the late 1980s onwards, Robert Philipson and others have called this view into question. Their neo-Marxist analysis of the spread of English was notably skeptical in nature, positing as it did an English language linguistic imperialism. From the 1990s onwards, new voices, such as Alastair Pennycock (1994) and Suresh Canagarajah (1999), have begun to see the spread of English as altogether too complicated to be considered benign or evil. These authors are part of a growing transformationalist camp that sees this phenomenon from a variety of perspectives, ranging from the critical to the postmodern.

In a similar vein, as recently as 20 years ago there was seldom any suggestion in ELT circles that it might be problematic to package and transfer around the world particular approaches to language teaching (in the shape, for example, of communicative methodologies, materials, and textbooks). There seemed to be an implicit hyper-globalism which envisaged the entire world learning English via one dominant methodology, and one particular type of pedagogical material. However, it was again authors like Phillipson (1992) and Pennycock (1994) who persuaded many ELT professionals to consider the social, political, and economic factors which come into play when methods and materials cross borders. The result has been that in recent years there is an altogether more reflective and nuanced approach to language teaching methods and their transferability around the world (e.g. Kramsch and Sullivan 1996, Ellis 1996, Duff and Uchida 1772, Canagarajah 2002) as well as to the cultural appropriacy of particular language teaching materials in different parts of the world (Gray 2002; McKay, 2003).

Recommendations

Many countries have tried to modernize their equipment, have spent large amounts of money and have proven the positive effects of integrating technology into language teaching. Still, there are many teachers who still have no interest to teach the language with technology. As Healey et. al. (2008) point out, "[t]he pace and extent of change in technologies for teaching have made it difficult for many teachers, teacher educators, and administrators to know how best to employ computers, other forms of digitaltechnology, and the global interaction enabled by the Internet in language teaching". But as Rana (2013) reminds us, "[t]here are many different aspects of technology that hamper education but there are resources that help learning,too". To help language teachers become more aware of the efficacy of multimedia technology in teaching, the following

recommendations are made.

1.) Teachers Should Play the Leading Role in Teaching: The application of multimedia technology to teaching can make improvements in English language teaching and at the same time enable "teachers to re-think what they are doing" (Motteram2013). However, the teachers should play the leading role when they use multimedia technology. For example, when each lesson is introduced and spoken English is taught, the students easily improve their listening and speaking skills. These activities multimedia technology cannot do. Teachers' interpretations during the language teaching also cannot be overlooked. With this in mind, teachers should determine whether to adopt multimedia technology in English language teaching or not.

2.) Teachers Should Not Consider the Computer Screen as a Blackboard or Whiteboard: It is wrong to consider the computer screen as the blackboard or whiteboard as some teachers do. They have ready made exercises, questions, answers and teaching plans into their computers and do not have to write anything on the blackboard or whiteboard. The teachers are supposed to create a context for teaching and motivate the students to communicate in English. Considering the use of traditional and modern ways of language teaching, Koksal (2004) advises, "[W]e should kill neither the blackboard nor the mockingbird. We need blackboards or whiteboards as visual aids and the sound of the mockingbird for relaxation". It is advisable therefore to use the blackboard or whiteboard very often in order to bring traditional and modern teaching methods together by using the blackboard or whiteboard to write questions raised by the students.

3.) Teachers should Encourage Students to Use their own Minds and Speak

More: One of the features of using multimedia technology is to display the content of textual materials in a lively way. As Koksal (2004) points out, "new technologies develop and are disseminated too quickly that we cannot avoid their attraction and influence in any form". This process helps thestudents to understand the teachers' instruction and information. But only displaying the content of texts through the PowerPoint presentation cannot stimulatethe students thinking. In the English communication situations, the teachers have to encourage the students to speak for themselves.

4.) Teachers Should Use All Possible Teaching Aids and Techniques: According Young and Bush (2004), "[w]ith no clear sense of effective technology use, teachers often ignore it altogether or resort to exposing students simply to whatever current software is most available,with little instructional support or curricular connection". Some language teachers depend entirely on multimedia technology when teaching. Multimedia technology cannot be replaced by other teaching methods, but it also cannot take the place of other teaching methods. For example, the tape recorder still plays an important role in playing the listening materials. Most important, multimedia technology cannot replace the teacher. England (2007) remarks, "In the absence of teachers trained to use technological tools in the classroom, EFL students will be unable to learn English as fast and effectively as they could with technology or as fast and effectively as their fellow students across the globe".

5) Teachers Should not Overuse Multimedia Technology: Many teachers, however, believe that more use of multimedia technology enables a better performance in language teaching. They think that multimedia technology creates a better classroom environment, motivates students to participate in the

class, and helps students access to the language materials. In fact, this is wrong tobelieve that the utilization of multimedia technology is a panacea in the classroom.. Although the students feel some interest in learning, they in reality feel inactive all the time because they are just looking on the screen. Practically speaking, if students are interfered withduring the language class, they acquire less from the language materials. Though there are many advantages of using multimedia technology in teaching, it should be used as a supplementary instrument for the language teachers. It is essential to apply traditional teaching tools to effectively trainthe students' communicative competence in the classrooms. Young and Bush (2004) observe that teachers should avoid "the temptation to use technologies without understandingthe pedagogical implications of using them". If multimedia technology is utilizedproperly in teaching, without being overused, the students can be able to make full useof listening and speaking materials and develop their overall language skills. Language teachers should use traditional teaching instruments andmultimedia technology in their English language teaching so that the students can have overall training fot their listening, speaking, reading and writing skills.

Conclusion

The main purpose of using multimedia technology in language teaching is to motivate students and promote learning interest in the English language. To achieve this goal, language teachers should create a favourable environment for English language teaching, based on the availability of information and teaching materials. The process of English learning should be more student-centred and less time-consuming. Language teachers

should maintain the students' communicative competence through multimedia technology. Education delivery in Nigeria increasingly needs to be modernized in a 21st century world in which multimedia is a critical component.

To sue for this kind of need, course reformation and multimedia teaching should be sped up in developing nations, including Nigeria, where traditional English teaching needs to modernized. In the future, multimedia technology will be a necessity not only for English teaching but also for many other subjects. As a device which stimulates and at the same time partners with the user's processes of thinking, reasoning, and communicating, multimedia also has the potential to alter these processes. Surely, the practitioners should neither be led blindly by technological innovation, nor should they deny the usefulness of multimedia in language teaching. In conclusion, the utilization of multimedia technology, despite some disadvantages, can improve the students' thinking and practical language skills, ensuring effective English language teaching. And overall, non-native speakers of English as language teachers can teach English more efficiently if they use multimedia technology.

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Socio-Demographic Profiling of Female Murderers in Lagos State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Murder is an act that women are not expected to commit. This study investigates the socio-demographic profiles of women who have been arrested, detained, and convicted for murder in Lagos State, Nigeria. Its cross-sectional exploratory research uses Self-Control theory, its sampling was mainly purposive, the instrument of data collection was a questionnaire, and SPSS version 2.0 was used for the data analysis. This study reveals that female murderers in Nigeria are mostly secondary school/tertiary institution certificate

holders, married, within the ages of 28-32 years, influenced by anger. The murders they committed were most often impulsive rather than premeditated. Recommendations female offenders etc.

Keywords: Conviction, Corrections, Economic situation, Female, Manslaughter, Marriage, Murder, Nigeria, Self-control.

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Introduction

Generally, murder is considered in three degrees depending on the elements of proof. There is first degree or capital murder, second degree murder, and third degree murder. First degree murder involves the proof of the clear decision to kill, premeditation, planning, and the eventual killing of the victim. Second degree murder is characterized by malice. That is the offender's intention to inflict serious bodily harm which results in the death of the victim. Second degree murder lacks the elements of premeditation and planning to kill the victim. Third degree murder is characterized by malice and wickedness. That is third degree murder is the killing of a person without regard for human life. Murder is generally considered an act committed by men, but women, who are usually thought harmless and empathetic, are becoming more violent.

Motives for committing murder can be condensed into four sets of 'Ls': Lust; Love; Loathing; and Loot (Morrall, 2006). Lust is the category which houses lovers who kill a rival for their objects of desire or 'thrill-killers' who murder people because they gain a sexual payoff. Love involves crimes like the 'mercy killing' of a baby with a major deformity or a partner with incurable cancer. Loathing groups murderers whose lethal hate is directed towards one person (for example, an abusive parent); a group (for instance, homosexuals or prostitutes); cultures or nations (for example, the loathing of Palestinians towards Israelis and vice versa). Loot includes killing for financial gain through inheritance or insurance pay-outs; when a murder occurs during a robbery, or gang-warfare over the control of drug markets; employment as a contract killer or mercenary (Morrall, 2006).

More often than not, men are likely to behave and act more aggressively and violently than women (Verona & Curtin, 2006; Breuer & Elson, 2017), and hence are more predisposed to comitting serious crimes. However, it is no longer news that women are being arrested and incarcerated for murder, armed robbery and other serious crimes in Nigeria (Chukuezi, 2009; Otu, 2010; Abrifor et al., 2010; Ebobo, 2017). The Female Custodian Centre, Kirikiri, Lagos State, for instance, has a total of 292 inmates, of which 43 were convicted for various offences including murder and manslaughter. Of those, 8 are serving life sentences, and 4 are condemned convicts (sentenced to death). The remaining 237 are awaiting trials for different offences (Nigeria Correctional Service; Lagos State Command, 2016). VOA Africa (06/10/2015) also published a case of a 13 year-old who killed her husband (who was 35 years) along with three of his friends by poisoning their food in Kano State. Another 13 year-old killed her husband and was sentenced to death.

Older women who murder their husbands have proven to be newsworthy. An Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria based female lawyer also killed her husband by slicing his throat with a knife at night after a row that took place during the day (*Punch*, 02/02/2016). In

2017, this same female murderer received her sentence of seven (7) years imprisonment for manslaughter (*Punch*, 11/28/2017) and in 2019, she was released on clemency by the Oyo State Governor (*PM News*, 07/22/2019). Yet another female lawyer in Lagos State killed her husband by cutting off his genitals with a knife and her case is still on trial (*Pulse.ng*, 05/03/2018). In Benin, Edo State Nigeria, a woman killed her husband by squeezing his scrotum so hard until he collapsed and died (*Punch*, 11/28/2019). In Benin, a woman also killed her husband in collaboration with her pastor lover, and they both received death sentences by hanging (*Vanguard*, 05/10/2019).

As well, a woman in Benue State, Nigeria killed her husband and their three children before stabbing herself to death (*Pulse.ng*, 11/04/2018). Then there was the confession of a young house maid who poisoned the food of her master, killing one and hospitalizing four others (*Punch*, 05/11/2018). Another story was also told about how a woman killed her husband and his mistress in Lagos State, Nigeria (*Daily Trust*, 10/07/2019). All these murders were perpetrated after the men's wives (the culprits) accused them of having extra-marital affairs except the instance in which the maid killed her victims because one of them (te grandmother) refused to give the maid some of the vegetable soup she had cooked as a punishment for stealing crayfish.

The Nigerian Correctional Service's records show that in specific crimes, the number of women admitted into the Correctional Services on murder cases in 2005 was 550, in 2006 it was 66, in 2007 it was 263, in 2008 it was 8, in 2009 it was 505, and in 2010 it was 971. In 2011 the number of females admitted into the Correctional Services for murder was 567, in 2013 it was 320 and in 2014, it was 407 (Ebobo & Aje-Famuyide, 2017).

This shows significant increases in the incidence, arrest, and prison admission of women who have committed murder across the country. Like murder, women's involvement in manslaughter has been increasing with 2008/2009 marking the beginning of a rise in manslaughter cases across the nation (NBS, 2011, 2013). The number of women arrested and detained for manslaughter in Nigeria in the 1999 was 14; in 2000 it increased to 27; in 2001 it dropped to 14; in 2002 it was 13; in 2003 it was 6; in 2004 it was 23; in 2005 it was 11; in 2006 it was 2; in 2007 it increased again to 11; in 2008 it was 17; in 2009 it was 11; in 2010 it was 43; and in 2011 it was 43. This shows that the cases of manslaughter reported to the police within 1999 – 2011 was lowest in 2006 (2 cases) and highest in 2010 and 2011 with 43 cases respectively. Nonetheless, women who murderer are considered a rarity. Research suggests that cultural norms which define women being inherently nurturing and feminine are responsible for the public's view these murderers being very different from "normal" women and from men who committed the same offence (Arrigo & Griffin, 2004; Sternadori, 2014; Telfer, 2017). . Women who murder are portrayed by the media as die-hard criminals without compassion,

Notably, the punishment for murder under Nigerian Criminal Law is death (Section 319). Except in the exceptional circumstances mentioned in Section 222, under the Penal Code (Section 221) culpable homicide shall be punishable with death:

a)   If the act by which the death is caused is done with the intention of causing death; or If the doer of the act knew or had reason to know that death would be the probable and not a likely consequence of the act or of any bodily injury which the act was intended to cause.

Section 319 of the Criminal Code also provides that "subject to the provisions of this

section of this Code, any person who commits the offence of murder shall be sentenced to death". There are two circumstances where the general rule that death is the mandatory punishment to be imposed on an accused convicted of a capital offence may not apply. In accordance with the provisions of section 376 of the Act, when a woman, guilty of the offence of murder, is found to be pregnant, the sentence of death shall not be passed on her, but in lieu thereof, she shall be sentenced to imprisonment for life. Minors who have murdered may also be exempt from the penalty of eath. When an offender, who in the opinion of the court had not attained the age of 17 years at the time of the offence was committed, the death sentence may not be passed.

Section 317 of the Criminal Code defines manslaughter as the unlawful killing of a person in such circumstances as not to constitute murder. Manslaughter is the killing of a human being without deliberation or malice (Onamade, 2010). Manslaughter occurs when there is the accusation of murder but the offender is not entirely blameworthy so as to warrant the offence of murder. In the Penal Code, such offence is called culpable homicide not punishable with death (Section 224). The offence of manslaughter is usually classified into teo types: voluntary manslaughter and involuntary manslaughter. Voluntary manslaughter is a situation in which the accused kills the deceased through provocation. Where provocation is successfully pleaded, the charge of murder would be reduced to manslaughter. The defense of provocation in murder trials has now become a common plea (R v. Bassey, 1963).

In Nigeria, levels of hardship, unemployment and poverty have increased at an alarming rate, elevating levels of frustration especially between spouses, married and unmarried, so that most relationships are fraught with incessant disagreements, quarrels, and violence which sometimes lead to hospitalization, deformity, and in extreme cases, murder. The negative effects of murder are felt in all aspects of the family—finance, emotional wellbeing, economy, education, mate selection, relationships with the extended family, neighbours, and the society at large. For instance, the financial strength of the family will dwindle at the death of the breadwinner (father or mother as the case maybe). Murder signals surviving without both parents (which engenders loneliness and the feeling isolated from the rest of humanity). The trauma of the death of either the mother or father and the imprisonment of the other leaves children devastated and traumatised for a long time. Also, in a society like Nigeria where mate selection entails both parents digging into the family history of an anticipated bride or groom, murder committed by her or his parents becomes becomes a matter of the past catching up with the present. Devastating effects of murder are felt by the secondary victims (the families of both the primary victim and the perpetrator).

Murder invokes a particularly virulent and long-term form of bereavement, which can lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This includes experiencing the event both psychologically and with physiological reactivity. The duration of the symptoms last for an extended period, and the trauma reactions and symptoms impair reasoning and functioning and are likely to result in rebellious and criminal behaviours. With this in mid, one must ask what are the demographic characteristics (age, marital status, education, employment status, family background) of women have been arrested for murder cases in Lagos State, Nigeria and what is the social background of females that have been arrested for murder cases in Lagos State Nigeria. This study which specifically seeks to examine the socio-demographic profiles of women who have been arrested for

murder cases in Lagos State, Nigeria, addresses the dearth of studies with specific focus on female murderers in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

Self-Control Theory as propounded by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) was adopted for this study. As Akers and Sellers (2004) suggest, self-control theory can be applied to all forms of criminality regardless of the criminals' ages, sexes, races, and circumstances.

The Major Assumptions of Self-Control Theory: two concepts are central to self-control theory: criminality and crime. Defined by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), criminality is the 'propensity to offend', (for example, an individual's tendency to offend), while crime is the actual act or event by an individual that violates the law. The two concepts must be interrelated for crime to occur. The individual must have the tendency (in-built intention) to behave in such a way that violates the law. For instance, there must be the existence of illegal opportunity that must be acted upon by the individual for crime to occur. So, without an available opportunity, there can be no crime. Hence, crime is seen as a by-product of positive reaction to illegal opportunity by individuals who have low self-control. Those who can refrain themselves from committing crime when faced with same available opportunities have high self-control. Both low and high self-control are developed from early childhood and are linked to parental efficacy, such as monitoring the behaviour of a child, recognizing and correcting a child's misbehaviour, and doling out punishment when necessary. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) believe that low self-control becomes a natural occurrence in a child, if it was not consciously curtailed during developmental stages. A child whose misbehaviour was not curtailed will not be able to develop the ability to control him or herself from committing crimes throughout his/her lifetime.

Individuals with low self-control seek immediate satisfaction/rewards, immediately responding to external/environmental stimuli (for example, having the feeling of here and now mentality). Their actions lack careful thought, hold back, or patience. Their actions are driven by urges (impulse) to satisfy immediate need and done in a hurry without thinking of the repercussion of their actions. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), propose that there are six behaviours evidence lack of self-control: impulsivity, preference for simple tasks, risk-seeking, physicality, self-centerdness, and bad temper.

Applicability of Self-Control Theory to Women's Involvement in Murder Cases in Lagos State, Nigeria

This study reveals that some women acted on impulse, evidencing the mentality to have revenge 'here and now'. This hardly allowsefor careful thought about actions and outcomes as well as the sanctions attached to such actions. More often than not, it is assumed that women who kill do so out of revenge or in self-defense. Most events in or outside the home which lead to fighting/pushing or other forms of violence that result in death are generally regretted later. Most of the respondents interviewed in this study wished that they could turn back the hand of the clock and have behaved differently.

Existing opportunity, physicality coupled with bad temper, influences women when they murder. The murder object may have been used first by the victim on the offender, but in retaliation, the offender hits harder or stabs the victims body, not thinking of the

consequences. For example, one woman who killed her husband used the same knife that the husband brought from the kitchen to stab her, but he fell down because he was drunk. She picked the knife and stabbed him. This incident began with verbal abuse and then degenerated into fighting. She was not the one who went to the kitchen for the knife, but she was the one who killed with it. She said she never believed she would be able to kill a man until it happened.

Another respondent said she broke up with her ex-lover because of his waywardness and addiction to drugs. She then started a new relationship with another man. The ex-lover, however, continued to visit and beg her for money. During such a visit, she told him she didn't have money, and an argument ensued. The ex-lover stabbed her in the shoulder. She immediately picked up the knife and stabbed him on impulse in the neck , an action which led to his death and her arrest and imprisonment.

Methodology

Lagos State was chosen for this study, because it is the largest metropolitan city, the economic, industrial, financial, commercial, and socio-cultural nerve centre of Nigeria. It houses the largest international sea ports and airports in Nigeria and is known for promoting diverse economic activities. Because of the state's teeming population, crime and vices consistently increase (Otu & Elechi, 2015; Kunnuji, 2016; NBSR, 2018). Lagos State is divided into five administrative divisions with 20 local government areas (LGAs). The first three divisions are metropolitan and made up of 16 LGAs, all urban (Lagos State Ministry of Science and Technology, 2017). The remaining four LGAs (Badagry, Ikorodu, Ibeju-Lekki, and Epe) are classified as rural. Lagos State has the highest population in Nigeria with a total population of 24,051,762 inhabitants (Lagos State Ministry of Science and Technology, 2017). It accommodates citizens from all the ethnic groups and from all walks of life. Hence, it is representative of the Nigerian population. It is also the state with the highest number of inmates (males and females) in Nigeria (NBS, 2017). Lagos State has a total of 7,396 inmates spread across the state correctional centers out of the national total of 68,686 inmates (NBS, 2017).

Having adopted the cross-sectional exploratory research design, this study used a purposive sampling technique to select respondents from the female inmate populations at the Nigerian Correctional Service, Female Custodian Centre, Kirikiri (until July, 2019, it was called The Female Section of Nigeria Prisons, Kirikiri) Lagos State, Police Command at Panti, Yaba (being the only Police Command in charge of murder cases in Lagos State) and the Department of Public Prosecution, Lagos State Ministry of Justice, Nigeria. Both primary and secondary sources of data collection were adopted for this study. The use of questionnaire was supported with inmates' court files. These court files were derived from the Department of Public Prosecution of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice. All ethical protocols were observed; letters of introductions were sent to the research locations, letters of approval from the officers in charge of the research locations and consent to be interviewed by the inmates were received by the researchers. The total number of inmates at the Female Custodian Centre, Kirikiri Lagos State at the time of this study was 292; 43 were convicted, 237 were on trial, 8 were lifers and 4 were condemned convicts (NCS; Lagos State Command, 2016). The sample study consisted of all the female inmates awaiting trial and convicted for murder at the Female Custodian Center, Kirikiri Lagos State, Nigeria, and all the women arrested and detained

at the police command, Panti, Yaba, Lagos State. The total number at Kirikiri was thirty two (32) inmates, out of which the researchers were able to get the consent of eleven (11) murder inmates awaiting trial and three (3) women in custody at the police command Panti, Yaba. In addition, the researchers obtained ten (10) other convicted female murderers' court files from the Department of Public Prosecution of the Lagos State Ministry of Justice, Alausa, Lagos State, Nigeria. These inmates refused to grant face-to-face interviews. One in particular declined to be interviewed, because she claimed she was ashamed to talk about her offence and sentence. Others whose cases were still on trial also declined interviews.

The questionnaire administration involved face-to-face interactions between the researchers and respondents with pre-determined open and closed-ended questions, and respondents were allowed to tick the right answers as it concerned them. Questionnaires were administered to fourteen (14) respondents, and all fourteen copies of it were returned because the researchers coordinated their administration. The researchers also sampled court files of ten (10) convicted female murderers from the Department of Public Prosecution, Lagos State Ministry, of Justice. Data collected from this study was analyzed with SPSS version 20.

Findings

A total of 24 respondents were purposively selected from among the female inmates in the Nigeria Correctional Service, Female Custodian Centre, Kirikiri, and the Police Command, Panti, Yaba, Lagos State, Nigeria. The following are the findings:

Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents: Table 1 revealed that a majority of the respondents (7, 29.2%) were within the age bracket of 28-32 years. Closely following was the age bracket of 23-27 years (6, 25%). The youngest age bracket was 18-22 years (4, 16.7%); the oldest bracket was 38-44 years (2, 8.3%). The median age was 3.00 while the mean age was 2.79. The study also revealed that majority of the respondents (13, 54.2%) were married, nine (37.5%) were single, and one was separated. In addition, majority of them (16, 66.7%) had secondary school education, five of them had primary school education, and one of them had tertiary education. It was further revealed that the majority (10, 41.7%) of them had been self-employed, four (4) had been gainfully employed, and three of them (12.5%) has been students and at the same time prostitutes. As such, the majority of them (14, 58.34%) had had income levels between 1,000-30,000 naira monthly.

Information on the Social Background of the Respondents: Table 1 showed that the majority of them (21) were in prison and three were in police custody ,while fourteen of them (58.3%) were awaiting trial, ten were done with trial and convicted at the time of this interview. All the respondents were the main culprits. However, one of them was convicted for manslaughter while nine (37.5%) were convicted for murder, thirteen (54.2%) were still on trial for murder, and one was on trial for manslaughter. The weapons used by the respondents ranged from sickness to a car accident; a kitchen knife, a gun, a stick, acid, hard drugs, food poisoning, fighting/pushing, and a ceiling fan. The majority of them (9, 37.5%) killed their victims iwhile fighting/pushing them. Seven others used kitchen knives to stab their victims.

Criminal Conviction of the Respondents: The nature of sentences meted out to the respondents shown in Table 1 demonstrates that majority of them (3 or 12.5%) got life imprisonment, two of them were sentenced to death by hanging, two received 11 years imprisonment, another two of them received 8½ years imprisonment, one was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment with cash payment of 250, 000 naira to the deceased's family, and the remaining fourteen were still on trial at the time of interview. The dates of the sentences revealed in the study showed that one of the cases was concluded in 2002, one in 2003, one in 2005, one in 2006, one in 2010, one in 2012, one in 2013, one in 2014, one in 2016 and one in the first quarter of 2018 (23/02/2018). It can therefore be said that the progression of the cases was slow, attriutable to many factors within and/or without the power of the Criminal Justice Administration. The majority (22) of the cases were tried at the Lagos State High Court while two cases were tried at the Lagos State Magistrate Court. In sum, a total of 24 female inmates on murder charges at Kirikiri and Panti, were interviewed for this study in Lagos State, Nigeria. The majority of the respondents (5) were arrested in the year 2014 followed by 2009 (4) and 2012 (3). Finally, Table 1 revealed that four (16.7%) of the respondents murdered their husbands, two murdered their boyfriends, four murdered their family members, one murdered her mother, two murdered their colleagues, five (20.8%) murdered their neighbors, one murdered her master's child, one murdered a stranger, two murdered their rivals, and two murdered their customer/client during a row that erupted after sexual intercourse following refusal to pay for services rendered.

TABLE 1

Table 1: Socio-demographic profiles of females arrested, detained and convicted for murder cases in Lagos State, Nigeria

Characteristics		
Age (in years)		
18-22	4	16.7%
23-27	6	25%
28-32	7	29.2%
33-37	5	20.8%
38-44	2	8.3%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Marital Status		
Single	9	37.5%
Married	13	54.2%
Separated	1	4.2%
Divorced	1	4.2%
Widowed	0	0%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Educational Qualifications		
No formal education	2	8.3%
Primary	5	20.8%
Secondary	16	66.7%
Tertiary	1	4.2%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Occupation		
Salary earner (Auxiliary nursing, Banking)	4	16.7%
Self-employed (hairdressing, tailoring, food seller, cloth seller)	10	41.7%
Domestic worker	2	8.3%
Prostitution/Student	3	12.5%
Domestic worker/student	2	8.3%
Student	3	12.5%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Income Level / Month		
0	5	20.83%
1,000-30,000	14	58.34%
50,000-280,000	5	20.83%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Status		
In prison	21	87.5%
In police custody	3	12.5%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Status of imprisonment		
Awaiting Trial	14	58.3%
Convicted	10	41.7%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Nature of Involvement		
Accomplice	0	0%
Main culprit	24	100%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Offence Convicted / On-trial for		
Convicted for Manslaughter	1	4.2%

Convicted for Murder	9	37.5%
On-trial for Manslaughter	1	4.2%
On-trial for Murder	13	54.2%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Nature of Sentence		
8 years imprisonment with cash payment of N250,000 to the deceased family	1	4.2%
8½ years imprisonment	2	8.3%
11 years imprisonment	2	8.3%
Life imprisonment	3	12.5%
Death by hanging	2	8.3%
Not yet convicted	14	58.3%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Trial Court		
Magistrate Court of Lagos State	2	8.3%
High Court of Lagos State (Igbosere & Ikeja)	22	91.7%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Year of Incidence/Arrest		
1999	2	8.3%
2001	1	4.2%
2002	1	4.2%
2006	2	8.3%
2008	2	8.3%
2009	4	16.6%
2011	1	4.2%
2012	3	12.5%
2013	3	12.5%
2014	5	20.8%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Date of Sentence/Conclusion of Trial		
2002	1	4.2%
2003	1	4.2%
2005	1	4.2%
2006	1	4.2%
2010	1	4.2%
2012	1	4.2%
2013	1	4.2%
2014	1	4.2%
2016	1	4.2%
2018	1	4.2%
Still on Trial	14	58.3%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Weapon that Caused Death		
Sickness	1	4.2%
Car Accident	1	4.2%
Kitchen knife	7	29.2%
Gun	0	0%
Stick	2	8.3%
Acid	1	4.2%
Hard drug (powder substance)	1	4.2%
Food poisoning	1	4.2%
Fighting/Push	9	37.5%
Ceiling fan	1	4.2%
Sub-Total	24	100%
Victim's Relationship to Culprit		
Husband	4	16.7%
Boy friend	2	8.3%
Family member	4	16.7%
Mother	1	4.2%
Colleague	2	8.3%
Neighbor	5	20.8%
Master's child	1	4.2%
Stranger	1	4.2%
Rival	2	8.3%
Customer/client	2	8.3%
Sub-Total	24	100%

Source: Field Survey August, 2016

Discussion of Findings

A total of 24 awaiting trial/convicted women in custody for murder charges were sampled at the Nigerian Correctional Service, Kirikiri, and Police Command, Panti, Lagos State, Nigeria. The oldest of the respondents was 44 years and the youngest were 19 years (two of them). All involved were young, active and able bodied. The majority of the respondents concurred with Ukoji & Okolie-Osemene's (2016) and Otu & Elechi's (2015) findings that women involved in serious crime in Nigeria are within the age bracket of 25-28 years. This study also revealed that the majority of the female murderers were married (54.2%). Murder was more prevalent amongst the married women and women with intimate partners indicating that women's involvement in murder in Nigeria has a domestic undertone which may be due stress in marriages, uncontrollable anger, pressure from inability to provide basic needs which results in frequent quarrels, abuse, fighting, and the use of dangerous weapons. The highest numbers of victims were neighbors to the culprits, followed by husbands and family members, demonstrating the incidence of murder more rampant around the home and neighborhood. The victims murdered by these women were people who were close or related to them, either by blood, marriage or residence.

Only 4.2% of them murdered a total stranger. This stranger happened to be a pedestrian who was hit and killed by the culprit while she was driving. Like Abrifor et al. (2010), this study found that female recidivists were mostly convicted for anger-related offences such as murder (10.1%) and attempted murder (6.2%). This study also revealed that most female murder cases in Nigeria were related to irrational emotional imbalance,

excessive anger at the point of committal. Women murdered not out of financial greed or for a position in the society but because of anger, frustration, impulsivity, and emotionally related issues resulting from lack of self-control. They committed murder fora number of reasons, namely, by mistake and miscalculation, for revenge, in reaction to external stimuli, unintentionally, to demonstrate toughness, and while victimizing others. Some cases remain undecided. For instance, one of the victims who died hanging from the ceiling fan was said to have committed suicide by his wife, but the family of the victim claimed that his wife murdered him, hence her arrest, detention and trial. Also the man who died of food poisoning was claimed to have been killed by his wife who in turn blamed the victim's aunt for his death. She said that the victim ate his last meal in the aunt's house. The trials of these two caseshad not concluded at the time of this research.

The results of this study revealed that all the respondents (24) tried to justify their actions in their statements. This is unlike most of the other criminal cases (armed robbery) where women were found to be accomplices, informants, or aiding and abetting male criminals. Some of them regretted that their actions caused the death of the victims. They were actually bitter and ashamed about what they did. At the time of the interviews, 10 female respondents were convicted of murder and manslaughter and were serving their terms while fourteen (14) others were on trial for murder and in custody. Six (6) of the awaiting trial respondents have spent more than 2 to 3 years in prison, one even delivered a baby girl who was about 11months old, and the baby was with her mother in prison as at the time of interview. The mother had said she was pregnant when she was incarcerated. One (1) had been there for more than five years, two (2) had spent less than

6 months, two (2) had been there between 1 to 2 years while three (3) were still in police custody and had been for more than three months. Out of the fourteen respondents who were awaiting trial, only three had appeared in court more than twice. The other eleven respondents had appeared in court once or twice. Some of them had been in custody since 2009.

Thel number of women arrested from 2012 to 2014 totals eleven (45.8%) which is almost half of 100% (24) calculated within 15 years. This indicates a high rate of arrest of women involved in murder in three years consistently in Lagos State (2012, 2013, 2014) as compared to the number of arrests in the previous years, which was seven (2011, 2009 and 2008 put together). This increase can be traced to 2009 which recorded four (16.6%) and was the highest year (within 1999-2009) regarding women's involvement in murder cases in Lagos State. We can say there has been a steady/consistent increase in the rate of women's involvement and arrests in murder cases in Lagos State from 1999 to 2014. This finding is consistent with the assertion of Jacobson (2009) that the number of young women offenders has risen by 17% in the past four years (2004-2008) as compared to just 4.5% for males in Nigeria. The statistics released by Nigerian Correctional Service (2007, 2009) also reveal that though crime in the past was ascribed to men, it is increasing steadily in the population of women involved in crime. All ten convicted female murderers were the main culprits, and their sentences ranged from 8½ years with cash payment of N250, 000 to life imprisonment to death by hanging. The duration of trials for these murder cases consistently spanned a minimum of 4 years.

Conclusion

Women are being arrested and convicted of murder in Nigeria, a country where social ties with relatives and community members are held in high esteem. In Lagos State, 24 women, in custody, were all the main culprits in the murder cases with which they were charged. Among the reasons involved in women's involvement in murder is the economic downturn that has resulted in hardship and poverty and adversely affected the majority of Nigerians, creating frustration and aggression in the homes and neighbourhoods.

Recommendations

This study recommends rapid improvement in the Nigerian economy. There should be more provisioning of public goods and services to the citizens, especially the accessibility of affordable food, clothing and shelter, free medical services, free education, constant electricity supply, good roads, and clean water. The government should also encourage and practice the sponsorship of girl-child education. Female children should be adequately protected, especially in marriages. Reports of domestic violence should be addressed and followed up with frequent visitation and counseling. Girl-children should also receive mentoring in her family's faith, beit Christianity, Islam, or African Traditional Religion (ATR). Finally, every girl-child should be receive more counselling about self-control and anger management and especially be taught how to control situations that could lead to aggression and the use of dangerous weapons.

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'Humanity on the Red': Covid-19 and Atiku Jelili's Advocacy through Performance Art in Nigeria

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Abstract

Covid-19 has brought mankind's vulnerability to pandemics and other forms of disaster to the fore. The magnitude of the current pandemic has raised questions about our preparedness to handle or prevent such catastrophes. This questions should not surprise Jelili Atiku whose performance art in Nigerian eco space has been active in this arena. This paper studies the 'In the Red' series of performance art by Atiku, Spanning a 10-year period (2008-2018), these solo and collaborative performances warned about humanity about being 'in the red', that is, at the brink of disaster. Using 'red' allegorically, the artist postulated mankind in danger in the near future. The article examines how the artist articulated his misgivings, and examines Atiku's use of costumes and performance techniques to create awareness and tell the story of our impending doom before Covid-19.

Keywords: Performance art, Jelili Atiku, Covid-19, Human rights, #ENDSARS, Nigeria.

Introduction

'The world is wrapped in red tape, and I couldn't cut through it even with a billion dollar sword' (culled from *6 Underground* [2019]).

Performance art is a genre within the avant-garde movement. It is conceptual in nature, and crossbred between the fine arts, performance, and media arts. As an art form, it is transient, relying on photography and other documentation to capture and relive moments of its form. In performance art, the artist assumes the place of the artwork in a kind of performance. The studio or gallery is the environment of the performance, which could be anywhere and anything from enclosed spaces, platforms, open streets, or beach fronts, while the art consumer or connoisseur is anyone within the vicinity and beyond. Atiku makes his body the centre and object of all his performances. In Tchoupakov's (2015) opinion, the artist's work adds to the exploration of objects in contemporary society by reminding the viewer that the human body is perhaps the most significant battleground in the broader conversations surrounding global crises. The bare body of the artist functioning as a canvas bearing the painting moves like a kinetic sculpture across space during the performance. Aldridge (2016), commenting on one of Atiku's performance, has noted how he 'screams in anguish throughout the performance' as he draws the onlookers emotionally into the narrative. In some instances, the audience is invited to be part of the performance; this enriches the audience's perception of the concept and draws them deeper into the conversation.

Performance art is ephemeral; time based and ceases to exist after the performance except in electronic or another documented form, which does not replicate the actual

physical experience. Unlike art for art's sake, it downplays aesthetics in favour of emotionalism and intellectualism. Themes are presented in ways that seek to evoke critical thoughts and emotional responses as vehicles for reaching the wider audience.As an avant-garde movement, it is relatively contemporary, although a form of performance art has existed in Africa for many centuries as masquerade or masked performances. A major difference in masquerade or masked performances from performance art as avant-garde is the emphasis that masked performances place on entertainment and religious ritual. Although ritual action can be incorporated in avant-garde performance art, the purpose is on stimulating intellectual and emotional responses to the concept at hand rather than evoking religious or aesthetic satisfaction.

The Artist and his Activism

Jelili Atiku was born on September 27, 1968 in Lagos, Nigeria. He trained at the Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Lagos, both in Nigeria, where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts (BA) and a Master of Arts (MA) degrees respectively, specializing in sculpture.

Jelili Atiku by Enoh Lienemann

The authors' first encounter with Jelili Atiku was in 2004 at the University of Lagos, where he was admitted to study for a Master's degree in visual arts, specializing in sculpture. As his core course lecturer and subsequently his supervisor, the author observed his inclination towards activism in his art. He had an uncanny ability to turn his practical assignments into an advocacy of one form or another. It was no surprise when eventually he opted to write his thesis on the use of sculpture as an advocacy tool for the protection of human rights. As part of his MA thesis, he presented an installation of sculptures protesting unlawful detention by the Nigerian Police and the indefinite incarceration of persons awaiting trial in the Nigerian prisons. The public installation within the university premises was well received as it presented a significant shift from existing art stereotypes. His advocacy against the police and unlawful detention in Nigeria has been vindicated years later in October 2020 when youths took to the street in peaceful protest in Nigeria calling for an end to police brutality. Tagged #ENDSARS, the protest got both local and international attention, prompting the government of Nigeria to disband the SARS police unit across the country.

Following the success of Atiku's installation in 2004, he began a journey, which saw him transit from reactionary sculptures, through sculptural installations, to performance art. Atiku's love for sculpture is vital; he sees no better sculpture than the live human body, which he explores during his performance art. He understands the dynamics of the human body in motion, being the perfect sculpture. The human body presents an almost infinite possibility in performance, which he deploys to create the necessary import. He understands also the importance of multi-media involvement for the documentation

of his artistic work, although he does not perform for the camera. The result has been a coordinated synthesis of photography, video, sound, costume and painting, with the human body as the focus of the performance. After all, it is the human body that 'bears the brunt' of terror, war, disease, and pandemics.

His artistic journey began locally in Nigeria, where he used his art for various protests at community and national levels. As an activist, he has had a fair share of uncomplimentary visits by law enforcement agents, arrests, and incarceration. In 2016, he was arrested and charged with felony for protesting against human rights abuses in his local community (*The Vanguard*, February 15, 2016). This angered the local and international art communities, which mounted a campaign that led to his release after spending six days in prison (*The Indian Express*, February 3, 2020).

Free Atiku Campaign Poster by the Society of Nigerian Artists (SNA) in 2019

Jelili Atiku is a unique artist. Whereas, many consider performance art as an elitist genre, Atiku takes his performance to the streets for everyone to see, eliciting discussion about humanity, values, human rights, and violence. As Ryan (2017) observes,

The commonsensical view assumes that performance, sound, installation and new media artists inhabit an elite space aligned more with a "global" or "diasporic" art world, and that their creations alienate or come off poorly with a popular Nigerian audience by virtue of being too conceptual or just out of touch. Nothing could be farther from the truth and Jelili Atiku, the Lagos performance artist, puts the lie to that misperception in a dramatic and very significant way.

Often, his performances are protests and reactions to current issues, while in others like the 'red series', he warns, advocates, or dialogues. Atiku is a recipient of several awards, including the prestigious Prince Claus Award (2015) given in recognition of his "provoking performances that challenge assumptions and stimulate dialogue in an unconventional and dynamic form of community education; for taking personal and artistic risks in order to open new possibilities and reach wider audiences; and for his pioneering dedication to establishing space for contemporary performance art in Nigeria" (ifex.org, 2019).

Atiku's Performance Art (The Concept)

Planning a performance art can be as rigorous as the actual performance. Usually it goes through various stages of planning and preparation depending on the concept and expected outcome. Generally, conceptualization is the first stage of the planning. After getting the concept, the artist researches the environment of the performance. He aligns himself mentally with it, reading about the forms and symbols within the performance's

cultural space. The purpose of this is to identify images and theatre imagery culturally and environmentally relevant to the concept within the performance space. Using the right ones will make the message of the performance art clearly understood (Atiku, June 2020).

Drawing from whatever iconographic information he is able to gather, he makes physical or mental sketches that guide his costuming. He finally makes the costumes and props required. Every piece of the costume is deliberate and intended to pass on a message and evoke an emotional response.

Costuming process by Jelili Atiku for 'Red Day' performance (2015) at the Eli and Edy the Broad Art Museum, Michigan State University (Photo Credit: Aaron World)

The Environment

Studying the environment of the performance is as crucial as the actual performance. Atiku goes through the intended route or the actual space earmarked for the performance before the date of the performance. In this way, he is able to create landmark points in the performance route especially where moving from one location to another is required. He also identifies likely impediments on the route, noting places to pause for emphasis. This appraisal helps him rethink the performance on the route, so he is able to plan and execute the performance with precision.

The Costume and Props

In the red performance series, Atiku uses simple and readily available materials as costume and paraphernalia for his performance art. Some of the common materials he uses are red and white shrouds (burial sheets), red pigment (colour), and random materials in the environment of the performance, which can symbolize death, hardship, suffering, danger, and violence.

The red linen is cut into pieces of long strands that he likens to the severed umbilical cord of a neonate. This forms the main part of the costume for the 'In the Red' performance. It is wrapped around him like burial clothing around a corpse. It is the metaphor he uses when depicting victims of violence, war, disputes, disease, and epidemics around the world.

Often clothed, covered from head to toe, Atiku's costume permits him a certain anonymity, as he provokes onlookers by making disturbing sounds of screams and moans of agony (Aldridge). Red pigment plays a role in the costuming for writing inscriptions or painting on exposed parts of the body where they are needed.

The props are generally materials found within the performance environment. They

Jelili Atiku elicits audience response in his performance art "+++=+". Tate Modern, London – 2012 (photo courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

include the vegetation, dumpsites, landscape, and seascape, and abandoned or scrap objects. Atiku makes the environment a part of his art and the spectators his art connoisseurs. The responses of the spectators help to create the needed import in the performance. The local media usually amplifies this in the days following.

Jelili Atiku using the environment as prop for his performance art "+++=+". Tate Modern, London – 2012 (photo courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

The Red Advocacy Project

According to Jelili Atiku, the *In The Red* advocacy project was inspired by Colema (1984: 612) writing,

> [t]hroughout recorded history, wars have cost man dearly in terms of their inevitable accompaniments – death, mutilation, and grief, destruction of material resources, privation, and social dis-organization. And over the centuries, they have become increasing costly and ever more destructive.

Reflecting on this statement, Atiku expanded the scope beyond war to include all actions, decisions or inactions of human beings with death, grief, pain, and destruction as inevitable consequences. This was the birth of the "In the Red Series", which became a series of performance art across various countries between 2008 and 2018. Within the ten years, Atiku produced and staged over 20 solo or collaborative performances with other artists from around the globe in Nigeria, the United States of America, Germany, Denmark, United Kingdom, Togo, Zimbabwe, and Japan. The message in these performances is simple – humanity is living in the red. Each performance calls for urgent steps to be taken to prevent any further decline of human life and society through wars, genocides, epidemics, religious extremism, and more recently, the Covid-19 pandemic.

In the Red Series (Selected Performances)

The first red performance art was done on 28 September 2008, at the United Nations Information Centre in Lagos, Nigeria. Titled 'Red or White', Atiku questioned irrational thinking patterns and actions, which could lead to all forms of evil that result in loss of

'Red or White?' Poland - 2014 (Photo Courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

lives. He questioned resorting to violence of any form when there are civilized ways to resolve conflict. He also questioned why perpetrators of evil seemingly get away in many instances only to repeat the cycle of conflict elsewhere. In the performance, Atiku presents the audience with two choices, Red or White. Red represents choices that inevitably lead to war, disease, famine, destruction and death; White symbolizes choices that embrace peace, peaceful living, growth, harmony, tolerance, and all the positive virtues.
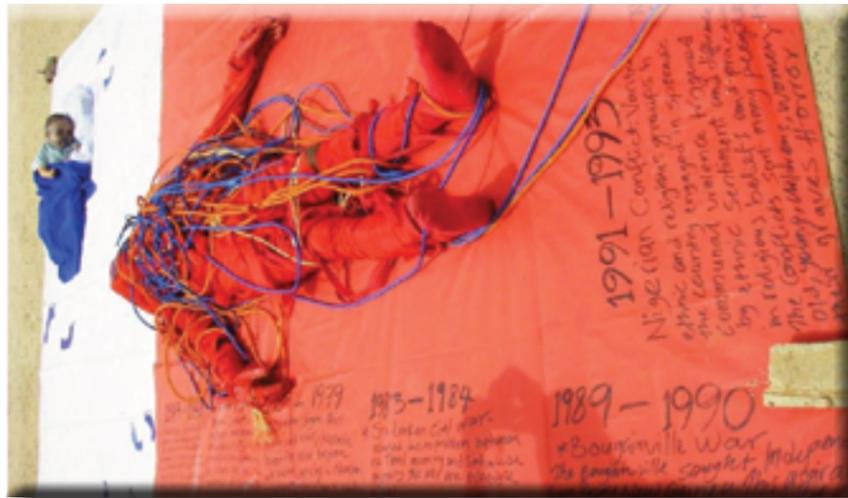
'Red or White?' Performance Art at United Nations Information Centre, Lagos, Nigeria –2009 (Photo Credit: Professor Jerry Buhari)

Following the performance at the United Nations Office, he got several invitations to perform, and for the following 6 months until February 2009, he had seven additional performances across several cities in Nigeria. They included 'Red Mummy' (October, 2008), 'Me and Red' (January, 2009), 'Red Bug', 'Redound', 'Red Light', 'Red or White?' and 'Reddendum' in February 2009.

Red Day' Performance by Jelili Atiku, Michigan, USA (2015)
(Photo courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

Red Light' Performance Art – Zaria, Nigeria 2009 (Photo Courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

'Red Day' Performance and Installation Art by Jelili Atiku, Lagos Bienelle (2017)
(Photo Credit: Ayo Akinwande)

His international performances began in March 2009 when he was invited to Tokyo, Japan. The performance titled 'Red Entangle' marked his arrival on the international stage and created a platform for further invitations and artist collaborations across the world. In January 2010, he collaborated with the artist Petra Szilagyi in Lagos, Nigeria, to stage the performance 'Corpus Cal-lu-sum'. In October and November of 2011, Atiku performed in Harare, Zimbabwe, and Lome, Togo, introducing his art to other African audiences. In 2012, Atiku performed '+++=+' at the Tate Modern, and 'How Not to Dance Tchaikovsky Symphony' at the Tiwani Contemporary, both in London in the United Kingdom.

'Corpus Cal-lu-sum' performance art with guest artist Petra Szilagyi, Ejigbo, Nigeria
(2010) (Photo credit: Abdulrasaq Yusuff)

Back in Lagos in 2013, he performed 'Red Light' and 'Obaranikosi'. He then took the performance 'Obaranikosi' to Denmark and Germany in 2014. In the same year, he performed 'Red or White' in Poland. In 2015, he staged 'Red Day' performance in collaboration with artists (Ashley Simone, Emma Clark, Maria Allen, Ellen Stenner, Melaina Von Behren, Yuning Shi, Jiawei Zhang, Ashlee Bonner, Gianna Thurmond, and Sandra Szymanski) at the Eli and Edythe Broad Art Museum at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan, USA. He repeated the performance with his installation art, with local artists (Alo Oluwatobi Peter, Joe C. Samuel, Vincent Obinka Ikenna, Anthony Ajaero, Akinrinola Abiodun, Taiwo Aiyedogbon, Opoku Mensa, Okafor May, Titilope Salami, Remi Durosinmi-EttiAdeoye, Ogunlesi Paul Oyetunde, JamiuSanni, Omokeko Olufela and Silas Mensah) in collaboration in Nigeria in October 2017.

In October 2018, Atiku was invited to be a visiting professor at Brown University in Rhode Island, USA. During this time, he taught and also staged a repeat performance

'Eleniyan' Performance Art, Kampala, Uganda – 2012 (Photo credit: Hassan Mukiibi)

of 'Red Flag' in collaboration with Mohammed Lawal, Toby Omomia, Moshood Lawal, Maryam Lawal, Karen Allen Baxter, Kathleen Moyer, Sylvia Ann Soares, Susanna Pruna, Shreeyash Gotmare, Lisa Biggs, Angella Nash Wade, Khalif Andre and Jacob Stanton.

Reactions to Recent Global Issues

Atiku's reaction to 'Covid-19'and the 'Black Lives Matter Campaign' has been mainly on two-dimensional format. Being conscious of the social distance regulation, his thoughts come in form of reactionary posters and comments on social media. Using the basic costume for 'in the Red Series', Jelili Atiku added his voice to the campaign for racial justice and equity in the USA following the death of George Floyd. He also used red effectively in his awareness poster for the coronavirus.

Conclusion

The 'In the Red' performance art speaks volumes. This cannot be more apt than now with the ravaging effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and incidences of violence and death

globally. As an artist, he continues to advocate with his performances in the hope that individuals, governments and societies will choose right and avoid imminent doom.

Jelili's Online Poster in Reaction to the Death of George Floyd – 2020 (Photo courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

Online Awareness Poster for Covid-19, 2020 (Photo courtesy: Jelili Atiku)

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Traditional Festival Performances as Source Materials for Nigeria's Socio-Economic Development

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Abstract

As a nation, Nigeria has been addressing problems of poverty and unemployment related to armed robbery, kidnapping, and even terrorism. Generally the country's abundant natural resources have been seen as solutions to the issues, but Nigeria is also rich in traditional festivals that can be utilized to generate employment opportunities and wealth. Employing evaluative and descriptive research methods, this paper examines Nigerian festival performances as source materials for national development. Its results reveal that if the nation's traditional festival performances were given serious attention, they could boost the nation's socio-economic status. This paper recommends that Nigeria's traditional festival performances be judiciously harnessed and used to create job opportunities for Nigerians and wealth for national development.

Introduction

The economic development of a nation is a matter of great concern to its citizens. Various economic policies are adopted by governments to change the financial woes of the people for the better. Mention can be made of financial bodies such as the IMF, the World Bank and the HIPC economic policy....However, little has been done by past governments and the present one to explore other avenues such as our rich cultural heritage. The cultural traditions of Ghana are effective tools for national development. Culture expressed in the form of festivals as in the Asogli yam festival possesses rich economic values worth promoting. (Selase par 2)

Nigeria is one of the most blessed nations on African continent in that its government has also relied on such various economic policies to change the financial woes of its people for the better. Endowed with agricultural and mineral resources which generated wealth for the country, "in the 1920s, palm production alone employed about

four million Nigerians. Nigeria led the world in palm oil production and export of cocoa, groundnut, hides and skins, and contributed a substantial proportion of the world's trade on timber and rubber products" (Darah 17-18). Oil and gas exploration has also placed Nigeria in a very important position among the countries of the world. According to Abayomi and Olaniretu, "a sociological analysis of the Nigerian society pinpoints it as the largest petroleum producer in Africa and seventh largest producer of crude oil among OPEC member countries" (33). Nevertheless, Nigeria has also experienced high rates of poverty and unemployment over the years. One of the many reasons for these problems is corruption. To Onaivi and Akowe, it is evident that most of Nigeria's politicians are corrupt, and prominence is not given to decision making and the implementation of policies that will benefit all. As a result, the Nigerian economy is bereft of tangible growth and development, the Nigerian socio-economic terrain id at the mercy of near absolute infrastructural lack and decay, and there are high unemployment and exchange rate, armed robbery and terrorist attacks and kidnapping, pipeline vandalism, hunger, and poverty (99-100).

Because of the presence of high level of corruption and mismanagement,, petroleum which has been serving as the major source of Nigerian's income can no longer withstand the country's mono-economic challenges. There is a need, therefore, to look elsewhere for a solution to the problem of unemployment that has bedeviled the nation. Nigeria's festival performances could be of great help in this context. As Kwesi Prah, cited in Owusu-Amoah, remarks, "[I]f development must come to Africa, it must come in the cultural features of Africans language and other institutions of culture" (6). Owusu-Amoah himself points out that

[t]his subject has time and time again been trivialised. Some reduce the understanding of culture to fetishism and other archaic and anachronistic acts good perhaps only for the museum. Others consider culture to be just drumming and dancing. Some Anthropologists have however given a deeper explanation of culture as those forms of behaviour, practices and thoughts that are nurtured, held, cherished and maintained as desirable and having importance and relevance for our lives. (4)

Altough some cultural practices are indeed not useful today, it is possible to take a cue from countries like Malaysia, South Korea, China, Japan, and India that have adopted what is referred to as a critical cultural renaissance. Culture is an effective tool for development if handled carefully, and Nigeria is rich in traditional festival performances. Each Nigerian community has one, two, or more festivals which involve beautiful, unique and creative artistic performances. The nation, from its early days, has had festival performances of different forms as essential ingredients of its cultural life and indigenous theatre. Dandaura affirms that the Nigerian theatre tradition is indigenous, eclectic, boisterous, diverse, and abounds in every community. This strand of theatre manifests in two forms. First in the form of purely ritualistic performances, chants, and masquerades; secind in the festival sof the over 450 ethnic groups in Nigeria (57).

These numerous traditional festival performances found across Nigeria can provide fertile ground for the economic progress of the nation. The Nigerian festival performance, which is a strong part of the people's traditional religion, "through its arts and crafts is a greater motivator of development and has remained a crucial force in tourism... it

creates jobs and enhances Nigeria's economy by providing her with foreign exchange reserve through its potential of cultural tourism" (Ekeopara and Ekpenyong 26). "[C]ulture is said to be the oil that keeps society running. Tradition and knowledge have also been described in certain quarters as the main pillars of development and sustenance of communities and that no society can progress in the absence of the two" (Owusu-Amoah par 1).

African Traditional Festival Performance

Iyanda and Adama observe that traditional African theatre is an indigenous form of theatre which comprises communal events in in the form of masquerade performance, myths, rituals institution, and festival,. Its elements are deeply rooted in the culture and cosmology of the African society (3). Nkosi posits that, "traditional form of theatres can only be comprehended in their mode of functioning within the framework of ritual, religious festivals and other ceremonial activities, seasonal changes, harvesting, birth initiation, marriage and death, have all been occasions for performance of one form or another"(6). Like other performing art forms across the globe, traditional African performance relies on elements such as the actor who appears often in the form of masquerade, songs and chants produced with the aids of voice, drum, gong, and flute, and the sounds of the aforementioned instruments usually inform aesthetics of dance steps of the masquerade which in turn establishes the beauty and entertainment potential of the traditional African performance. Concurring, Aporobaro states that

African traditional festival performance has in it the elements of art and

performance. Behind the drumming, dancing, costumes and masquerade element and chants, we feel a sense of an enactment, a theatre involving audience enacting something for the desire of the people. The performers exhibit skills in dancing, chanting, leading the people. They show off their costumes, clothes and also say prayers. These are all artistic elements, theatrical possibilities which are also artistic dimensions of the work. (464)

In short, traditional African festival performance is a valid form of theatre which originated from the worship of the people's numerous gods, *Sango, Egungu, Ejamu, Igbegwu, and Olokun*. Akporobaro affirms that in Africa, the origin of drama bears close similarity with that of Greece, though the experience of each remains completely indigenous to itself. One cannot identify a single source of African drama, which evolved from the Greek worship of Dionysus and Apollo (467).

Overview of Selected Nigerian Festival Performances

The habit of celebrating religious and social feasts to mark birth, death, coronation, and initiation is one of the most primordial characteristics of Nigerian societies. Exploring the Igbabonelimhin paradigm of festival arts in Nigeria, Omoera observes that "masquerade performances and other icono-cultural activities abound in traditional Nigerian and Africa" (49). Like other African societies, myths, festivals, rituals, and masquerades feasts are important parts of the people's culture and tradition. Dandaura remarks that

[t]raditional theatre performance is indigenous, eclectic, boisterous, diverse and abound in every community. This theatre manifests in two forms. First,

in the form of purely ritualistic performances, chants, masquerades and festivals of over 450 ethnic groups in Nigeria. Secondly, it also manifests in the form of age-long entertaining and highly educative story-telling performances, folktales, fables, proverbs, idioms, praise song, mimes and dances performed during social events. (57)

This paper considers the Ibegwu festival performance of Igala people of Kogi, Nigeria as its source of analysis. The Ibegwu festival is one of the famous festival performances among the Igala people of Kogi State, Nigeria. Like other parts of Africa, in the Igala kingdom, there was no religion other than traditional religion before the advent of Islam and Christianity. The Ibegwu festival is one of the festivals that originated from the people's traditional means of worship. Apart from its religiosity, the festival provides entertainment, featuring not only masquerades but also folk musicians. The festival is also characterized by the use of chants, songs, and dances accompanied by musical instruments such as gongs, drums, and flutes. Omoera informs us that "Igue, like any other Africa festival is endowed with elaborate spectacles ranging from dance, music, songs, recitals, chants, etc, that commemorate historical feats of the ancestors and events which remind the people of their civil responsibilities" ("Igue Ceremony" 111).

Ogunbiyi, cited in Omoera and Atuegbe, affirms "that the ritual festival in Africa represents full and authenticated drama that should be recognized as such" (64). The full representation of festival drama is seen in the African festival performances. As Omoera and Aluede note, "music and dance are society and era bound. In every community as in every era, dance and music play certain roles, which may include entertainment purposes,

social cohesion and solidarity, reflective ends, therapeutic ends, commemorative purposes, among others" (69). Indeed, "music and dance are cultural indicators of a given society. They portray a community's ideals, philosophy and social/cultural beliefs" (Omoera and Aluede 69).

Josephine Abbe believes that festival performances convey "the culture with regards to beliefs, traditions, habits, arts, dressing, food, dance, music, drama, festival etc., that have been passed by way of inheritance from one generation to another" (73). Tekena Mark asserts that "African traditional theatre refers to those forms of entertainments and theatrical nuances that were in existence before the colonization of Africa by the Europeans" (67). In the same vein, Krama in Mark affirms that "African traditional theatre is an expression of the people, institutions and experiences of the African communal society" (3). Mark adds that "traditional or cultural festivals are also part and parcel of African traditional theatre" (70). Rooted in antiquity, African traditional theatre was manifested in the people's festivals, initiation ceremonies, dance, mime ,and other that marked the birth and death of every African (Ebo 170). One cannot talk about festival performances in Nigeria and Africa without mentioning African theatre and drama.

Concept of Development

Development can be defined as the progress and growth at all levels of a particular community or society. A country develops only when its political and socio-economic structures are capable of strengthening its infrastructure and the social welfare of the people. Many factors are responsible for lack of speedy development of society the world over. They include corruption and poor government politics. In Nigeria, corruption

has been responsible for the nation's socio-economic regression. Because of the lack of good governance, the income generated from the oil sector has not been properly utilized for the benefit of the masses. Assume observes that the government privatizing everything publicly owned, according o the dictates of the "international community", has not resolved the simmering crises or addressed the violence that has engulfed Nigeria. Government has failed to recognize the people need to participate in deciding Nigeria's priorities (119).

That is exactly the problem with Nigeria's economy. Mismanagement of oil fund began from the early days of independence and continued since the military era. Chaudi Uwazurike posits out that

> [e]conomic mismanagement, corruption and low ideological content to policy formulation as well as excessive dependence on oil the Shagari regime fell in part due to the sharp fluctuation in the oil market and in excessive short term borrowing. For instance, fall in per barrel price of oil from $40 to 27 between 1982 and 1983 led to financial crises for the regime and inability of the federal government to fund the states as constitutionally required; with the consequence that salaries went unpaid; strikes and denunciations followed. The country's credit rating declined internationally as her external debts rose to $ 1 billion form a reserve of $5 billion leading to unemployment climbed over 35%. (87)

These sorts of events continue today. News of the external debt of the nation is heard every day leading to growing unemployment and poverty. What is the way forward?

Apart from oil, Nigeria is blessed with other resources could revive the nation's economy. Her numerous cultural institutions are one such resource.

Nigerian Festival Performance and Socio-Economic Development: Ibegwu and Ejamu Festivals

Selase asserts that festivals are manifestations of the practices and beliefs of a people. They are promoters of culture and builders of one's identity. Festivals perform many functions in the society. They serve as a means of commemorating and remembering important events in the history of a people. In the process, they perform other functions, both intended and unintended. As they involve re-creation of the past, they provide occasions for transmission of traditional cultures and values from one generation to the other (par 4). Apart from the Egungun festival, the Argungun fishing festival, the Durbar festival, the Calabar carnival, the Igue festival, the Opobo Regatta festival, and the Eyo Festival, each of the nation's ethnic groups has a number of cultural festivals in teir various communities. Tonye Barimalaa adds that

> Nigeria as a country is blessed with different cultures with their distinct festivals from different states including the federal capital territory. From the Opobo Regatta in the south to Argungun in the North, there are variety of events and festivals that celebrate their religious history, music, art or Nigeria's cultural heritage, featuring local music, costume, dancing, etc. (1)

The Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals of the Igala people of Kogi State are two of the numerous festival celebrations in Nigeria. The Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals are highly

dramatic. They are colourful, entertaining, spectacular shows which offer dramatic and theatrical expressions of their communities' social experiences. Theatrical elements like costumes, make-up, actors and actresses and even the audiences, music and musical instruments (gongs, drums, and flutes) are used for the purposes of entertainment, education, and information. As Oscar Kimanuka notes, "[c]ulture is a powerful driver for development, with community-wide social, economic and environmental impacts. Peoples' lifestyles, individual behaviour, consumption patterns, values related to environmental stewardship and our interaction with the natural environment are mostly influenced by their cultures" (n.p).

The performers in Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals are dressed in colourful costumes and masks, and the performance is well rehearsed with vigorous dances. The entertainment in Ejamu and Ibegwu festivals has attracted the attention of audiences from Nigeria and abroad. For instance, according to Chachah cited in Selase, festivals provide occasions for social re-union among Ghanaians. He remarks that "that relatives and friends see each other again during festivals, also, gifts and drinks are exchanged, disputes settled and an atmosphere of mutual co-operation established" (par. 6).

Festivals not only bring people together from different walks of life, they contributes to the lives of their communities. In the course of carrying out this research, researchers discovered that the community secondary school at Okeyi was built out of the money generated by the Ejamu festival. This also is the case during the Ibegwu festival. The social benefits of Ejamu and Ibegwu festivals cannot be over-emphasized. Sons and daughters of the communities where these festivals are practiced, come home to socialize after many years and also contribution of their communities' development.

As well, people, who come out to the festivals with yams and farm products, go home with cash. The performers also reap the economic benefits of the festivals. As they dance and perform, the audiences spray them money which comprises their earnings from the festivals for that particular year. Indeed, Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals display all the elements that make Akporobaro posit

> [t]raditional performances are often highly dramatic and picturesque in form. In many occasions especially festival and ritual celebrations highly colorful and entertaining and spectacular shows are put on for people to see. Generally, these festival and religious celebrations provide very dramatic and theatric expression of history, belief and social expressions. (6)

Nigeria's festival performances, like those of the Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals, have great potential to foster socio-economic development in Nigeria. Attah-Fosu cited in Selase describes festivals as ceremonies as bringing most of a community's citizens together. helping them to initiate contribute financially towards development projects. Visitors who also come to witness the festival contribute economically to the locality. It is evident that festivals are not merely joyous occasions; they are also occasions for social re-union and economic advancement (Ekeopara and Ekpenyong 11).

The Ejamu and Ibegwu festivals have the capacity to attract tourist attention. This is in line with the fact that "African culture is tourism itself, especially by the reason that its preservation, promotion and presentation are designed to arouse tourist's interest (Ekoepara and Ekpenyong 24; Omoera "Reinventing Igbabonelimhin" 54). The role of culture in creating green jobs, reducing poverty, making cities more sustainable,

providing safe access to water and food, preserving the natural resources such as forests, and strengthening the resilience of communities in the face of disasters, is a major one.

During the festival season, young people are gainfully self-employed by going to the farm to get firewood for old women who cook for the elders. Some of the youths pay their school fees from their earnings. Some of them make local baskets for drying fish and other soup ingredients. From these projects, they make money to take care of some of their immediate needs. Gadzekpo cited in Selase submits that: festivals are seasons of gainful economic activities for local craftsmen and food sellers. He further states that festivals promote tourism, because foreigners come to cview art and culture; they purchase souvenirs, providing income for the community and boosting Africa's image abroad.

Besides being economically and socially influential, politically, Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals play a natural part in developing policy that is serious about human rights. A free and strong cultural sector promotes rights and values freedom of expression, diversity, while debating citizens' needs. The Ibegwu and Ejamu festivals ensure that there is unity during crisis. They influence identity via debate and dialogue. Promoting culture, festivals are important for nation-building and for generating peace and reconciliation. According to Encyclopedia Britannica online,

> [c]ulture lays essential foundation for other political rights and is equally important in the link between the ancient and modern democratisation. The modern democracy that we have is an extension of what our forefathers or rulers established. The whole process of organisation of states during and after the colonialism would have been easy were it not for prior existing structures.

The activities of the Ejamu and Ibegwu festivals which promote tourism in Nigeria in turn boost the socio-economic development of the nation. In a nutshell, African festival performances like Ejamu and Ibegwu festivals, have significant impacts on the nation's economy. Kimanuka argues that:

> [a]A growing number of authors also seem to agree that economic growth will take more than an infusion of investment capital, more than an import of the latest technology, even more than dependable political and economic institutions. A constellation of cultural values suited for modern business seems to be a critical for any progression. (n.p)

Kimanuka further remarks that "[c]ultural events are fun, entertaining and educative. They allow individuals to integrate physically and mentally. It has been noted at many levels of society that a dynamic cultural sector is a requirement for a well-functioning public sphere with arenas for critical debate and the exchange of ideas" (n.p). The quality of our lives depends, to a great extent, on our being able to take part in, and benefit from our culture. We instinctively know, with no need for explanation, that maintaining a connection with our historic and natural environments, with our language, the music, the arts, and the literature, is fundamental to who we are. Mohammed-Kabir and Ejiga submit that "the development of any society rests solely on its ability to uphold its social, moral and cultural values as it will go a long way to building a tangible sense of discipline

in the citizens most importantly the youth to contribute to the development of the nation"(181). In short, culture is central to development.

Recommendations

Nigeria's festival performances are great sources of socio-economic development. Therefore, this paper recommends that they be given serious attention in matters of socioeconomic development and national progress. The Nigerian government needs to improve and promote the nation's festivals for national development. Cultural researchers shouldsuggest how to improve the Nigeria's festival performances to boost the economic development of the nation.

Conclusion

Over-dependence on oil and gas and the [1]mismanagement of public funds in Nigeria has resulted in unemployment and poverty. These economic problems over time have generated burning social issues.. Cultural institutions, like festival performances, play a significant role in the socio-economic development of a nation. As Mohammed-Kabir and Ejiga observe, "if societies like Nigeria must grow or develop, its cultural norms and values must be upheld especially by the youth who are the generation of tomorrow" (180). To this end, Nigeria's festival performances like the Igbegwu festival, are capable of boosting the Nigerian economy and in turn, reducing socio-economically related problems.

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Drama and Theatre as Tools for Critical Pedagogy and Development Communication: An Appraisal of Freire's and Boal's *Praxis*

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Abstract

In drama/theatre, experts and practitioners put concepts into practice. The import of drama, either formal or applied, has neither been put to adequate use nor given the attention it deserves in much of Africa, especially with reference to Nigeria where the elite has created artificial barriers and oppression. Against this background, this paper examines drama as a form of critical pedagogy and empowerment, and as an emancipatory

tool with an added emphasis on applied drama/theatre. This study leans on critcal theory which holds that education should be a reflective assessment, a critique of society and culture, to liberate people from the circumstances that enslave them. Appraising Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, this study these pedagogies, grounded in visions of social change through education in the context of teaching and learning, encourage personal and social reform. We recommend that they be adopted as teaching tools to empower students.

Keywords: Drama and theatre, Critical pedagogy, Poverty, Empowerment, Nigeria.

Introduction

One of the biggest challenges facing most African countries today is social injustice and inequality. It has eaten deep into the people's fabric that African societies have become polarized. The gap is so wide in Nigeria particularly that politicians have to use basic amenities as campaign promises; and during election the masses scramble for the remnants from the politicians' table as their dividend of democracy thereby selling their consciences and votes to the highest bidder. However, African people have a history of fights against injustice, from colonialism to apartheid. So, they continue to fight against the injustices and inequalities of today, fight for quality public services, indispensable means to democracy and prosperity (Pavanelli, 2015).

Social inequality as used in this study refers to disparities in the distribution of economic assets and income as well as between the overall quality and luxury of each person's existence within a society, while economic inequality is caused by the unequal accumulation of wealth; social inequality exists because the lack of wealth in certain areas prohibits these people from obtaining the same housing, health care, etc. as the wealthy, in societies where access to these social goods depends on wealth. Although, there have been fight against this social injustice and inequality by opinion leaders and trade union from pre-colonial era till now without any meaningful headway. The failure of these fights could be attributed to illiteracy and hypocrisy on the part of the masses. However, critical pedagogy presents itself as one potential solution to this struggle and dilemma. Through critical pedagogy, teachers/scholars and theatre practitioners in rural/urban schools can engage their students by encouraging them to use their own cultural knowledge and experiences to guide themselves against bad governance. They can also activate students'/ youths' critical literacy by teaching them to become socially aware of the issues in their communities (McLaren, 1989, p. 109).

While the term critical pedagogy embraces a range of writings and literature, a common feature of all is a belief that education and society are intrinsically interrelated and that the fundamental purpose of education is to improve social justice. However, there are perceptions that critical pedagogy has been more successful in critiquing educational and social practices than in achieving actual change. It is against this backdrop that this paper delves into the main function of drama/theatre vis-à-vis applied drama/theatre with particular focus on Freire's and Boal's drama/theatre tenets as veritable critical pedagogy tools that if properly utilized in Africa and Nigeria particularly would bring the needed desired change.

Theoretical Fortification

Critical Theory is a school of thought that stresses the reflective assessment and critique of society and culture by applying knowledge from the social sciences and the humanities. As a term, critical theory has two meanings with different origins and histories. The first

emanated from sociology and the second originated in literary criticism, whereby it is used and applied as an umbrella term that can describe a theory founded upon critique. Thus, the theorist Max Horkheimer (cited in Outhwaite, 2009, p. 6) describes a theory as critical insofar as it seeks "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them." Critical Theory is a social theory oriented toward critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to traditional theory oriented only to understanding or explaining it (Horkheimer cited in Outhwaite, 2009, p. 6), thus distinguishes critical theory as a radical, emancipatory form of Marxian theory.

Conceptualizing the Concepts

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is a philosophy of education and social movement that has developed and applied concepts from critical theory and related traditions to the field of education and the study of culture. Advocates of critical pedagogy view teaching as an inherently political act, reject the neutrality of knowledge, and insist that issues of social justice and democracy itself are not distinct from acts of teaching and learning (Gottesman, 2016). The goal of critical pedagogy is emancipation from oppression through an awakening of the critical consciousness. When achieved, critical consciousness encourages individuals to affect change in their world through social critique and political action.

Critical pedagogue according to Shor , who was mentored by and worked closely with Freire from 1980 until Freire's death in 1997 defines critical pedagogy as: habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, socialcontext,

ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse (Shor, 1980, p.129). Critical pedagogy explores the dialogic relationships between teaching and learning. Its proponents claim that it is a continuous process of what they call "unlearning", "learning", and "relearning", "reflection", "evaluation", and the effect that these actions have on the students, in particular students whom they believe have been historically and continue to be disenfranchised by what they call "traditional schooling." The educational philosophy has been developed by Henry Giroux and others since the 1980s as a praxis-oriented "educational movement, guided by passion and principle, to help students develop a consciousness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies, and connect knowledge to power and the ability to take constructive action" (Giroux 2010, p.18).

Drama / Theatre

Theatre has been defined as "man's expression of his feelings, emotions and experiences. It is a creation by man and as such forms part of his culture…" (Cameron & Gillesie, 1980). It reveals truths about the human experience. It makes statements about people, economies and political systems as "a series of human activities that make stories, movements or sounds of combinations of these things for people's enjoyment. It is an art in which performers by impersonating, represent or embody imitations of a people in a story that is shown to an audience" (Cameron & Gillesie, 1980). Theatre is a verbal art and a direct medium of communication and as such, is important to the field education, because communication is essential to the process of enquiry and human empowerment and development.

Theatre has been described as a powerful mirror that reflects society. Mills (2003) states that theatre "can make people or society as a whole question and feel through

melody, image, words and laughter." Fundamentally, theatrical productions function as integral parts of the societies that support them; theatre may imitate, parody, criticize or celebrate society's foibles and greatness. It also alters a society's development and identity. It is used to inform, entertain and educate, spur change in the society and for transforming conflicts. As Raj Isar (2004) remarks "The purpose of playing said Hamlet, was and is to hold as it were, the mirror up for nature." Four centuries after Shakespeare, that purpose lives on. Today, however, injustice, deprivation, exile, exclusion, trauma ,and violent inter-group conflicts loom large in humanity's understanding of what is to be mirrored. The mirror serves not just to uncover, but also to denounce, provoke, and empower, sometimes even to heal. Theatre is art and entertainment as well as a tool for educating and empowering people. As a form of entertainment, theatre highlights fictional action and does not usually challenge the beliefs of its audience to push it beyond its comfort zone.

Theatre as an art form spurs its audiences to think harder, look deeper, confront uncomfortable truths, or come to a higher understanding. Thus, one can deduce that theatre arts matter not for instrumental reasons but because they are nonmaterial; because they deal with daily experience in a different way; because they transform the way we look at the world; because they offer different explanations to the world, because they link us to our past and open the door to the future; because they work outside routine categories; because they take us out of ourselves; because they make order out of disorder and stir up the stagnant with movement; because they offer beauty and confront us with ugliness; because they offer explanations but no solutions; because they offer a vision of integration; because they force us to think about the difference between the good and the bad, the false and the truth. In other words, theatre arts stimulate growth and development. The genres of theatre include drama, dance, and music.

Drama can be both literary and theatrical. Ogundeji (2002) affirms that "it is at the literary level that we talk of plot, characterization, dialogue and theme. As dramatic performance, it presents a storyline that is the plot, in a performing place, the stage or the arena before the audience. Actors and actresses employing various necessary and relevant constructional instruments play the role of characters in the story. Literary drama is in most cases published. It is theatre of the playwright as these are" interested in facts, not as facts, but as they represent recurrent truths of human existence. However, the drama which is of utmost importance to this article is the applied type that is more relevant to human empowerment and social development. The advantages of applied drama/theatre to critical pedagogy are varied and include sensitizing people to the horrors and deprivations of conflict and injustice. Applied drama/theatre also has the ability to reveal new insights about authority, power, and conflict by presenting them realistically.

Drama/Theatre: The Conventional and Applied

In theatre practice as a discipline, among other considerations, two broad categories of performance exist. The first is conventional theatre, which deals in the main with pre-packaged plays that are exhibited by either professional or amateur performers before an audience(s) in a defined performance space, popularly known as a theatre building, and which separates the actors on stage from the audience in the auditorium. Most of the productions in this category are imaginative creative works (plays) that often deal in the world of fantasy with emphasis on aesthetics and programmed "conventions." The second category, applied, theatre is significant to this study. As Thompson (2006) and Nicholson (2005) observe, the term "applied," echoing references such as applied mathematics, applied physics and applied chemistry, stands in opposition to "pure." Applied theatre

abhors the world of fantasy and embraces the real world of living human beings. When theatre becomes applied, it shifts its emphasis from aesthetics to utilitarianism. In opposition to the German *Bildung*, which regards an educated person as one who has acquired a prescribed set of formal knowledge, applied theatre represents the knowledge society, where knowledge for the most part exists only in application.

Applied theatre stands squarely in opposition to conventional theatre that is elitist in conception. Conventional theatre is elitist in the sense that the plays presented are pre-packaged with no contribution whatsoever from the audience. Applied theatre, on the other hand, advances the principles of democracy. It advocates that play production should be a community project and village-specific. The community should come up with the idea of the play, and the whole community should watch the presentation as active participants contributing to the advancement of the play's plot and subject matter. Applied theatre is an outcome-based, participatory popular theatre practice. It has also become a field of study, which addresses the theory and practice of applying the arts of the theatre in non-conventional settings with a mandate that emphasizes education, development, therapy and social change. According to Prentki and Preston (2009, p. 9), applied theatre has emerged in recent years as a term describing a broad set of theatrical practices and creative processes that take participants and audiences beyond the scope of conventional, mainstream theatre into the realm of a theatre that is responsive to ordinary people and their stories, local settings, and priorities. Taylor (2003) affirms

> [a]pplied theatre teaches community members to teach others, and helps
>
> communities' process issues which directly impact them. It can also
>
> raise awareness of issues, pose alternatives, heal, challenge contemporary
>
> discourses, and voice the views of the silent or marginal … In applied theatre

work; artists generate scenarios and create opportunities for the community to respond to their pain through theatre work. The community theatre is an applied theatre where individuals connect with and support one another, and where opportunities are provided for groups to voice who they are and what they aspire to become. The applied theatre becomes a medium through which the storytellers can step into the perspectives of others and gain entry points to different worldviews.

Unlike conventional theatre, applied theatre is not location-specific. In applied theatre, productions can take place in rehabilitation centres, schools, community halls, parks, streets, village squares, religious centres, hostels or industrial sites, in fact, anywhere that there are human activities that need education, and "reconstructions" can serve. Taylor (2003) states further that this art form "is an applied theatre because the art form becomes a transformative agent that places the audience or participants in direct and immediate situations where they can witness, confront, and deconstruct aspects of their own and other's actions." It is a practice that encourages "variations of actions and adoption of alternatives" (Boal, 1995, p. 13). This makes it an alternative communication tool in the education and conscientization of people in many communities, particularly in Africa. This is a special kind of drama production "with a job to do" (Somers, 2009, p. 194).

In terms of viewing applied theatre as a production with a job to do, there is a spiraling interest in the relationship between the practice and community development. Arguing for the use of theatre as an appropriate medium for development, Byram (1980, p. 21) claims that "such media are low-cost, require no complex skills and draw on the resources and creativity of the people." Applied theatre is an umbrella term that covers

areas of theatre practices known variously as "theatre-for-development", "forum theatre", "outreach theatre", "participatory theatre", "community theatre", "theatre for education", "interactive theatre", and "theatre of the oppressed". Whatever methodology is adopted by the practitioners in this sphere of endeavour, their objectives coalesce around the subject of encouraging human and social development (Desai 1991, p. 8).

Since the late 1980s, the practice of theatre-for-development (TfD) has gained ground in Africa, the Caribbean Islands, Latin America and Asia (Ebewo, 2017). Although its practice is not unknown to developed countries, it is as part of the development process of developing countries that its relevance is profound. In terms of development, applied theatre's major concern is with the role of culture as an agent for the development of people's minds. Studies have indicated that cultural awakening is a crucial stage in the development of a people. "There is little point in introducing high technology to improve the efficiency of developing economies if one does not stimulate the minds of the people to take creative control of their destinies" (van Erven 1992, p. 1). Thus, applied theatre practitioners understand development to mean: the ability of the members of a community to relate creatively to themselves, their neighbors, their environment, and the world at large, so that each one might express his maximum potential. Such development, then, has a lot to do with the distribution of power and of resources—which gets what, how, and why. It is, basically, a process of empowerment (Pradervand, 1989, p. xvii).

Theatre's emphasis on education is not on basic formal education, which is generally concerned only with the process of reading and writing, but with a more fundamental and utilitarian approach to literacy. Experts in the field of adult education, notably the Brazilian Paulo Freire (1972) and the Latin American Augusto Boal (1979; 1995), term this, "functional literacy." Functional literacy is concerned with the awakening of people's

critical awareness. Its mission is to "lead forth" and "cause to develop" the good that is latent in everyone; its goal is to identify and ensure adaptability and positive changes in human behaviour. It is education for "social transformation." The educationists emphasize "active approaches to learning … of peasants becoming the subjects of their transformation rather than remaining the objects of a propaganda exercise" (Kidd, 1984, p. 31). Invariably, applied theatre practice is anchored in the grassroots approach to education and development, and it is meant to be an instrument of empowerment for socially deprived individuals. It serves as the people's media and is participatory and democratic in outlook; it prompts people in a society to change and modify their thinking , to discover ways of combating challenges.

When used for the purpose of social intervention, applied drama and theatre methodologies actively engage facilitators with their target audiences to affect the process of conscientization (Freire, 1972; Boal, 1979). Chinyowa (2015) affirms that the process of raising awareness through critical dialogue requires the active participation of the target audience or "spect-actors," who serve both as the subject and object of the learning and development. With assistance from the facilitators, the target audience is deemed to be capable of identifying its challenges, discussing and reflecting on why the challenges exist, and deciding on what course of action to take. In order to gain access to the behavioural, emotional, and psychological experiences of the targeted community, the indigenous performance cultures of the identified community are utilized. Song, dance, storytelling, narrative styles, praise poetry, and rituals are appropriated and integrated into the performance interventions. This makes it possible to gain access to the practices, values, and beliefs of the target community.

Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal Drama/Theatre Tenets as Critical Pedagogy

Paradigm

"Theatre is a form of knowledge: It should and can also be a means of transforming society. Theatre can help us build our future, rather than just waiting for it."

– Augusto Boal

"I engage in dialogue because I recognize the social and not merely the individualistic character of the process of knowing. In this sense, dialogue presents itself as an indispensable component of the process of both learning and knowing. "

– Paolo Freire

Any discussion of applied drama/theatre must begin with, and as a matter of fact, focus on the works of Paolo Freire, a Brazilian lawyer and educator and Augusto Boal, a Brazilian educator. Their theories of education and its role in effecting social change through drama/ theatre are fundamental to the critical pedagogy most needed in contemporary Nigerian society. Born in middle-class Brazil, Freire's experience of hunger and poverty during the 1929 Great Depression shaped his life and commitment to assist his country's disenfranchised populace. Though he studied law, he quickly gravitated towards education, working primarily for the Brazilian Board of Education.

He rejected the "banking concept" of education – whereby students are empty vessels that have to be filled with "deposits" of information by teachers who manage the till. He argued against this model, fearing that the teacher-student dichotomy was counterproductive to the real aims of education. To Freire, this hierarchy deadened the students, limited their ability to develop important critical faculties, and most importantly, robbed them of the agency that they needed to make their education truly relevant in their lives. He saw the "banking concept" of education having particularly negative consequences in the education of his country's poor, who were rarely given active means to find means of advancement through learning. In this context, education was far from neutral, but had become political, and whether deliberately or inadvertently, it had become another mechanism ensuring the suppression of the voices of the poor.

Freire's efforts were largely focused on revolutionizing the education of the poor and disenfranchised. He felt deeply that every human being, no matter how "ignorant" or submerged in the culture of silence, is capable of looking critically at the world around them. He developed a more democratic educational theory in which the teacher serves as a facilitator of a dialogue between students rather than a dispenser of facts. In this environment of equals, the class learns more than facts. By sharing experiences, responses, and reflections, they learn how to make facts relevant to their lives and apply them practically. Dialogue is central to the Freirian methodology, setting all the parties on an equal playing field and encouraging collaboration and the development of critical skills of analysis, interpretation, and articulation. The teacher provides tools for a discussion that transforms the class by encouraging cooperation, building social capital through networks of communication and understanding, and developing proactive and collaborative ideas for community progress.

His first efforts with this theory were a remarkable success. In Brazil at the time, one could not vote if one could not read. Freire launched a series of initiatives aimed at improving literacy amongst the rural poor to help them gain a voice in their government. The programs were all dialogic, encouraging participation, collaboration, and group learning. In his first 45 days, over three hundred sugar cane workers who participated learned to read and write. This first experiment's success launched it as a national literacy effort. Unfortunately after a coup in 1964, Freire was labelled a dissident for his theories

and was exiled from Brazil. He spent much of his career working at the world's most prestigious universities, including Harvard and Cambridge. In 1974, he wrote the seminal text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. When Brazil's political winds changed in 1980, he returned to become the Secretary of Education for Sao Paolo.

The originator of many of the techniques considered "Applied Theatre" or "Participatory Theatre" is a contemporary and compatriot of Paolo Freire, Augusto Boal. Aptly, their lives contain many parallels. Like Freire's, Boal's early experiences encountering poverty in Brazil crystallized into a commitment to work for social change. Joining Rio de Janeiro's prestigious Arena Theatre after graduation, Boal used theatre to reach new audiences in the country's poorest communities. He hoped to provoke a revolution of social and economic justice through his art, encouraging his audiences to demand more rights and opportunities. However, he quickly grew disenchanted with classical theatre. In a maaner that is similar to Freire's observations of the teacher-student divide, Boal began to grow uncomfortable with the conventional dichotomy between the actors and audience that pervaded the theatre around him. He admitted candidly to the failures of his own theatre as a result of this classical divide.

Early in his career, Boal attempted to stage theatre with a revolutionary message: performing for the country's poorest communities with a message that encouraged them to demand more rights and opportunity. He found many audiences left cold, left angry, and interrupted performances, largely communicating that they were not a part of the event that was happening on stage. He vividly describes one moment where surprisingly the opposite occurred: an audience member waited for the troupe after the production, armed to the teeth, ready to join them and start the revolution. Boal had to talk the man down, explaining the actors were only artists. The man stormed off yelling: "when you speak of revolution, you mean that it is our blood that must be spilled, not yours". This experience in particular caused Boal to begin to question the merits of a troupe of actors entering a new community and dogmatically telling the public there how they should change their lives, how they should seek new opportunities, and how they should behave to better their lives. His early challenges convinced him that classical theatre that divides the actors from the audience, making ideas travel only one way, allowing no space for feedback and dialogue, and only replicating the very politics that he wanted to change.

As a result, Boal sought to apply many of Freire's techniques for the classroom as a way to democratize the theatre. If change within a community was going to occur, he believed that it would not be triggered by outside ideas imported by a troupe of actors. It would happen only when a community was given a forum for sharing their own ideas, understanding one another, and developing ways of affecting change together. Like Freire's vision of a teacher as a facilitator, Boal worked to transform his troupe; they would be no longer the dispenser's of a message to a passive audience, but a group that could create a space for dialogue with and within their audience. Accordingly, he began to fold the audience into the creative process, experimenting with a technique called "simultaneous dramaturgy" in which audience members would provide possible solutions to the conflicts presented onstage. This naturally led to the invention of Forum Theatre, in which audience members take the stage to replace an actor and embody their ideas, giving life to their proposals.

Boal's participatory theatre has expanded into a range of techniques, all of which motivate the spectator to become a "spect-actor," one who actively contributes to the dialogue onstage and helps search for new collaborative ways forward. In effect, Boal took applied theatre or participatory theatre out of the political struggles of the poor of

Brazil and put it to work in psychotherapy, education, and legislation. Like Freire, his methods were considered so effective and so dangerous to those in power in Brazil that Boal himself, in 1971, shortly after the publication of his first book, *The Theatre of the Oppressed*, was arrested and exiled to Argentina. Today, Boal has returned to Brazil and opened the Center for the Theatre of the Oppressed, which is considered one of the foremost *loci* for the practice of participatory theatre.

Applied theatre or participatory theatre has grown far beyond the legacy of Boal's early experiments, building on his early forum theatre techniques. New schools of theatre inspired by Boal's participatory toolbox, include the theatre of the oppressed, community theatre, populist theatre, legislative theatre, newspaper theatre, image theatre, and invisible theatre. Participatory theatre around the world, no longer solely rooted in the politics of Brazil, is now widely applied in a variety of fields—from public health to education to conflict transformation—as a useful tool to reach new communities and effect positive discourse and change.

Genre Applied/Participatory Drama and Theatre: Features and Functions

There are various styles of participatory theatre, in which audiences participate together with the actors. These include the Theatre of the Oppressed and the Forum Theatre. The following are theatrical techniques initiated by Augusto Boal. They define a performance from start to finish, followed by interventions by the spectators, replacing actors and changing the way the plot unfolds.

Debate Theatre: This technique features a performance from start to finish, followed by discussions immediately after the show. The issues are directly linked with the show, and the discussion seeks to encourage the sharing of opinions, advice and clarifications.

Image Theatre: This involves the presentation of an image by the actors immediately, or after, one or two scenes. While the actors are "frozen," a facilitator asked the audience what they see presented by actors. Their responses are followed by questions and discussions.

Invisible Theatre: The actors present themselves in a public place, without informing viewers that they are actors. In other words, the actors arrive in the place using behaviour similar to that of the people in the community. As the show unfolds, the roles that each actor plays are well planned in advance. Some actors start a performance, and gradually they attract public attention. Other actors who are also at the scene get involved. With precise timing, according to the reactions of the public, they guide the scenario. The show can end without the public knowing that it was actors who caused the scenario, or the actors may reveal towards the end that they are performers and that the scenario was theatre and not reality.

Playback Theatre: This technique is an appeal to the audience members to share their stories, which are directly "played" by the actors. The actors thus serve as a mirror of the experiences of the public. A facilitator or driver invites a member of the audience on stage to tell a story that has happened. The driver, actors, and audience listen attentively. Using the techniques of improvisation, music, song, and movement, the actors play out the history of the person who remains on stage. In the end, the person is asked to discuss what they think of the 'story' just acted out.

Drama for Conflict Transformation: This is applicable when drama and theatre are applied to work with conflict issues. Well-designed DCT provokes spontaneity, and stimulates participants to transcend themselves by creating a sort of vacation from the routine of everyday life. Facilitators devise programmes that use invitational language and that avoid "right" or "wrong" answers.

Discussions of Findings

Against the backdrop of the literature reviewed in this study and Friere's and Boal's drama /theatre tenets, it is evident that drama/theatre as remained a critical tool for transformation and empowerment and societal growth and moral renewal. In ancient Greece, the Dithyramb was a sacred hymn and performance exhibited in honour of Dionysus, the god of wine and fertility; in ancient Rome, theatre satisfied the Romans' religious and carnival urges; in Medieval times, liturgical and morality plays were utilized to propagate the Christian faith. In the contemporary world, performances have not only been used for entertainment but also as instruments of propaganda and socio-economic transformation.

Applied theatre/participatory theatre is a communication instrument with the capacity to create transformational learning encounters between practitioners (or facilitators) and participants. As a committed arts practice, applied theatre can be structured to achieve predetermined goals regarding issues about service delivery, labour migrancy, peace education, food security, voter's education, pollution, child abuse, human rights, gender issues, and drug abuse. In a setting of long-term unemployment, the ZAP theatre project in Australia gave alienated young people self-esteem and a voice (Laughton & Johnson 1996: 36-39); in the Philippines, children silenced by poverty were given an identity and a voice through educational drama (Santos-Cabangon, 1996, pp. 143-144); and in Papua New Guinea, "awareness theatre" in a post-colonial culture became a force for education and development (Sim & Drewe 1996, pp. 183-189). In Africa, applied drama has impacted countries like Burkina Faso, Botswana, Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria, and South Africa. In Lesotho in particular, Zakes Mda (1993) used applied theatre to communicate with the Basotho people about issues such as alcohol abuse, rural sanitation, agriculture and co-operative societies.

Conclusion

In some parts of Africa, conservative attitudes have placed theatre and drama very low on the utility scale. Although this attitude has begun to change, some people still regard drama with condescension, viewing it as an exhibition of mundane "primitive" dances and nudity. In the contemporary global world, drama and theatre as a profession and a discipline in the academe has gone far beyond this prejudiced, parochial notion. As a source of creativity, drama operates on the principle of play. Play theorist Izzo (1997) argues, that "playing" enables people to create symbolic alternatives to reality. It affords a neutral space for rehearsing actions that may not be easily transmitted without consequences in ordinary life. Therefore the playing of the drama can be viewed as a form of "staged authenticity" that wields the power to act as a commentary about even the most sensitive issues. Combined, different features of play, such as enjoyment, freedom, spontaneity, improvisation and imagination, function as social engineering mechanisms for "fixing", "unfixing" and "re-fixing" reality. The intense absorption arising from the playing of the drama that moves its co-players to another state of being. Plays exist outside the boundaries of ordinary time and space, creating an alternative order of existence that provides participants with the opportunity to generate new symbolic worlds. Knowledge gained through acting can eventually be transferred to real life situations—as Boal (1995) consistently argues the "image of reality" can be translated into the "reality of the image."

A pivotal platform for the communication of human and societal development, theatre for development is a didactic tool in the education and conscientization of the rural poor. Applied theatre's emphasis on community participation is a means of giving people a voice to deliberate on topics that can change their lives for the better. Theatre-

for-development challenges development agents to always consider the beneficiaries' input about all their projects meant to improve communities. Overall, drama / theatre irrespective of genre can be used by governments and their agents in Africa to communicate effectively with citizens, especially in rural areas., on issues relating to development.

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Dearth of Dance Libretti and Dance Films in Nigeria:

A Stagnation of Dancers' Stardom

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Abstract

Stardom and fame are not only embedded in wealth and riches. They also subsist in one's ability to articulate and galvanise one's potentials to excel in what one does, and project oneself through mediated communication platforms (television, print, the Internet, etc.). In the performing arts generally, most artistes are recognised and appreciated when they appear on visual platforms, be they films, television series, advertisements, etc. In theatre, drama has grown exponentially because playwrights continue to churn out scripts for dramatists to produce with, either on stage or on screen, thereby creating stars and stardoms in the process. But the situation could hardly be said to be the same with the dance industry in Nigeria. Nigerian dance scholars prefer to write play scripts over libretti (dance scripts) for dance professionals to work with, thereby limiting and relegating the art to the background. This trend stifles the chances of dancers at stardom. It is within this context that this article reawakens the consciousness of dance scholars in Nigeria to endeavour to mitigate the challenge faced by choreographers, dance students, and other professionals in the industry who depend on them for practicable dance scripts (libretti) to produce with so that they too could achieve stardom like their counterparts in drama. It also considers the significance of the mass media in promoting an artiste's sturdiness to stardom. At the end, the paper suggests the inclusion of libretto writing in both the curricula of senior secondary and higher institutions of learning in Nigeria. It also recommends that the Society of Nigerian Theatre Artists (SONTA), the Association of Dance Scholars and Practitioners (ADSPON), and the Nigeria Universities Theatre Arts Festival (NUTAF) should introduce libretto based competitions and attractive prizes in their annual programmes.

Keywords: Stardom, Libretto, Media, Dance, Dancer, Nigeria.

Introduction

Recorded history of the origins of dance are believed to have been lost to antiquity because it is difficult or near impossible to cite its exact emergence. Dance art is as

old as humanity and forms an integral part of its cultural identity from conception. At birth, the rhythmic and choreographed punches and kicks of the baby's hands and legs, and movements of other parts of its body, as a crying infant heralding its arrival, all suggest the performative idea that human beings enter the world dancing. This art would continue into other stages and activities of human earthly sojourn, including recreation, relationships, procreation, work, festivals, and even death. The art of dance is an innate ability in humans. Though it is ephemeral in nature, it could have lasting effect on both the dancer and the audience because it utilitarian. Bakare (2000) affirms that dance does not exist in a vacuum but that it is all about making a statement; dance makes a statement that reechoes its communicative power. Dance exists in time and space, it is not a void activity, and it plays a vital role in the different stages of human's development.

Dance as an art form became a profession in 1661 during the reign of King Louis XIV of France, who himself was an amateur dancer but stopped dancing in 1670 after he became fat and middle-aged (Friedson, 1996). He established the first school of dance called the Academie Royale de Danse, a professional organisation for the masters to train professionals so as to develop skills that have been impossible for amateurs. However, many dancers, overtime, particularly in Nigeria established themselves professionally in the society visibly. These include scholars and academics who earned academic degrees in dance related disciplines, and core dance artistes who have made tremendous marks in different genres of dance across Nigeria and beyond. Some of the notable academics of dance are Chris Ugolo, Rasaki Ojo, Jeleel Ojuade, Mariam Iyeh, Peter Badejo, Arnold Udoka, Felix Emoruwa, Felix Akinsipe, Josephine Abbe, Damisa Suuru, Ifure Azorbo, Oluwatoyin Olokodana-James, among others. The core professionals include Shafau-

Ameh Kafilat (Kaffy), Dayo Liadi (Ijodee), Victor Phullu, among others. These dance experts have made immense contributions to the performing arts industry as individuals and as a block. However, there appears to be no strong synergy among them to actualise and normalise standard homegrown dance films or dance television series. It is worth noting that libretto, as an element of dance scripting, and also of dance pedagogy, is relatively new to the typical Nigerian dance environment. Hence, very little empirical works exist on it within the Nigerian context. This sordid and undeniable reality informed the necessity for a paper such as this.

Libretto and Dance: An Overview

The word "libretto" is synonymous to music but was adopted to dance. It is a notation in music that gives guide to the music instructor(s) on the note(s) to play and how to play such note (Aluede & Eregare, 2006). But in dance, it is a dance script that is written in sequences like prose. It is arranged in scenes with description of actions expected in such given scene(s). Many dance films have been produced and released in some countries reputed for professional dance based on strict libretto scripting. Although most of them are with (verbal) lines unlike the adopted ones in Nigeria which are without lines but gesture, posture, and dance demonstrations. Olalusi (2014) posits that:

> Dance libretto is not different from drama script and a music libretto in terms of end product, however, the concept and content is (sic) usually different considering the non-verbal nature of dance. Contextually, however, a dance libretto (together with its drama script and music libretto), should

necessarily possess a beginning, middle and end, hence, it should flow from the development of the plot, the point of crisis and the resolution. A dance libretto/script is not an artistic epistle, but rather, a compendium of creatively and chronologically arranged sequence that form a package. This package must exhibit movements, motifs and dance patterns that comfortably substitute for spoken words. (p. 3)

As a musicologist, Olalusi, T (2014, p. 19) further states that "a dance libretto is a written document of the storyline of a dance piece, whose performance result to a dance theatre; it is usually written in movement with a well sequenced plot structure, and clarity in the dissemination of certain information." Although the word "libretto" is alien to the African dance lexicon as earlier implied, adopting it into the African dance register was easy because Africans are known to adapt easily to trends that are relevant to their continued existence. This is founded on the notion that dance is inborn in Africans. Africans dance to/for everything, including death.

Akinwale cited in Akinsipe (2014) asserts that the writing of dance libretto for publishing is relatively emerging on Nigeria's dance art scene, while Ugolo, also cited in Akinsipe (2014), agrees that the writing of libretto itself is foreign to Africa. It is regarded as a western tradition. Dance, in another perspective, has been with the black race, and by many dimensions, has morphed from being a hobby to a profession and money spinner. Apart from being all these, dance has also moved beyond the ordinary, gaining grounds in many other areas of human endeavour. In this regard, Adeoye (2014) posits that: dance like the sea octopus with sprawling tentacles is the language of a constant universal art. Dance is not a hypothesis crafted in the mask of guessing. It is the reality of human existence. For dance in its entertaining power, reflective energy, cultural revisionism or didactic essence, celebrates a people's culture. In Africa, dance is the life wire and the undying living art in total theatre aesthetics (p. ix). Kraus Richard in his book *The Meaning of Dance: Basic Concept* claims that:

> Dance is a nearly universal behaviour with a history probably as old as humanity itself. Since antiquity, paintings, friezing, scripture, myths, oral expression and then literature attest to the existence of dance. Dance is embedded in our being. Even not physically manifest, the concept and vision of dance emerge in our thinking. The dynamics of dance culture and society are inseparably (1991, p. 11).

Therefore, if dance is all that Adeoye (2014) and Kraus (1991) described above, then the following questions would become necessary: Why is dance lagging behind every other genre of the theatre? Why are dancers not as famous or popular like film actors in Nigeria? The answers may not be farfetched. It may boil down to the suspicion that the enterprise of dance is not adequately and visibly promoted on social media, mainstream media (prints, TV, films, bill boards) and other mediated visual platforms where dancers' stardom could be eloquently realised. Dance scholars on their own part appear not to be proactive to the sensibilities of the dance profession or of dance artistes; they prefer to write plays more than they do libretti. Again, Akinsipe (2014) would say of this development that:

One of the reasons why the dance art has lagged behind in the Nigerian theatre is the lack of written and published dance libretti. Most Nigerian choreographers have created works from their unwritten ideas or at most mere sketches from paper, which are usually dumped. Once these ideas are fully passed to the dancer, such works are not documented and made available for other choreographers to use. It is the belief of this writer that this attitude should stop forthwith. (p. 8)

Felix Akinsipe, for now, could be the only dance scholar who has either done a compilation of dance libretti in his book *Talking Bodies: A Collection of Dance Librettos* (Akinsipe, 2003) or taken the bull by the horns to harvest dance scripts from colleagues in the academy for documentation. If only Nigerian dance scholars and professionals would emulate Akinsipe to write libretti, dancers in Nigeria would have scripts to fall back to as guides and in turn contribute to their stardom through pre-scripted productions. That it was high time that choreographers, scholars, and dancers in Nigeria came together and evolved a dance film culture of global standard and based on libretti, so as to expose their arts to limelight, could not have been stated more frankly.

Dancers should also endeavour to promote their art on social media and any available mediated platforms. Apart from Shafau-Ameh Kafilat (Kaffy) and Dayo Liadi who became popular through national and international screens as adjudicators on *Maltina Dance Show*, *It Takes Two*, etc., and which projected them to limelight, they and their skills might have still remained obscure, probably only popular on their streets and to their acquaintances. These platforms projected and *extended* them (McLuhan in Griffin, 2012) beyond their immediate environments to heterogeneous audiences across the globe, which made them more economically and more commercially viable to both themselves and to their promoters. This prods one's curiosity to wonder how many Nigerians even knew or heard of dance professors of Nigerian origins apart from their students. Incidentally, and maybe unfortunately, most of them seem more popular for their written plays and not libretti, a development which is to the detriment of their supposed immediate constituency - dance.

Mediated Communication and Dance Promotion

Mass media are platforms that present larger than life experiences for both the performer and the audience. The embellishment, exaggeration, especially in creative and fictional contents, characterise their dynamic reception and consumption by audience. They recreate social realities and place them within specific frames of meaning and perceptions, which are mostly driven by a given set of agenda (Galadima, 2010, p. 42) and achieved through media texts. These texts, which are recorded images, words, sounds, etc., create certain impressions in the minds of audiences about subjects and people, projected through mediated communication platforms (Entman, 2002, p. 291). Film, which embodies most of these texts, is a powerful tool that changes perceptions, educate, and amuse even the most unwilling and the most unenthused of audiences.

Looking at it through another prism, it makes a virtual nobody into a great star almost overnight through recreated social reality. Film changes the fortunes of whomever it projects, conferring on them a popularity status that is larger than life. Dance, just like film, performs similar functions in the society and in the lives of performers. In some

societies, where every skill and talent is appreciated and nurtured to thrive, dance serves as a sole means of fulfilled livelihood for individuals who take it up as their professional career. Scholars, educators, researchers, and practitioners in this sector in those climes bask in the unimaginable opportunities that come with their stock-in-trade. Interestingly, the quantum of economic contribution of the dance industry in such societies is very visible. Consequently, the industry is not relegated to the background or stifled. It is rebranded, marketed, and commercialised through various social media platforms.

The dance industry in Nigeria is believed to have assumed a commercial dimension, beyond just being a cultural and entertainment apparatus even though not living up to its full potential. According to Iorngurum and Tsevende (2013, p. 50), the "Nigerian society may have embraced the place of dance in its national endeavours as a platform for cultural preservation, unity, and harmony, whilst providing a fulltime career opportunity for the performing personae. Hence, Nigeria, it appears, has prepared itself for using dance heritage for national pursuits of unification, peace, and trade." Commendable as this assertion may be, it still begs for answers to some fundamental questions: To what purpose and at what cost are these to the dancer in Nigeria? Are these achievements made with tools (dancers) that are later discarded at the dressing room only to be picked when next they are needed? Do they have a face like their counterparts in other genres of the creative and entertainment industry like the movies, music, drama, etc.? These salient questions should perturb the mind of the concerned Nigerian dancer. The attention given to the film industry is so great that it has almost become synonymous with the term "entertainment" in the Nigerian context. If a fraction of such chance were given to the dance industry in Nigeria, many a dancer would be on top of their game, and the stardom they crave for would drop on their laps.

The Nigerian Dancer's Stardom through the Mass Media

An entertainment star's image consists of promotion, publicity, filming, criticisms, and commentary. This *mix* was initially designed as a model to determine a film star's image (Margiotta, 2012). This, arguably, may be adaptable in this paper to the dancer as a visual entertainer. Hence, two of these mixes – promotion and publicity – suffice in this regard. The first, *promotion*, refers to contents purposely created to support the image of an entertainer. This consists of elements like announcements, news releases, fan club, publications, photographs, advertisements, product endorsements, and public appearances (Machin, 2004; Kinsky & Callison, 2009). It can also be defined as "the coordination of all seller-initiated efforts to set up channels of information and persuasion in order to sell goods and services or promote an idea" (Belch & Belch, 2003, p.16).

Image promotion presupposes that the film or musical design should encompass the dancer's image just like it does those of traditional actors and musicians. It should be consistent with the holistic image management design for the material in question so as to launder the image of the dancer to the public. A dancer can be advertised just like any other product since their services are consumed by audiences (Belch & Belch, 2003). The dancer can be embellished to sell through promotional messages just as they are used to market political candidates during election seasons, deal with societal problems, promote causes, and sell services.

Publicity, the second, is the influence of the news media on the dancer's image. These are contents generated about an artiste and disseminated in newsprints, on the

Internet, and other platforms of mass mediated communication. Beyond what the artistes present in form of their products and services, audiences are likely to be interested in other things that happen around and about the them, both good and ugly. This has imprints in conventional and nonconventional journalism (gossips, yellow journalism, etc.). Margiotta (2012) believes that the personality must enjoy some prominence and the events around them must have consequence. Publicity is what the press publishes about a star. This type of media text can be found in newspapers, magazines, television, interviews, gossip columns, and basically any other publishable medium…. Publicity is important for a star's image because it appeals to the public as being more authentic representation of the star…. Publicity can have either a positive or negative effect. (Margiotta, 2012, p. 8). In addition, publicity also means non-personal communications by that concern a product, a service, an organisation or an idea, not directly paid for or run under an identified sponsor (Belch & Belch, 2003). The dancer is presented with a potential mass market which they desire to access.

The implication is that, since this media (or marketing) mix is crucial to currying public goodwill for the dancer, the dancer requires good human and public relations to achieve it. That is, it is a form of campaign not-paid-for directly, but also not necessarily free. The dancer is made to enjoy a favourable coverage on his products, services, and personality. Because publicity has more credibility among other advantages over other media mixes, it makes audience less doubtful towards favourable coverage of the dance performer. Instruments like news releases, press conferences, feature articles, videotapes, films, and photographs are employed to achieve this mix.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It would be worthy if Nigerian dance scholars emulated people like Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, Femi Osofisan, and Ahmed Yerima who have individually contributed to the field of acting through their numerous plays, proses, and poetry, which are readily available for the actors to explore. Yet, they are still prolific despite their achievements. This is a clarion call on Nigerian dance scholars to come out of their shells and put to paper libretti like the Felix Akinsipes are doing. Libretti are necessary and important at this point in Nigeria's cultural history when cultural goods are having direct impact on nations' economies and their per capital incomes as exportable commodities. No aspect of the performing arts is too insignificant to be neglected, much less libretti writing. If nothing is done now, the art within the Nigerian context will surely die! And by extension, our dances would be further reduced to empty movements in dark vacuums, which will usher in a slow but steady decline towards the extinction of some aspects of our cultures represented through dance. Anything short of this, the stardom or fame the Nigerian dancer seeks might become worse than a mirage and will forever remain at the ebb in the Nigerian theatre mix.

The paper recommends that:

1. *Introduction to Libretto Writing*, or a semblance of it, should be taught at the senior secondary school level in Nigeria in their music and dance classes/clubs;

2. At the tertiary education level, *Libretti Writing*, just like Playwriting and other forms of theatrical scripting courses, should be taken as a core course from the first to the final years of undergraduate studies by Theatre

Arts students in Nigeria. This, the paper believes, would ignite the needed passion in tertiary learners who would become more successful at it than previous generations;

3. The Society of Nigerian Theatre Artists (SONTA), the Association of Dance Scholars and Practitioners (ADSPON), and the Nigeria Universities Theatre Arts Festival (NUTAF) should incorporate robust libretto writing competitions during their weeks, with attractive prizes attached to them. This competition and reward system is a strategy that would spur heighted interest in libretto writing in the younger the generations of theatre artists in Nigeria. With this in mind, every entry should enjoy a prize, whether they win or not in the competitions. This will drive a new normal that would make libretti writing commonplace among Theatre Arts scholars in Nigeria;

4. Mounting whole academic dance departments in Nigerian tertiary institutions, or even establishing whole dance institutions should deal with all aspects of dance, covering rudimentary, intermediate, and professional needs of the industry.

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The Value of Development and Participatory Communication in Public Policies for Nigeria's Good Governance

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Abstract

This article examines the value of development of and participatory communication in public policies for Nigeria's good governance. The ability to communicate effectively with others distinguishes a successful government business, because communication skills are vital to the success of the workplace. Indeed, the ability to communicate effectively with customers, co-workers, subordinates, and supervisors and the governed generally is a *sine qua non* in government operations. This paper recommends that government should build capacities in the various communication mechanisms and tools and deploy a combination of appropriate technologies and skills to support their own public service delivery systems; government should invest in the human resources and infrastructure necessary to consult, inform, and persuade citizens about processes that, in turn, enable

constituents to engage in meaningful and informed participation whenever they choose them to also do so; governments should engage in effective two-way communication with various constituencies to enable the populace the opportunity of interrogating their policies, programmes and activities.

Keywords: Public communication, Nigeria's good governance, Government offices, Government communication capacity, Strategic and effective communication.

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Introduction

In the past, regular offline and social media platforms have been awash with comments, credited to President Muhammadu Buhari's media handlers, defending his government. In one instance, in a response to critics, Mr. Femi Adesina, the Special Assistant on Media to President, said that 'the number of deaths in this present administration is nothing to be compared to the figures of the 16 years of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). In another breath, the minister of information also quipped that the killings under this administration are less than those that occured during the All Progressives Congress' (APC) administration. At other times, public officers singing different tunes about policies, programmes, and activities, have also spent most of their time communicating ineffectively and damaging their legitimacy by pitting one arm of government against the other. This paper considers the capacity to communicate effectively with constituents a fundamental function of modern governance as the success and sustainability of efforts to strengthen public sector systems and processes depend largely on legitimate public authority (Centre for the Future State, 2010). The legitimacy of public authority can be earned through good governance, defined by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DID) as a demonstrated ability to "get things done" in ways that are responsive to citizens' needs, while being open to public criticism and scrutiny. Legitimacy is also usually earned by leaders who possess the ability to communicate a clear vision for the country as well as the policy choices and trade-offs they have made on the public's behalf. Integral to the goal of legitimacy is the capacity to carry out two-way communication with citizens in a meaningful and ongoing manner especially on government policies and programmes.

Here it should be noted that a government's communication capacity is not just about efficient and effective information dissemination but also the ability to "push out" information when necessary. A government's willingness and ability to speak with its citizens must be coupled with a willingness and ability to listen to them, incorporate their needs and preferences into the policy process, and engage local patterns of influence and trusted sources of information. Sources of information intermediaries include opinion leaders and various forms of media at the national and local levels. In today's national contexts, which include local jurisdictions with sizable populations, the skillful use of multiple modes of mediated communication is a necessary condition for local stakeholders to cultivate a sense of ownership of and engagement in the political process. The legitimacy of public authority, therefore, requires an effective government communication capacity. Capacity gaps in this crucial aspect of effective governance, however, are seldom addressed in development communication literature, and operational practices. Advancing basic definitions and key dimensions (including a rudimentary framework and draft

diagnostic tool) and raising critical issues, this study links government communication capacity, legitimate public authority, and good governance seeks to help to mitigate these shortcomings.

The Need for Government Offices to Constantly Communicate

The task of all government offices is to prepare government business and assist the government and ministers in their activities. The overall goal of any government office is to be an effective and competent instrument for the government in its task of governance and the implementation of its policies. In the activities, communication plays a pivotal role. Government offices focus on the fundamental values of the government 's administration of democracracy, namely the rule of law. Its efficiency is powered by its communication processes, for how well a democracy functions is determined to a great extent by the knowledge of the citizens and their access to facts, assessments of consequences, positions, and arguments. Transparency, knowledge, and dialogue help create understanding and legitimacy. Government offices have a democratic responsibility to communicate both internally and externally, because the citizens are the employers of government officials, and officials hold offices in trust for the citizens.

Requirements regarding government agencies' external communication include the principle of public access to official documents (including the rules on public access to official documents); the language act's requirement of simple, comprehensible, and considered writing; and regulations about making information accessible to people with disabilities and the vulnerable groups such as women and children. The limitations of the government offices communication remit are not always self-evident. There is a boundary between the government offices and other central government agencies. Responsibility for communication should stem from operational responsibility. When operational responsibility for a given issue is transferred to a government agency, communication responsibility for that issue follows. To function well, this requires good dialogue to be maintained between the government offices and the agencies concerned. Another important practice divides government policy and party politics. Communication by the government offices is based on its mandate to assist the Government and its ministers in their roles as government representatives and not as party representatives.

External communication primarily concerns government policy and the work of the ministers. Occasionally, the government offices also need to communicate externally about its activities, for example, in its capacity as an employer. To enable government employees to carry out their office work in an efficient manner, good internal communication is required. Good internal communication helps increase skills and creates motivated and committed employees.

How Government Offices Should Communicate

All communication at the government offices is based on the core values of transparency, factualness, comprehensibility, relevance and timeliness. Transparency is a prerequisite for a well-functioning democracy. Transparency includes being accessible, listening, and inviting discourse and dialogue. For example, important information, when deemed possible and appropriate, is made public before it is formally requested; information is made available quickly, in accordance with applicable regulations and after the accuracy of the content has been verified; dialogue is used as a complement to information; and

information is made accessible to everyone, with consideration given to those who need extra support to avail them of it.

Factualness and comprehensibility are prerequisites for credible communication. Communication also must be related to the mandate of the Government and the Government Offices. It must be adapted to the target groups concerned. Its message sand the choice of channels are based on an analysis of the different needs and knowledge of the target groups. In short, the language employed must be straightforward, comprehensible, considered, and presented in an informative way; its focus should lie in explaining policy, its context, and its practical significance for those it affects. Communication based on the Government Offices mandate assists the Government and its ministers in their roles as government representatives and not as party representatives.

The Importance of Communication in Government Administration

Communication in administration generally is very important as people in organizations need to communicate to co-ordinate their work and to inform others outside their businesses about their products and services. The ability to communicate effectively with others is an important attribute of a successful government business. Communication skills are vital to success in the workplace. The ability to communicate effectively with customers, co-workers, subordinates, and supervisors is a *sine qua non* in government career advancement.

It is important to state that job skills alone do not ensure success in government business. The ability to communicate well with supervisors, customers, and co-workers is very important. Communication skills in the form of a written document or a conversation

reflect on the staff and government organizations, for the impressions customers and business associates form are important and lasting. In paerticular, communication with others determines their opinion of overall competence and integrity. Staff may be extremely intelligent, talented, and knowledgeable but if they lack communication skills your organization can be affected adversely. As well, it is very important to communicate well in writing, because many people judge the abilities and intelligence of staff by the accuracy of spelling, punctuation, and grammar, and contexts of meaning. Memo, letters, and written reports must demonstrate the ability to communicate properly.

Being ethical when communicating is also very important. People evaluate the competency and judge the integrity of the communications tht they receive. If one promises to do things but fails to do so, if one makes statements that are not factual, if one makes untruthful comments about others, or if one is careless in his/her writing, people would become hesitant to work with him/her. When an employee communicates, he/she represents the organization. Customers or clients evaluate that organization based on their interactions with him/her. Marilyn L. Satterwhite remarks in *Business Communication at Work* (2nd Edition) that "goodwill is the positive feeling or attitude that you show or that customers have about a business that encourages customer loyalty" (n.p). Eployees can strengthen or destroy that goodwill because of the manner in which they communicate. To present oneself well in writing not only means projecting a favorable image of the organization; it also means promoting successful business operations internally and externally.

The Advantages of Communication in Administrative Circles

Written communication (for example, letters, memos, reports, e-mails, and faxes); Oral communications (for example,. one-on-one meetings, phone conversations, speeches, video conferencing, and group meetings); Non-verbal communications (for example, eye contact, facial expressions, body language, and physical appearance); Active listening (for example, listening with a high level of concentration and listening for information) need to be highly effective in administrative circles. T.S.P. N'yel (2006) observes that communication is an instrument for social interaction, a tool for understanding others, and a means by keeping in touch with people. It also assists in establishing, extending and maintaining relationships, by giving orientation to staff and spelling out the goals of an organization. Communication is the lubricant that keeps the machinery of an organization running and is the means by which roles are identified and assigned. No organization can survive without effective communication. To enrich communication and make it effective, the following activities should be carefully followed:

i. Clarifying ideas before communicating. Good communication requires good planning. Thinking through the message and considering who will be receiving or affected by the message is vital.

ii. Examining the true purpose of each communication. Asking what really needs tp be accomplished, whether it is to obtain information, initiate action or influence someone's behavior. Messages should be prepared to reflect their purposes.

iii. Considering the total physical or human setting.Taking into account not only what is to be said but also the timing, physical setting, and social climate involved is important.

iv. Consulting with others in planning communications. Effective communication allows others to participate.

v. Being aware of the tone of your message. The tone or voice, expression, body language, and receptivity of the message has a tremendous impact on those the message reaches.

vi. Taking every opportunity to communicate something helful or valuable to the receiver.

vii. Following up on communications. Asking and encouraging questions will help communicators learn if they have succeeded in expressing their meanings and intentions. Allowing for feedback in all communications is important.

viii. Communicating for tomorrow as well as today. Communication should be planned to serve the receiver's immediate needs as well as long-term interests and goals.

ix. Making sure actions support words. The most persuasive communication is not what you say but what you do.

x. Be a good listener. Often time when communication starts or is ongoing some people cease to listen.

xi. Concentrating on what is being said.

xii. Being an active listener by listening with a great deal of concentration.

To make listening effective, the communicator should make eye contact, use

positive body language, use the person's name, and paraphrase what is said. Proper eye contact expresses interest and empathy. The use of positive body language expresses one's concern and willingness to be involved. Using a person's name demonstrates a positive relationship and interest on the communicator's part and also get the receiver's attention. Paraphrasing or repeating what is said shows that the issues have been correctly understood.

Possible Challenges of Communication in Government Administration

As the business world changes, workers are faced with communication challenges. Some of the challenges may be due to increased use of technology, increased global competition, restructured management, increased quality emphasis and customer focus, and increased focus on legal and ethical problems. Such challenges will influence communication processes within government organizations. Technology has had the greatest impact on how communication is accomplished. Electronic mail, voice mail, teleconferences, computer network, fax machines, and the internet have expanded the methods of communicating. More workers talk to each other and share data as they use various technologies to search for, collect, prepare, and report information. Computers are also used for activities such as group problem solving, consensus building, and group projects.

Technological advancements have changed the world in which government businesses operate. In our global economy, government business done electronically is known as e-government. To compete in the global market,business communications should be couched in good grammar. Slang, jargon, and acronyms need to be eliminated. Organizations must become aware of the unique communication processes and

peculiarities of different cultures, especially in these days of Fulani Herdsmen attacks, Boko Haram, and cattle rustling in parts of Northern Nigeria. Because many organizations have restructured and invested in increased technology, their employees should be trained or retrained to be able to be abreast of them. This comes with costs. Increasing technological advancement places greater emphasis on ethical and legal concerns for all employees throughout an organization. Workers should strive to comply with their oraganization's rules and regulations in their communications. Working together adds a new dimension to the communication skills needed in all government businesses. Previously, most communications were developed individually. Now, several staff may have to work together in creating various documents and communications, a process which requires additional written and oral skills.

Mass Media and Policy-Making in Governance

Mass media can, and often do, play a critical role in policymaking. Typically, media is seen to matter in the early stages of the policy process—media can help to set an agenda, which is then adopted and dealt with by politicians, policymakers, and other actors. The impact of media, however, is rarely so constrained. The argument here is that media matters not just at the beginning but throughout the policy process. Many of the standard accounts of policymaking have a much too narrow view of the timing of media's effects. That being said, the ways in which mass media can matter are relatively well understood. Existing work tells us that media can draw and sustain public attention to particular issues. Media can change the discourse around a policy debate by framing or defining an issue using dialogue or rhetoric to persuade or dissuade the public. Media can establish

the nature, sources, and consequences of policy issues in ways that fundamentally change not just the attention paid to those issues, but also the different types of policy solutions sought. Media can draw attention to the players involved in the policy process and can aid, abet, or hinder their causes by highlighting their roles in policymaking. Media can also act as a critical conduit between governments and the public, informing the public about government actions and policies and helping to convey public attitudes to government officials.

Allowing for the possibility that any and all of these effects can be evident not just in the early stages but throughout the policy process demonstrates the powerful impact that media has on policy. Indeed, mass media are in the unique position of having regular, marked impacts on policy, from outside the formal political sphere, often without being recognized as a policy player. Clearly, media matter to policy, especially throughout the policy process, and in many different ways. Is this a good thing? It's inevitable surely—it is nearly impossible to imagine modern politics and policymaking without some kind of media involvement. The considerable body of work that criticizes the nature and tone of media content on policy issues raises serious questions about the potential for and difficulties with the role of mass media in policymaking. First, work in political communication routinely offers largely critical assessments of the ability of news content to contribute to informed public debate, particularly with respect to television news. Particularly, biases in reporter coverage and the use of active conflict frames – key journalistic tools in other areas of media coverage – are highlighted as important constraints. Studies fault reporters for focusing on the trivial, for being too closely tied to official sources, for not providing their viewers with enough context to understand

contentious policy options, for their biases, and for a lack of technical proficiency in the matters about which they write (Entman, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Iyengar 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Larson, 2001; McChesney 1999; Patterson 1994).

Research has also questioned the possibility that journalistic norms serve to create misleading news stories. Coverage of environmental issues stands as one example of this phenomenon. Even with major issues that have been repeatedly featured in the media, such as the global warming debate, scholars note that attempting to provide roughly equal treatment of both sides of a story can "distort" the reality of widespread scientific agreement regarding climate change (Boykoff, 2005). Rather than focus on the preponderance of scientific evidence that supports the global warming hypothesis, scholars argue that U.S. news reports have tended to give roughly equal weight to skeptics with little peer-reviewed evidence (Boykoff, 2005; Mooney, 2004).

Other journalistic norms may also reduce the likelihood of effective/informative policy discussion in mass media. Reporters often prefer conflict frames to increase news consumer interest, but the news reports that emerge often lack sufficient context (Iyengar, 1991; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Emphasizing the conflict frame of environmental debates , for instance, decreases public awareness of the scientific consensus regarding the existence of human-triggered climate change (Corbett & Durfee, 2008; Nisbet & Myers, 2007). Content analyses of climate change news in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, **the** *Los Angeles Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* from 1998 through 2002 suggest that journalistic attempts to be even-handed have sown far greater public doubts about global warming than exist within the scientific community (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007). Studies of television news have found that these attempts to provide balance in stories

made scientific findings on climate change appear to the public as far more tentative than they actually were (Boykoff, 2007a).

Good communication to promote service in governance ensures that the government is heard. Government can then influence its environment according to its own goals and requirements. In general, effective communication governance achieves the following: it positively influences decision-making by presenting a strong point of view and developing mutual understanding; it delivers efficient decisions and solutions by providing accurate, timely, and relevant information; it enables mutually beneficial solutions; it builds healthy relationships by encouraging trust and understanding.

Taking control of the communication process avoids missed opportunities and prevents sending out messages that undermine government service or create misunderstanding. To raise the profile of its service, government needs to clearly communicate its nature and purpose; presenting a defined aspiration and a clearly evidenced track record in a way that is relevant to the audience it is talking to and the context. Good communication ensures that all service staff in the relevant ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) are sending out the same messages. This avoids confusion and creates a clear overall message. In the area of content and timing of effective communication there are several vital elements to consider:

1) KISS - keep it short and simple. The message must be clear, concise and complete. Be sure that the audience has the full message particularly as you may only have one opportunity to put over your message. The content of the message must be factually accurate. The message can be a mix of factual and psychological aspects to give the message its full impact, rather than presenting just dry facts or being overly emotional in style. The message should be relevant to the concerns of the audience.

2) The language should be appropriate to the audience and communication medium. Avoid technical jargon unless talking to another professional and be positive and focused on solutions rather than listing problems. The language should invite participation and engagement where it is appropriate. Using the right medium for the intended audience, the context, and the desired response, for example, when reporting to a portfolio holder, would you send a formal report or a text? Pick the right person/stakeholder to send out the message – for example, the chief executive will have more impact on trustees than a junior member of staff. The message also must be sent at the right time to enable the audience to have time to understand and act on it.

3) Listening is key to the communication process. It allows for a full understanding of the other party and what their response is to your point of view. Good listening is vital for building strong relationships in the governance business. To be a good listener means to fully understand and constructively respond to what the other party is communicating. It is imperative to bear in mind that sometimes people seem to be giving one answer when they actually mean another or are wanting to say something else, but feel unable to do so. This can occur in any communication scenario—face-to-face or remote, instant or over a longer time period, with one person or a group. Therefore, core listening skills such as the following can improve government-populace relationships in both the medium and long term basis if the other party has your full attention. In their presence look at them directly, don't do other activities such as doodling. Try to understand their body language. Encourage them to speak. Ask open-ended questions. Show that you are genuinely listening by nodding and repeating back what they have said but in your own

words. Acknowledge their feelings. Ask for clarification when you do not understand. Do not judge—try to understand their point of view, rather than immediately applying your own preconceptions about the respondent. Do not interrupt—let the other party make their response fully before you react. Give them time to express their point of view. Be cautious when expressing your opinion. If it is clearly not appropriate, don't express it. Being timely in your reaction to the other party's responses to your messages is important. This is particularly true with communication that is not verbal.

How to Create an Effective Message in the Governance Process

While creating your message you need to think carefully about each audience or 'stakeholder' and how he or she fits into your goal. First, clearly define your goal (you might want to look at tinstructions about how to write a mission statement, and understand plans, policies, and procedures). Next identify the stakeholders that are affected by working towards the goal and use stakeholder mapping. Then identify how important their support is to the success of your project. Once you know who you are communicating with and what level of support you are seeking from them, you need to consider their perspectives. Assess their current attitudes towards the goal. Your audiences can be classified as the following:

Advocate - actively promotes your goal to others.

Supporter - works to forward your goal.

Neutral - has no opinion and does not proactively work for or against the goal.

Critic - has concerns about the goal.

Blocker - seeks to prevent the goal being achieved.

Try to assess the stakeholder's own sphere of influence, interests, concerns, and timetables, whether they are financial control, personnel management, or marketing to a particular group. With this information about the stakeholder, you can then decide what action you want them to take as a result of the communication and how to frame the message you need to deliver.

Agenda Setting in Public Policy and the Agenda-setting Process in Governance

Agenda setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and elite attention. Group competition to set the agenda is fierce, because no society or political institutions have the capacity to address all the possible alternatives to all the possible problems that arise at any one time (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988). Groups therefore must compete to earn their issues' places among all the other issues sharing the limited space on the agenda or prepare for the time when a crisis makes their issue more likely to occupy a more prominent place in the agenda. Even when an issue gains attention, groups must fight to ensure that their depiction of the issue remains in the forefront and that their preferred approaches to the problem are those that are most actively considered. They do so for the reasons cited by Schattschneider: the group that successfully describes a problem will also be the one that defines the solutions to it, thereby prevailing in policy debates. At the same time, groups fight to keep issues off the agenda; indeed, such blocking action is as important as the affirmative act of attempting to gain attention (Cobb & Ross, 1997).

Central to understanding agenda setting is the meaning of the term *agenda*. An

agenda is a collection of problems, understandings of causes, symbols, solutions, and other elements of public problems that come to the attention of members of the public and their governmental officials. An agenda may be as concrete as a list of bills that are before a legislature, but also may include a series of beliefs about the existence and magnitude of these problems and whether they should be addressed by government, the private sector, non-profit organizations, or through joint action by some or all of these institutions. Agendas exist at all levels of government. Every community and every body of government—Congress, a state legislature, a county commission—has a collection of issues that are available for discussion and disposition, or that are being actively considered. All these issues can be categorized based on the extent to which an institution is prepared to make an ultimate decision to enact and implement or to reject particular policies. Furthest from *enactment* are issues and ideas contained in the *systemic agenda*, which contains any idea that can be considered by participants in the policy process. Some ideas fail to reach this agenda, because they are politically unacceptable in a particular society.

Cobb and Elder claim that "the systemic agenda consists of all issues that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority." The boundary between the systemic agenda and the agenda universe represents the limit of the "legitimate jurisdiction of existing governmental authority" (Cobb & Elder, 1983, p. 85). That boundary can move in or out to accommodate more or fewer ideas over time. For example, ideas to establish programs to alleviate economic suffering have waxed and waned when the national mood was expansive toward the poor, as it was

during the 1960s, or less compassionate, as during the 1990s.

If a problem or idea is successfully elevated from the systemic agenda, it moves to the institutional agenda, a subset of the broader systemic agenda. The institutional agenda is "that list of items explicitly up for the active and serious consideration of authoritative decision makers" (Cobb & Elder, 1983, pp. 85–86) The limited amount of time or resources available to any institution or society means that only a limited number of issues is likely to reach the institutional agenda (Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988; O'Toole, 1989). However, institutions can increase their carrying capacity and can address more issues simultaneously (Baumgartner & Jones, 2004; Talbert & Potoski, 2002), either when there are many pressing issues, or when resources or technology are available to manage this increased load.

Even with this increased carrying capacity, relatively few issues reach the decision agenda, which contains items that are about to be acted upon by a governmental body. Bills, once they are introduced and heard in committee, are relatively low on the decision agenda until they are reported to the whole body for a vote. Notices of proposed rule-making in the Federal Register are evidence of an issue or a problem's elevation to the decision agenda in the executive branch. Conflict may be greatest at this stage, because when a decision is reached at a particular level of government, it may trigger conflict that expands to another or higher level of government. If conflict continues and expands, its expansion is often a key goal of many interest groups. The goal of most contending parties in the policy process is to move policies from the systemic agenda to the institutional agenda or to prevent issues from reaching the institutional agenda, implying that, except for the agenda universe, the agenda and each level within it are finite, and no society or

political system can address all the possible alternatives to all the possible problems that can arise at any time. While the carrying capacity of the agenda may change, the agenda carrying capacity of any institution ultimately has a ceiling. Interests must compete with each other to get their issues and their preferred interpretations of these issues on the agenda.

Even when a problem is on the agenda, there may be a considerable amount of controversy and competition over how to define the problem, including the causes of the problem and the policies that would most likely solve the problem. For example, after the 1999 Columbine High school shootings, the issue of school violence quickly rose to national prominence, and to a much greater extent than that which had existed after other incidents of school violence. School violence was on the agenda: the real competition involved depictions of school violence as well as lax parenting, easy access to guns, lack of parental supervision, and the influence of popular culture (TV, movies, and video games) on high school students. The conversation about *why* Columbine happened and *what* could have been done to prevent it was quite fierce, more so than the competition between school violence and the other issues vying for attention at the time (Lawrence & Birkland, 2004).

Talking about political power in agenda-setting, the ability of groups—acting singly or, more often, in coalition with other groups—to influence policy, is not simply a function of who makes the most persuasive argument, either from a rhetorical or empirical perspective. We know intuitively that some groups are more powerful than others, in the sense that they are better able to influence the outcomes of policy debates. When we think of power, we might initially think how people, governments, and powerful groups in society can compel people to do things, often against their will. In a seminal article in the *American Political Science Review*, Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz argue that this sort of power—the ability of actor A to cause actor B to do things—is one of two faces of power. The other face is the ability to keep a person from doing what he or she wants to do. Instead of being a coercive power, the second face is a blocking power.

Recommendations

This paper has offered a hands-on approach to development professionals—particularly governance and public sector specialists who manage and support reform efforts—to help them consider the potential contributions of government communication capacity to their own efforts, regardless of the level of government or the sector focus. Government communication capacity is linked with good governance outcomes. Success or failure in the creation and exercise of public authority, with the aid of government communication efforts, can be gauged according to the prescriptions laid out in this paper to attain broader public sector objectives through strategic and effective communication. It is recommended that:

1) the extent to which leaders and governments are able to get things done be essentially communication-driven;

2) public bodies and institutions responses to the needs of citizens and upholding of their rights depend essentially on the extent to which relevant government institutions wield the communication apparatuses and media available to them;

3) the ability of citizens, civil society, and the private sector to scrutinize public institutions and governments and to hold them to account receive substantial

communication support;

4) relationships be drawn among good governance characteristics, subcomponents of those characteristics closely related to government communication capacity, desired outcomes of effective government communication, and some suggested communication mechanisms and tools for the delivery of good governance to the governed;

5) government build capacities in the various communication mechanisms and tools and deploy a combination of appropriate technologies and impressive skills in supporting their own public service delivery systems;

6) government invest in the human resources and infrastructure necessary to consult, inform, and persuade citizens, processes that, in turn, enable constituents to engage in meaningful and informed participation whenever they choose to do so;

7) government engage in effective two-way communication with various constituencies. This would offer the populace the opportunity of interrogating their policies, programmes, and activities.

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Covid-19 Crisis and Female Gender-Based Violence: Issues and Challenges for Nigeria

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Abstract

Across the globe there have been reports of increased gender-based domestic violence (GBV) since the onset of the Covid-19 crisis. The situation in Nigeria reflects this global trend. Preliminary information from 24 states in Nigeria shows that in March 2020, the total number of GBV incidents reported were 346, while in the first part of April 2020, incident reports spiked to 794, depicting a 56 percent increase in just two weeks of lockdown. Conversely, in the Ebonyi State of Nigeria, where the governor refused to enforce a total lockdown, the number of cases decreased over the same period. Some of these incidents of violence against women have tragically resulted in the death of the

victims, while rape and assault has exacerbated their extreme poverty. The challenges of this situation range from lack of a comprehensive legal framework for managing Covid-19, to weak implementation of legislation on GBV, to the lack of a central GBV data collection mechanism to inform the short and long-term national response to inadequate access to justice. Drawing from global best practices, the paper recommends the establishment of a comprehensive law for managing Covid-19 and the enforcement of laws to fight GBV in Nigeria.

Keywords: Covid-19, Gender-based violence, Nigeria, Women and girls, Enforcement of laws.

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Introduction

Gender Based Violence (GBV) is not gender specific and according to the European Institute for Gender Equality, its victims are mostly women and adolescent girls (Umukoro, 2020). GBV refers to both violence against women and girls as well as occurrences of violence directed towards persons on the basis of their gender with detrimental impacts on victims, survivors, families, communities, and societies. There exist some disturbing statistics: to wit, domestic violence is a global problem that affects 35% of women worldwide; as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male partner. Globally, around 137 women are killed by their partners or a family member every day; 200 million women and girls have experienced female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C); and each year, 15 million girls are married before the age of 18. That results in

28 girls every minute being victims of BVG. As many as 150 million girls worldwide are raped or subject to sexual violence each year, usually by someone in their family circles. There are 5,000 so-called honour killings reported every year around the world. Experts estimate that the actual number of "honour" killings is much higher. Globally, 30% of women have reported that their first sexual experience was forced. Women between the ages of 15 and 44 are at a higher risk of rape and domestic violence than cancer, car accidents, malaria, or being injured in war (Zafar, 2020).

The rise of GBV in Nigeria during the Covid-19 crisis will continue to have life-threatening consequences for women and girls and profoundly impact their opportunities and life trajectories. The effects of this GBV include death, urinary tract infections, genital injuries, injuries, untimed/unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections including HIV, pelvic pain, fistula, pregnancy complications, and chronic conditions. Mental health impacts for the survivors of gender-based violence include Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, substance misuse, self-harm and suicidal behavior, and sleep disturbances. In addition, a survivor of GBV may also suffer from stigma and face rejection from her community and family. This orgy of violence led to protests by activists both online and at in-person rallies, propelling the Governors of Nigeria's 36 states unanimously to declare a state of emergency on GBV in June 2020. There is no data for women who have experienced emotional, psychological abuse, but anecdotal evidence suggests that those figures are likely more considerable than physical violence (Onyemelukwe, 2016).

The Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2018 (NDHS, 2018), released recently, states that among women aged 15-49, 31% have experienced physical violence

and nine per cent (9) have experienced sexual violence. The survey further states that physical violence and sexual violence may not occur in isolation; rather, women may experience a combination of different forms of violence. Overall, 33% of women aged 15-49 in Nigeria have experienced physical or sexual violence: of those, 24% experienced only physical violence, 2% experienced only sexual violence, and 7% experienced both physical and sexual violence (Ogwezzy-Ndisika, 2020). Furthermore, a survey published by NOI Polls in July 2019 suggested that up to one in every three girls living in Nigeria will have experienced at least one form of sexual abuse by the time they reach the age of 25 (Nextier SPD, 2020). Even the Nigeria's Minister for Women Affairs and Social Development has claimed that about two million Nigerians (mainly women and girls) are raped every year (WHO, 2020). This figures does not account for those who are easily captured and turned into sex slaves and violated at will. For example, on May 7, 2013, insurgents seized 4 women and 8 children from a police barracks in Bama in Borno state (WHO, 2020).

In another study commissioned by Nigeria's Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development and the United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA), Nigeria, with support from the Norwegian government, found that 28 percent of Nigerian women aged 25-29 have experienced some form of physical violence since the age of 15. The study also reported that 15 percent of women have experienced physical violence within a 12-month period, while 25 percent of married women or those living with their spouses have experienced violence (Umukoro, 2020). The World Bank indicates that based on costing done for various countries globally, GBV costs an estimated 1.2 to 3.7 per cent of their GDPs. In spite of the pervasive nature of GBV and its attendant socio-economic

consequences which the Covid-19 pandemic aggravated, there are no laws in Nigeria specifically enacted against GBV that are applicable throughout the country. This paper, therefore, examines the situation with a view to making recommendations to drastically curb GBV in Nigeria by clarifying key terms before considering the international and national legal frameworks for combating gender violence globally and in Nigeria and examining the issues and challenges of GBV. Finally, salient recommendations to enhance the protection of women from such violence are offered.

Conceptual Clarifications

Coronavirus (Covid-19) Disease Pandemic: the coronavirus disease 2019 (Covid-19) is a communicable respiratory disease caused by a new strain of coronavirus, called severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2, or SARS-CoV-2 that causes illness in humans (Orie, 2021). It was first reported in Wuhan China, but it has now spread throughout the world from animals to humans. The disease spreads from person to person through infected air droplets that are projected during sneezing or coughing. It can also be transmitted when humans have contact with hands or surfaces that contain the virus and touch their eyes, nose, or mouth with the contaminated hands. Meanwhile, the World Health Organisation (WHO) has declared the Covid-19 a pandemic (Orie, 2021) defined as occurring over a wide geographical area and affecting an exceptionally high proportion of the population (Orie, 2021). A globally coordinated effort is needed to stop the further spread of the virus which so far has no cure. The pandemic is real and has affected populations worldwide as well as Nigerians (Omoera & Ogoke, 2021), across gender.

Violence: violence is a means of control and oppression that can include emotional, social, or economic force, coercion, or pressure, as well as physical harm. It can be overt, in the form of physical assault or threatening someone with a weapon; it can also be covert, in the form of intimidation, threats, persecution, deception or other forms of psychological or social pressure (The New Humanitarian, 2004).

Gender: this term denotes the social characteristics or attributes assigned to men and women on the basis of varied factors like nationality, religion, age, ethnic, and social origin.

Gender violence: gender violence is defined as "the violence directed against a person due to gender, gender identity or his/her gender expression, or affecting people of a particular gender disproportionately (The European Commission, 2021). The United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights' Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) defines it as "violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately" (General Recommendation 19, 1992). It is a form of discrimination against and violation of the victim's fundamental freedoms. Gender violence includes violence in close relationships, sexual violence [including rape, sexual assault and harassment] (Omoera & Akinwole, 2012), human trafficking, slavery, and different forms of harmful practices such as forced marriages, female genital mutilation, and the so-called "honour killings" (OHCHR, 2014). When this violence is directed towards a particular gender, it becomes gender-based violence, GBV, and it is in this context that female GBV will be discussed in this paper.

The Nexus

There is a correlation between GBV and Covid-19 pandemic: the more the lockdown, the more the increase in GBV both in Nigeria and internationally (Orie, 2021). The Global Protection Cluster—a UNHCR-led network of NGOs and UN agencies providing protection to people affected by humanitarian crises—noted in August that gender-based violence was occurring at a higher incidence in 90 per cent of its operations, including those located in Afghanistan, Syria, and Iraq. According to Bradbury-Jones and Isham (2020), the lockdown imposed to deal with Covid-19 has granted greater freedom to abusers. Several media reports equally indicate a surge in cases of domestic violence in various countries. Kagi asserts that in Australia, the domestic abuse rates have increased by 5% (Kagi, 2020) while China has witnessed a three-fold increase in the cases of domestic violence after imposing quarantine (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2020). Different states in the United States also reported an increase of about 21–35% in domestic violence (Wagers, 2020). Even the UK has been facing concerns due to rising family violence. There has also been an apparent increase in the number of domestic homicides (Ingala & Smith, 2020). In fact, the Refuge website has recorded an increase of 150% in the calls about domestic abuse (Kelly & Morgan, 2020).

Not being able to go out and earn one's daily bread is a major source of stress, frustration, and violence for people (Siegfried, 2020; UNHCR, 2020). Corroborating this view, Amnesty International has noted that the increase in GBV is due partly to the fact that women and girls trapped with abusive family members have nowhere to report or escape the danger because of the lockdown measures. Harmful gender stereotypes embedded in social and cultural norms that suggest women must always submit to men

or claim a man who beats his wife because he loves her are also attributed to the rise of GBV (Amnesty International, 2021). In Nigeria, Odukoya has observed that the lockdown during the Covid-19 pandemic has revealed that a good deal of the GBV going on in the communities and the United Nations labelled the country a 'shadow pandemic' (Olawale, 2021).

In the three states, Lagos State, Ogun State and the Federal Capital Territory, which were placed under full lockdown by the Federal Government, reports of domestic violence cases rose from 60 in March, 2020, to 238 in April of same year, that is an increase of 297 percent. In contrast, in Benue and the Cross River states, which were placed under less stringent lockdowns by their respective local governments, the increase in cases was only 53 per cent between March and April. In fact, in Ebonyi state, where the governor refused to place the state under total lockdown, the number of cases decreased from March to April (Orie, 2021). An examination of the number of reported cases in March and April, respectively for 23 out of 36 states in Nigeria, for which data was available, reveals "a monthly increase of 149 percent due to lockdown" (Olawale, 2021). This information is corroborated by Titilola Vivour-Adeniyi (Umukoro, 2020), who noted that at the peak of the lockdown in Lagos, the group on the average received 13 new cases daily, and that there has been a 60 per cent increase in domestic violence, a 30 per cent rise in sexual violence, and a 10 per cent increase in physical child abuse. In March alone, it received 390 reports (Umukoro, 2020). Further evidence to support these figures is provided by the representatives of the United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA) Nigeria, UNFPA Ulla Mueller, and the Mirabel Centre, a Lagos-based sexual assault referral center, who noted that Nigeria witnessed a spike in sexual violence with the Covid-19 pandemic (Umukoro, 2020).

Similarly, the Covid-19 pandemic is likely to have a more profound impact on production and labour markets. With regard to the consumer, the pandemic has shifted consumer preferences away from physical retail towards e-commerce and online health and education services in a way that is likely to persist well after a vaccine has been distributed. One is likely to find a situation in which more women work from home in a post Covid-19 pandemic setting. On the producer's end, businesses which have successfully adjusted to the new reality of working from home seem to have thrived. In May, two-thirds of the US GDP was generated from people's houses. Similarly, in India where 66% of Indian employees are working from home, there are report of a considerable increase in productivity, and 55% feel positive about their ability to maintain a balance between their work and personal lives from their homes. However, GBV has the capacity to overturn this progress and deprive the women of the capital/income realized from working from home if the violence continues. Overall, the Covid-19 pandemic exacerbates domestic violence as an increasing number of women and girls are confined to home during lockdowns and violators take out their frustrations on the victims by way of abuse.

International Legal Framework for Combating Gender Violence

There are several international instruments promulgated for combating GBV across the world. Some were established by the UN agencies, while others were sponsored by regional bodies and national governments. Their international legal frameworks are binding on countries that subscribe to them, and they represent global best practices and

standards. They are as follows:

a.   The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), which entered into force in 1976, prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex. It has been submitted in some quarters that the prohibition against "inhuman or degrading treatment" in the CCPR should be interpreted as a prohibition of violence against women (Qureshi, 2013). The CCPR is not domesticated in Nigeria in accordance with Section 12 of the Nigerian Constitution (as amended). However, the provisions of the Covenant form a major part of the country's domestic laws. Examples include Chapter IV of the Constitution which deals with the protection of civil and political rights. Other domestic laws which protect civil liberties and fundamental freedoms include Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) (VAPP) Act, 2015; Administration of Criminal Justice Act, (ACJA) 2015; Anti Torture Act, 2017; Freedom of Information Act, (FOIA) 2011, Terrorism (Prevention) (TPA) Act, 2011 as amended; National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) Act, 1995 as amended; Legal Aid Council of Nigeria (Amendment) (LACN) Act, 2012 and the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act CAP A9, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN)2004.

b.   The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination   against Women ("CEDAW") (UNGA, 1979). This was a major step forward in establishing key rights for women, and to

date has been ratified by 188 States. The CEDAW which entered into force in 1981 was ratified by Nigeria in 1985 without reservations and its Optional Protocol was ratified in 2004. It obliges States "to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices, which constitute discrimination against women" and to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures they have taken to comply with their treaty obligations (CEDAW, Article 18). The original CEDAW did not explicitly prohibit violence against women, but outlawed "discrimination against women in all its forms" (UNGA, 1979). However, in 1992, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, a United Nations Committee which monitors the Convention, adopted the General Recommendation Number 19, because in its view, domestic violence is the most extreme manifestation of discrimination against women. Thus, CEDAW recommendation No.19 provided the first recognition of violence against women as a violation of the right not to be subjected to torture, cruel, or degrading treatment. The Optional Protocol which entered into force on 22 December 2000, enables the Committee to consider petitions from individual women or groups of women having exhausted national remedies, and also entitles the Committee to conduct inquiries into serious or systematic violations of the Convention.

c.   The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) (GA Res 39/46, 1984).

Nigeria ratified the Convention against Torture in 2001 and the Optional Protocol to the Convention in 2009. The Committee against Torture is the body charged with monitoring the implementation of the Convention.

d.   The Istanbul Convention Action against violence against women and domestic violence, adopted by the Council of Europe in 2011 (The Istanbul Convention, 2011), is the first regional instrument with compulsory legal force in Europe that comprehensively deals with the many forms of violence against women. It addresses both domestic violence and other forms of violence against women: physical; psychological, sexual (including rape) violence; sexual harassment; forced marriage; female genital mutilation; abortion; and forced sterilization. Preventing violence, protecting the women victims, and the prosecution of perpetrators of such violent acts are key points of the Convention.

Regional monitoring and judicial bodies also play an important role in combatting GBV. Directly relevant to GBV are a major convention in Latin America, a charter in Africa, and a convention for Europe:

i.   The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women, 1994 ("Convention of Belém do Pará") provides guiding principles for a treaty on violence against women. It affirms that women have a right to be free from violence in both the public and private spheres and holds the state accountable to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women, incorporating a due diligence standard. This was the first Convention directed solely at eliminating violence against women, and the regional court has decided important cases on the subject.

ii.   African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) and the Additional Protocol explicitly provide for the right of women to be protected from domestic violence. Although a regional instrument that came into force on October 21, 1986, the Act has been transmitted into Nigeria's body of laws and its sections 2-24 provide *inter alia* for the rights to education, health, shelter, food, social security, safe environment and cultural life. Section 18 (3) of the African Charter states that 'the state shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions. Some scholars have argued that the Nigerian courts can rely on this section of the African charter to hold that the Protocol to Women's Rights in Africa and the CEDAW are applicable in Nigeria. The Protocol to the ACHPR, also known as the Maputo Protocol, prohibits gender-based violence as part of women's rights to life, integrity and security of the person, and dignity. Article One defines violence against women as including "all acts perpetrated against women." The Maputo Protocol addresses violence against women in many of its provisions, and establishes legal obligations. Of the 53 member countries in the African Union, 49 countries have signed and 42 ratified the protocol, and another 13 countries are yet to

join the treaty. Unlike Latin America, however, the African Charter Court on Human and People's Rights has never issued a judgment on the merits in a case involving violence against women. Weaknesses include the follow-up institutional arrangements, in terms of the reporting mechanisms and the absence of a specific committee to monitor implementation.

iii. The EU has passed a number of Directives that legally oblige Member States to take certain actions in response to violence against women. These are: Directive 2012/29/EU establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime; Directive 2011/99/EU on the European protection order; and Directive 2010/41/EU on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity. These directives build upon earlier directives, which played a significant role in shaping the definitions of different types of violence against women and preventing violence against women in its different forms.

There are also Declarations, Resolutions, and International Norms. Although they do not have the binding force of treaties, they can contribute to the development of international legal norms and jurisprudence (Falk, 1966). The Beijing Platform for Action, for example, calls on governments to enact and enforce penal, civil, labour, and administrative sanctions to punish and redress the wrongs done to victims. Also, there are the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Council that deal with domestic violence. These include: (a) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW); (b) Elimination of Domestic Violence Against Women; (c) Intensification of Efforts to Eliminate all Forms of Violence Against Women; (d) Elimination of all Forms of Violence, including Crimes Against Women; and (e) In-depth Study of all Forms of Violence Against Women.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights forms the most basic international foundation for combating violence against women. It lays out the rights and principles of equality, security, liberty, integrity, and dignity of all people, including women. Most recently, the Sustainable Development Goals include a specific target to "eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres." Even the UN General Assembly Resolution Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, states that all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls will be eliminated (Rudolf, 2019). Indeed, there have been repeated demands to strengthen the existing international legal and accountability framework addressing Gender-Based Violence Against Women (GBVAW), in particular by the elaboration of a new United Nations convention on gender-based violence against women. While recognising that the elimination of GBVAW will be possible only through a multifaceted approach, advocates of this new convention see international law and a new convention as important components of any strategy to stimulate further action at the international and national levels to address the causes and consequences of such violence (Handbook for National Action Plans on Violence, 2012; García-Moreno et al., 2014).

Despite the many legal measures and policies adopted at the international and national levels and the advances that have been made, the spate of GBV against women

has significantly worsened regionally and internationally, particularly in the Covid-19 pandemic era. Nigeria has ratified a number of these conventions and treaties and so has obligations under international law to comply with their provisions or to directly domesticate them as part of Nigerian law (The Constitution of Nigeria, 1999 section 12).

Legal Framework for combating Gender-Based Violence in Nigeria

Nigeria is an international player and has subscribed to international treaties dealing with GBV. In addition, some critical legislation at federal and state levels has been established and operational in Nigeria to protect women, directly or indirectly. Some of these are:

    a. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

    b. Criminal code.

    c. Penal code.

    d. The Child Rights Act (CRA).

    e. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights Act, (ACHPR) ss2-24.

    f. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

    g. The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Ratified 2001).

    h. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

    i. Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

      (a) The Nigerian Constitution: its Chapter IV provides that the Fundamental Rights, which are the absolute human rights of all citizens of Nigeria, apply irrespective of race, place of birth, religion, creed, or gender, are enforceable

by the courts, subject to specific restrictions, and are inherent and inalienable. Some of the rights under Chapter IV (sections 33-43) are the right to life, the right to dignity of human person, the the right to freedom of movement, freedom from discrimination, and right to acquire and own property in any part of Nigeria. Whereas these rights are justiciable/enforceable, the rights contained in Chapter II (sections 15-21) which include the right to adequate medical and health facilities, the safety and welfare of all persons are largely 'seen' as not. The controversy over the non-justiciability of the economic, social, cultural, educational, and environmental objectives due to the provision of section 6(6)(c) of the Constitution has been laid to rest by virtue of the Supreme Court's decision in *Attorney-General, Ondo State* **v.** *Attorney-General, Federation and Ors* (2002) 9 NWLR (Pt. 772) 222 and *Chief Adebiyi Olafisoye* v *Federal Republic of Nigeria* (2004) 4 NWLR (Pt. 864) 580. This position is reaffirmed in the case of Oil Pollution Watch V. NNPC (2019) 5 NWLR (Pt.1666) 518. The argument here is that GBV is a violation of the victim's total rights as espoused in chapters II and IV of the Nigerian constitution.

(b). The Penal Code: this code does not see sexual violence against women as a grievous hurt. The Penal Code in Chapter XVI designates the following as grievous hurt; emasculation, permanent deprivation of sight of an eye, of the hearing of an ear, or of the power of speech, deprivation of any member of joint, destruction or permanent impairing of the power of any member or joint, permanent dislocation of the head or face, fracture or

dislocation of bone or tooth, any hurt which endangers life or which causes the sufferer to be during the space of twenty days in severe bodily pains or unable to follow his ordinary pursuits.. Section 58 provides that "nothing is an offence by reason that it causes or that it is intended to cause or that it is likely to cause any injury if that injury is so slight that no person of ordinary sense and temper would complain of such injury. Thus a victim who seeks protection under the law will rely on the provisions of the Criminal Code CAP 77, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990 on common assault.

(c). The Criminal Code: the Criminal Code is in force in the southern states of Nigeria. States have their criminal laws. Section 353 of the Criminal Code prescribes 3 years punishment for indecent assault on a man, calling it a felony while Section 360 prescribes 2 years punishment for the same offence on a woman calling it a misdemeanor. In addition, section 221 of the Criminal Code requires corroboration before a conviction for defilement of a girl under the age of 16 can be sustained. This is a difficult condition to fulfill. Its section 357 provides that any person who has unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman or girl, without her consent or with her consent, if the consent is obtained by force or by means of threats or intimidation of any kind, or by fear of harm, or by means of false and fraudulent representation as to the nature of the act or in the case of a married woman, by personating her husband, is guilty of the offence of rape.

(d) The Matrimonial Causes Act: (The Matrimonial Causes Act, 1970)

section 15 (2) (c) provides that divorce could be granted a man or woman if he/she proves unreasonable behaviour on the part of his wife/her husband. Unreasonable chastisement falls under this category. Again, by section 16 (1)(e) of the Matrimonial Causes Act, one is entitled to petition for divorce if his wife /her husband has been convicted of inflicting 'grievous harm or grievous hurt', or attempting to inflict 'grievous harm or hurt', or to kill him/her. This is for the benefit of those married under the Marriage Act only; a good majority is not.

(e) The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) (VAPP) Act: this Act was passed into law on May, 2015 to eliminate violence in private and public life, to prohibit all forms of violence against persons and to provide maximum protection and effective remedies for victims and punishment of offenders; and other related_matters. These abuses include physical abuse, sexual abuse, economic abuse emotional, verbal and psychological abuse, intimidation, sexual harassment, forceful eviction from a person's home except on court order, stalking, damage to property, isolation from family and friends, abandonment of children, spouse and other persons, depriving a person of his or her liberty, harmful widowhood practices, harmful traditional practices,and spousal battery. The VAPP Act made provision of life imprisonment for rape offenders. It provided 14 years imprisonment for offenders aged 14 and below. In other cases, a minimum of 12 years imprisonment without an option of fine is stipulated. It also provided a minimum of 20 years imprisonment without an option of a fine

for other age groups, groups or persons who perpetrated the Act. Overall, the VAPP Act is the only law that transcends the criminal and penal code in guaranteeing justice and protecting the rights and properties of victims of sexual and gender-based violence in Nigeria. However, the VAPP Act is of limited geographical reach as it is applicable only to the federal capital territory except where a state government decides to adopt it. The Act has been adopted by 18 of the 36 states in Nigeria, including the Federal Capital Territory.

(f) The Child's Right Act (CRA) 2003: this Act is the law that guarantees the rights of all children in Nigeria. So far 24 out of 36 states of Nigeria have adopted the CRA as a state law. A Child as defined by Child's Right Act (2003) is any person under the age of 18.

(g) The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child adopted July 1990 (OHCHR, 1990), Article 3 provides that every child shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in this Charter irrespective of the child's or his/her parents' or legal guardians' race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth, or other status. Nigeria signed it on the 13th of July 1999 but ratified on 23th of July 2001.

(h) The CEDAW, the CAT, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the (ACHPR) have all been discussed earlier in the category housing informational pertaining to international regime.

(i) Other efforts of government: the Federal Government, on Thursday the 23rd of July 2020, inaugurated an Inter-Ministerial Management Committee on Eradication of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence, SGBV. Malami observed that the problem of GBV is worldwide but attributed the increased number of reported cases on the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown measures that were imposed to curb the spread of the virus. He stated however that the federal government in its avowed determination to curb GBV established a committee to conduct, among other things, a review of all the existing laws and policy instruments touching on offences of rape, child defilement, and GBV as well as to develop a plan for the for adoption of a national prevention of sexual abuse/violence strategy for the period of 2021- 2025 "that identifies and encapsulates measures to enhance response to rape and GBV and set new targets for prevention, intervention and treatment" (Nnochiri, 2020).

Preliminary investigations reveal that several ratified international anti-discrimination instruments are not yet domesticated into law, while some national laws condone violence against women, encouraged by the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society which is influenced by culture and religion as enshrined within the plural Nigerian legal system. The foregoing also highlights the major Nigeria's federal and state legislations on GBV and their inadequacies to combat violence against women, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown when spikes in GBV were recorded nationwide.

Issues, Challenges and Strategies associated with GBV in Nigeria

This segment considers the issues, challenges, and strategies associated with GBV in Nigeria. They include legal gaps in the law, poor legal framework, and weak implementation. Others involve cultural stereotype, access to justice, and gender disparity. They are as follows:

i. Legal gaps in the law: the absence of some of the relevant laws is an issue. This is presently the position in Nigeria where some of the conventions and protocols dealing with GBV have not been fully assimilated into her laws. These laws include the CCPR, the CAT, and CEDAW. This means that these conventions can only have persuasive influence on the Nigerian domestic legal system and not the force of law. Furthermore, up to this date, even the Child Rights Law has not been passed by 11 states in Nigeria (Adebowale, 2019). Over the years Nigeria has not seen the domestication of such laws as a priority. With respect to Covid 19, it has even been argued that the fear of domestic violence could be the reason several women preferred to flout the government lockdown order. Currently, there is no existing national legal standard or regime that provides sufficient protection to victims of GBV. The government must find the political will to quickly domesticate all such ratified laws. In addition, every state in Nigeria should be encouraged to adopt and enforce the VAPP Act, since it provides better protection than the Penal and criminal codes.

ii. Poor legal framework: this issue is that some of the laws are weak. Rather than protecting women from domestic violence, the laws as it were encourage incidents of domestic violence and give the accused person wide room to escape any punishment. For instance, in s.55 (1)d of the Penal Code, a man is empowered to correct an erring child, pupil, servant, or wife. The section provides "[n]othing is an offence which does not amount to infliction of grievous hurt upon any person which is done ….. by a husband for the purpose of correcting his wife, such husband and wife being subject to any native law and custom under which such correction is lawful." Furthermore, the Criminal Code considers assault on a woman as not as serious as assault on a man. Rape is a crime punishable by life imprisonment; marital rape is not covered under either criminal or penal Code, sexual relations being traditionally considered a right of the husband. The criminal law does not allow for negotiations or provide civil remedies which can be as, indeed sometimes are, more relevant to a woman. A combined reading of s357 and s6 of the criminal code and s282 of the Penal code show that neither the Penal code nor the Criminal code provide for the offence of domestic violence. In some cases, the judges openly blame the victims for the violations of their rights. The challenge is that victims of domestic violence are reluctant to use these laws as the justice system is not victim-friendly. Government strategy must include a review of these laws to remove portions that are obnoxious and ensure non-discriminatory treatment of victims of sexual violence.

iii. Weak implementation: this is a big issue and challenge. As Chibogu

Obinwa has observed, poor implementation of legal frameworks, lack of coordination amongst key stakeholders, and entrenched gender discriminatory norms have hampered government and civil society efforts to address GBV in Nigeria (Olawale, 2021). This view is corroborated by findings from a survey which showed that slightly more than half (53 percent) of the respondents mentioned that rape incidents were reported to the Police. Out of this, 67 percent acknowledged that the offenders were arrested, while 33 percent claimed that the offenders were not arrested. This implies that about 3 in 10 perpetrators of this atrocious crime often don't face the dictates of the law even when reported to the police (NOI Polls, 2019). In order to address this challenge, the government's strategy should be to strengthen the institutional framework for the enforcement of the laws whereby police officers must be adequately trained to prosecute all reported cases of GBV or face appropriate disciplinary action.

iv. Cultural stereotype: the challenge is that cultural stereotypes will not allow a woman to report cases of GBV to avoid stigmatization. Most times the woman is driven out of her husband's home for reporting a case, and her own family also shuts their doors against her. Without any economic power, the woman is forced to return to her violent husband or roam the streets and be exposed to more dangers. Regrettably, Nigerians blame the incidence of GBV mainly on indecent dressing (47 percent), excessive intake of alcohol by the offenders (36 percent), and the victims (34 percent) and promiscuity (34 percent) (NOI Polls, 2019).

Being vulnerable discourages women from reporting cases of domestic violence or abuses against them at home, or to seek legal redress. A staggering 97.2 per cent of the abused women do not report the crime to the authorities (Adebayo, 2014). There are no provisions for shelter or other victim rehabilitative services. The prosecutors of the case are usually biased against the woman and are quick to blame her as the cause of the abuse, citing disrespect to the husband or indecent dressing, or trivializing the offence. The judiciary also presents an additional challenge: prosecutors and judges ask patronizing and intimidating questions during the investigation and trial and the fear of intrusive questions about their private lives prevents victims from reporting rape and using the legal system. There is no confidentiality of proceedings, and the result is that such domestic violence cases, especially of sexual abuse, become a public affair. The victims are further traumatized by the disclosure of private matters (Eze-anaba, 2012, pp.21-22).

The legal system neither takes into consideration the specific needs of a domestic violence victim nor does it offer her any specific protection. There is the need to ensure that the victim does not suffer additional trauma in court. An effective strategy would be for such trials to be conducted *in camera*. Furthermore, the government could embark on a massive enlightenment program to create requisite awareness and education that would dispel such stigma and embolden victims to fight for their rights. Such measures are even more imperative during the Covid-19 pandemic when reported cases of

GBV are on the increase. The World Health Organization (WHO) Nigeria, for instance, has ramped up partnerships with the Nigerian government to improve awareness on the health challenges of violence against women and the importance of health sector response to GBV, particularly in the Northeast, where thousands of conflict-displaced persons are receiving humanitarian aid. It assisted in creating awareness in 2019 among 149 governments, development partners, chief security officers, and internally displaced persons (IDPS) of the health consequences of GBV. In addition, it has also put in place health sector plans for responding to GBV in THE Borno and Adamawa states as well as having trained over 150 WHO hard-to-reach mobile team members to provide first line services mainstreamed into other essential services. To date, the teams have sensitized over 9000 women and men on GBV and have provided first line GBV services to 29 people (WHO Africa, 2020).

v. Access to justice: with Covid-19 many court proceedings have been postponed, which will limits the system's ability to issue protection and restraining orders that would otherwise have an immediate impact on protecting victims (Orie, 2021; Young & Aref-Adib, 2020). Victims usually seek redress in court as appropriate. However, in Nigeria most victims do not have access to justice for several reasons, like the prohibitive cost of legal services, poor infrastructure, and the lack of quick dispensation of justice. The challenge is that the country is grappling with an archaic justice system. The way forward is to modernize the justice system through reforms and digitalization. Meanwhile amidst the Covid-19 pandemic, some courts have introduced digitalized processes, including virtual sessions. There is the need to extend same to all courts in the country as well as incorporate a virtual Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanism (e-ADR).

vi. Gender disparity: the Covid-19 pandemic has equally widened gender and economic inequalities and demonstrates a striking pandemic of violence and inequality born out of the fact that the needs of each gender vary. Evidence suggests that women in the world's poorest countries are more exposed to the virus because of the roles they typically take on, like serving as healthcare workers and caring for sick family members (Ayanda, 2020). In Nigeria, many of the women engage in petty trading and generally rely on their daily turnover to feed the family. During Covid-19, this small income disintegrated further, and many were forced to get pregnant and were unable to get back to their businesses thereby increasing the violence at home (Gender Equality report). The strategy for the Nigerian government is to improve protection of women and girls through the establishment of Sexual Assault Referral Centers in every state. These centers ought to be sustainably funded and supported by relevant government agencies of health, law enforcement, and social welfare. Also there could be full criminalization and prompt state-led prosecution of the perpetrators of sexual gender based violence (SGBV) cases, notwithstanding any interference by influential persons in the society. In this regard, there should be functional Family Support Units and Force Gender Units that are well equipped to address

SGBV.

The peculiarities of women victims must be factored into any sustainable efforts to check GBV. For instance, due to restrictions in movement, survivors/victims could not access critical life-saving services such as post-exposure prophylaxis and psychosocial support and had to rely on telephone calls to manage the violent situations they faced. In Lagos State, FCT, and Ogun State, for example, many police officers in the Family Support Units were drafted to duty elsewhere to enforce the lockdown and were unavailable to attend to reports of GBV. Also many service providers lacked appropriate personal protective equipment which led to skeletal services or the outright closure of several of the GBV service points because of concerns that the service providers risked being infected with Covid-19 infection. Victims were further exposed to danger during the Covid-19 lockdowns, primarily because the capacity to respond to calls of GBV had been greatly reduced (Kelly & Morgan, 2020). Similarly, the provision of critical sexual and reproductive health information and services was inadequate. Indeed, already, some 47 million women in 114 low- and middle-income countries including Nigeria were projected to be unable to use modern contraceptives if the average lockdown or Covid-19-related disruptions were to continue for 6 months. These major disruptions to services led to additional 7 million unintended pregnancies, including unintended pregnancies resulting from rape (Press release, 2020). With the onset of vaccination it has been projected that normalcy will be restored, and people will be able to move about again. However, normalcy is yet to be restored as some people are not willing to be vaccinated.

Government must continue to intensify efforts to ensure that what progress has been made on women's rights is not rolled back. Funding for local women's organisations on the frontline, like those supported by ActionAid, needs to be intensified. Local women's voices must be heard; they must have the power to influence and participate in activities geared towards the protection of women and girls against GBV. The domestication and enforcement of CEDAW and other relevant international anti-discrimination instruments, coupled with a review of extant Nigerian laws, effective law enforcement, unimpeded access to justice, as well as the abolition of Nigerian societal practices and other obnoxious beliefs, could enhance the protection of women against violence.

Conclusion

Exacerbated by the Covid-19 lockdown and restrictions, the rise in cases of GBV is particularly worrisome as about two million Nigerians (mainly women and girls) are raped every year. The effects of GBV include death, urinary tract infections, genital injuries, untimed/unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections including HIV, fistula, pregnancy complications, and chronic conditions. Mental health impacts for survivors of GBV include post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, substance misuse, self-harm and suicidal behavior, and sleep disturbances. The Covid-19 pandemic has also adversely impacted the income of women, because the majority, whose source of livelihood depends on petty trading and subsistence farming, could not provide for their families, during the lockdown.

Despite efforts of the federal and some state governments to curb violence against women by adopting some legislation and policy measures as well as partnering with

the international community, GBV has significantly worsened. There are many factors undermining the efforts of the Nigerian government to effectively combat the pervasive nature of GBV and its socio-economic consequences. There is no comprehensive legal framework in Nigeria specifically enacted against GBV that is applicable throughout the country. Other impediments can be attributed to issues of gaps in legal framework addressing the problem of violence against women, weak enforcement of the law, that does exist, inadequate access to justice, cultural stereotypes, and gender disparity.

Nigeria, however, has ratified a number of the conventions and treaties and is so obligated under international law to comply with their provisions or to directly domesticate them as part of Nigerian law. The way forward remains for government to intensify efforts at the domestication and enforcement of CEDAW and other relevant international anti-discrimination instruments, to review specific extant Nigerian laws, and to move forward with the abolition of Nigerian societal practices and other obnoxious beliefs. Furthermore, effective law enforcement and guaranteed access to justice in pursuit of women's rights could enhance the protection of women against violence.

Recommendations:

Drawing on global best practices, this paper makes the following salient recommendations:

a. Relevant international conventions and treaties should be ratified and domesticated by the federal and state governments to serve as additional resources for protecting women against GBV.

b. The laws regarding GBV must be victim-sensitive and victim-friendly so that violence against women is recognized, dealt with and addressed as a serious violation of fundamental rights.

c. In order to enhance enforcement, the government's strategy should strengthen the institutional framework for enforcement of the laws through regular training of police officers who then must be sanctioned for failure to prosecute all reported cases of GBV.

d. Cultural stereotypes must be addressed in such a way that victims are encouraged to report violations without the fear of societal stigma. Government should embark on a massive enlightenment program to create the requisite awareness and education needed to embolden the victims to fight for their rights.

e. Access to justice must be guaranteed by modernizing the justice system through reforms and the introduction of digitalized processes including virtual sessions in all courts as well as incorporation of virtual Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanism (e-ADR) for the quick dispensation of justice.

f. To bring about enduring changes, laws alone or judicial activism may lack the capacity to effect the needed changes. Therefore, different approaches and various multiple-level strategies such as small group work and training, community mobilization and advocacy by human rights groups should be employed during this present (and any future) pandemic.

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BOOK REVIEW

Million John's *Shadows of the River Nun*

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Nigeria is a nation of many parts. As in the story of the six blind men and the elephant, one's perception of Nigeria depends on the angle from which the individual approaches the giant of Africa. More often than not, the general picture that is painted about Nigeria is a very bleak one. In the past there has been hardly any respect among the comity of nations because of its our military regimes. Even in our current democratic dispensation, some think that nothing good seems to be happening here. Of course, celebrating the efforts of a new novelist does not grace the pages of *Newsweek* or receive any attention in the footage of *CNN* or any other cable network. Yet, in the field of literature we have made our mark on the world scene. We can boast not only of our celebrated poets, novelists and dramatists, but we have also produced a Noble Prize Winner for Literature in Professor Wole Soyinka. Apart from the writers who make their livings by writing and teaching in tertiary institutions, there are those who write while keeping other jobs. For instance, it was as the Registrar of the West African Examination Council that Professor Chukwuemeka Ike wrote *Toads for supper* and a number of his other works. Elechi Amadi

also wrote many of his novels before he embarked on a career in academics.

Million John, the novelist whose work is reviewed here, is a part of that noble tradition, having learned to write out of interest as he discovered his talent. This review aims to encourage him to continue in the path that he has carved out for himself. It is always precarious to traverse the unknown, but no one can do anything new without embracing the element of risk always associated with everything in life. Since writing is a very solitary business, I seek here to celebrate the many hours of solitude that John spent producing this work.

Shadows of the River Nun is told in thirteen chapters. It is the story of an Isonbiri town, a once peaceful, agrarian settlement in the Niger Delta, caught in the wake of the oil explorers. Dudiagha is a man of foresight. He would like to have his son to have a university education so that he can be employed in an oil company. But Don Raymond the hope of his parents and a model for the youths takes to drug abuse and cultism. His university education is ruined. Subsequently, he gets involved in communal politics. He is instrumental in the removal of the ruler of the community from office at gunpoint. Unable to cope on his own, Don Raymond solicits powers from the devil for his protection, but this brings untold hardships and tragedy to the entire community.

Shadows of the River Nun spans the whole range of human emotion. In it you will find moments of joy, sadness, apathy, anger anxiety, and fear. Million John grapples with many ideas in the novel. He deals with youth restiveness, HIV\AIDS, environmental degradation, oil pollution, drug abuse, cultism, hostage taking, and the greed which has enslaved the people of the Niger Delta.

John demonstrates the extent of his concerns as an avid reader by aptly integrating passages from some of the books that he has read into his prose. He also makes use of local idioms; some, however, appear misplaced in the contexts in which they appear. A number of local words, phrases, and expressions adorn his prose, but they are not explained within the context in which they appear. Without a glossary, it is difficult to understand the meaning of words like *loiloi, ogbono,* and the like. The prose is racy, but not all his sentences are sharp. Some appear stilted, as they lack clarity. His narration is clear, but the dialogue is not as conversational as it should be to imitate human speech. This work is strong in its description. Take an incident like the circumcision ceremony presented on pages 23 to 24. The author sometimes transliterates from Izon into English as we find in a statement like this "in that case the measured portions were very good," referring to the practice in which a portion of meat or fish to be sold is weighed and set aside with a price tag. The work also has a number of printer's devils which ought not to be. Meticulous proofreading by the editorial team would have taken care of that.

These observations do not in any way detract from the enormous job our newest novelist has done. Since this is his very first work, it is hoped that whatever the shortfalls observed here, they will not militate his desire to produce a sequel to this book in no distant date. Since the purpose of a review is to introduce a work to an audience, the little I have said about this successful work is just to prepare your mind to get ready to grab a copy of it to read and digest it yourself. I cannot determine what would interest you in it. A work of art is very much like the beauty of a woman which is in the eyes of each beholder. As T.S. Eliot would say every work of art communicates more than what the author imagines to say. So come to *Shadows of the River Nun* and experience what is there in it for you personally.

BOOK REVIEW

Paul Ugor's *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria*

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According to Connor Ryan, "scholarly discourse on African cinema has expanded considerably"; there is a superb bibliography that records critical attempts "into unconsidered critical terrain, and considerations for new filmic experiences, largely in a reflection of the dramatic, and the thematic diversification and productivity in African screen media today" (167). Paul Ugor's *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* belongs on that list. Arguing that Nollywood began "as a desperate generational move" to make sense of "a postcolonial modernity that squelched young people's aspirations...leaving them with very little or no options," this book resonates deeply with the responses of "youthful people in the midst of tough economic conditions" (3), Ugor looks at youth issues while tracing the historical development of Nigerian films. Using Karin Barber's paradigm of the popular arts, he considers how youth have contributed to that history, especially to the making of Nollywood a sustained and sustainable industry after the premature demise of celluloid filmmaking. Distilling the classics, he gives them fresh readings and new interpretations, revealing how they resonate with youthful desires, quagmires, antipathies, challenges, and anxieties amid Nigeria's postcolonial contradictions.

In its five chapters, *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* demonstrates that Nollywood is not just a popular cinema that engages only in the practice of transforming social realities into discourse; it has also a global presence. Among the vibrant film industries in Africa, Nollywood plays an active and unique part, disseminating stories based on residual knowledge of the pasts and engaging in what is an active knowledge of the present, especially in its civil unrest/violence, gross maltreatment of the citizenry, perpetuation of inimical capitalist notions, wanton injustices, menacing infestation of the Boko Haram sect, onslaught of sectional militant groups, and occult practices. Instances of these can be gleaned from Chapter One, "Remaking Violence: Crumbled Postcolonial, The Militarization of Youth, and the Crisis of Citizenship in *Issakaba 1-5*"; Chapter Two, "The Urbanization of Injustice and Youth Identity Politics in Nigeria: Social Struggle in *Maroko*"; and Chapter Four, "African Cities, Youth, and the Politics of the Occult". In Chapter Three, "Nollywood and Postmodernity: Youth, Fashion and Urban Identity Politics in Face of Africa", Ugor systematically engages the reader with what Camerla Garritano has referred to in video movies as a "shifting and historically contingent discursive field marked by myriad ideologies, anxieties, discourses and desires" belonging to youth in Africa (20). Ugor examines how the restless youth negotiate the postmodern world, clamouring for recognition and survival in spite of the precarious predicaments created by the profligate leaders in Nigeria—and how they are

able to forge ahead.

The final chapter, "Nollywood, Transnational Sex Rings and Postcolonial Collateral Causalities" considers how the female victim and her body are depicted in case-study films. Ugor argues she is the subject/object of 'sex' and a 'commodity of sex and pleasure', existing within the interstices of societies where such demeaning trades prevail and compelled to live a life of demeaning encounters directed and enforced by global predators. The iniquities of diaspora life permeate this chapter a great deal.

Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria reminds the reader that falsehoods compelled young adults, who had not benefitted from any agenda they set out to pursue, to act. Affected and deprived, they engaged in what would make their voices heard. On and off film, their complaints were and continue to be directed towards the leaders in power. *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* reminds us that Nigeria's postcolonial governance and leadership remains surreptitiously tied to our colonial heritage and the inheritance of its political governance which is still with us today. The change we desire will not be hasty unless those structures are pulled down and subverted. This book is a testimony to Achille Mbembe's idea that Necropolitics define the idea of sovereignty in some corrupt African countries where leaders, whose practices run counter to the notions of true democracy, decide "who" among the citizenry "may live and who must die" (11).

Paul Ugor's *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* is first-rate, groundbreaking, and fresh in its style and approach. In its pages, the reader will find new templates recommended for future works. Ugor has created an entry that is novel. *Nollywood: Popular Culture and Narratives of Youth Struggles in Nigeria* has

occasioned a shift from the clichéd discourse that has permeated the history of film theory and criticism in Africa.

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Autumn Study #1
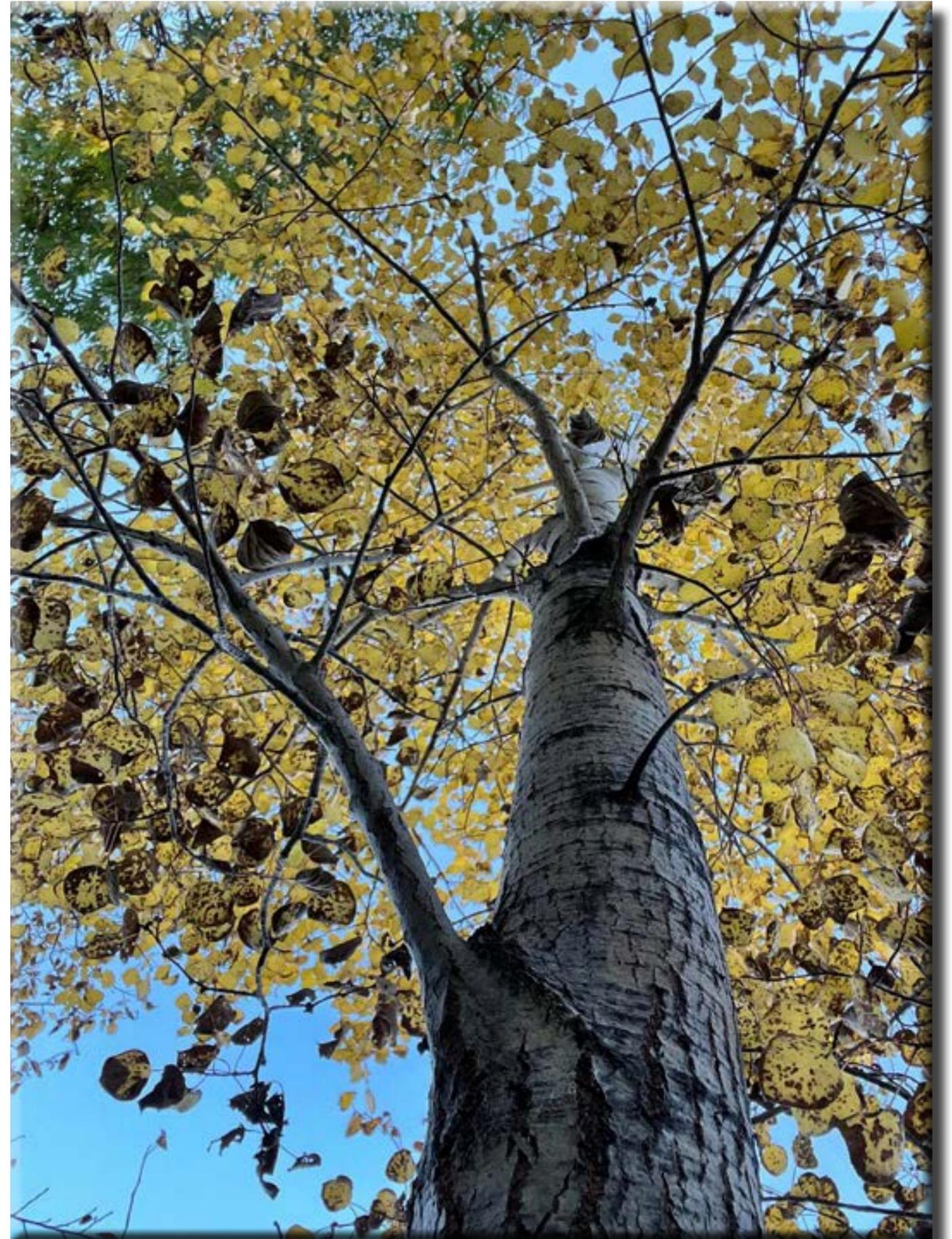
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