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Hudson Bay Museum Tea House: #1

Sue Matheson

EDITORIAL

It is June, and another summer is in the North. The birds have returned, and the light has lengthened. This, *the quint's* sixty fifth issue, offers reading for our warm nights and brighter days. Articles by authors from Nigeria, the United States, France, and Canada are housed in this issue. Frank Ikponmwosa's "British Colonial Policy on Rubber Production and Economic Prosperity of Benin Division, Nigeria" begins this issue's offerings. Ikponmwosa examines the effects of British policy on rubber production in and the economic prosperity of the Benin Division in colonial Nigeria and concludes that Benin farmers benefited from the economic and social impacts of the rubber trade. Next, Oreofe Williams' "The Significance of Subtitling: Enhancing Global Communication for Nigerian Cinema" examines the role that film subtitling plays in globally promoting Nigerian cinema. Williams uses auteur theory as a lens to investigate the nuances of language, dialogue, and cultural contexts retained in the translation process that preserves the essence of Nigerian cinema.

Following, J. O. Egharevba and P. V. Osakue's "Fire Services Response to Market Fire Outbreaks in Benin City: How Effective?"examines the response of fire services to market fires in the Benin metropolis. After determining causes, awareness, and preparedness among traders and firefighters, this paper indicates there is an insufficient awareness of emergency protocols among traders and inadequate firefighting resources. Additionally, it highlights the importance of response time in successfully extinguishing market fires. Next, in "Is Music Male or Female? Genderism and Socio-cultural Musical Practices in Old Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra State, Nigeria," Charles O. Aluede and Hope Nkechi Okpala investigate genderism in

Nigeria by examining beliefs, proverbs, and music that denigrate and attack women.

Then, Henry Kunle Afabor reconsiders the figure of the early African statesman in the 1960s in "A Formalist Interpretation of *The Black Hermit*" to conclude that the conflict of traditional and modern values in Ngugi wa Thang'o's play continues to offer insights into African politics and women's issues that are relevant to Nigeria today. Following, Adekunbi Eniola Akintola's " A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Kemi Adeosun's Resignation Letter" examines Nigerian Minister of Finance, Kemi Adeosun's persuasive, face-saving strategies. Then, Nkereke M. Essien and Elijah Okon Lazarus determine whether Nigerian English is tonal or tune in nature. Their findings in "An Acoustic Analysis of Nigerian English Intonation: Tone or Tune" show that Nigerian English maintains its intelligibility, while lacking the rhythm and musicality inherent in the native variety, and they conclude that pitch duration, intensity, situation, and purpose/intent are determining factors of Nigerian English's tonality.

Next, Thaddeus T. Ityonzughul and Emmanuel Jonah Changwak's "Spatial Contestations in a Third World Metropolis: a study of informal economies in Abuja City, 1991-2019" considers the urbanization of Abuja and the lives of informal workers, their housing and activities, especially economic informalities considered illegal by the Federal Government of Nigeria.Finally, in "Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy and Resilience Skill Training in Fostering Entrepreneurial Intention Among Undergraduate Students," Victor Ayodeji Fehintola, Ernest Ochuko Okpako, Mumud Olabode Ojulape, Naseem Akorede Raji, Sylvester, Ehimare Umanholen, Ayodeji Solomon Adegoke and Habeeb Omoponle Adewuyi assess the effectiveness of entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE) and Resilience Skill Training (RST) in

fostering entrepreneurial intentions. Because of these programs' efficacy in fostering entrepreneurial intentions, they recommend ESET and RST's ideology and practice be accepted and institutionalized, especially among undergraduates.

Three film reviews are also housed in this issue. Elise Girard-Despraulex's "In places there's a bare, blue sky": *An Cailín Ciúin/The Quiet Girl* (2022)—Colm Bairéad" finds small, almost delicate moments and gestures advances *The Quiet Girl s* commercial and critical success. In "*Spring in a Small Town* (1948), the Best Chinese Postwar Film," Xinkai Sun demonstrates how Fei Mu's masterpiece addresses the issue of postwar trauma, resonating with other postwar films across the globe, especially those of the Italian Neorealism movement. In "*Tár* (2022): Conducting Interpretation" Will McPhee finds *Tár* is about "cancel culture." More important, he argues, Tár's (Kate Blanchett) reprehensible career in music illustrates major cultural shifts taking place, how they are enacted, and their results.

No issue of *the quint* can be complete without its creative component. Sue Matheson's summer study records only a handful of the tea cups showcasing the personalities (and interests) of the women who settled in Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan. At the Hudson Bay Museum, there is a staggering collection, made up of the exquisite and the everyday, the Victorian and the modern—hundreds and hundreds of pieces of bone china, porcelain china, orderinary china, and and stoneware teacups testifying to the efficacy of Northern tea ceremonies, the importance of comfort and hospitality in the homes in Hudson Bay, and their owners' social celebrations. Some are in cabinets; others on shelves. Many more ore grace wall after wall, room after room. Inhabiting in their own house, they speak volumes to every woman who visits—I was overwhelmed by this stunning display of material culture, a nexus of the North's

domestic space.

Before autumn arrives, I look forward to visiting Hudson Bay for another cup of tea and reporting again about what life was like there. And anticipating the return of students to the classroom, *the quint* will return in September with more thought-provoking material for your consideration.

Sue Matheson
Editor

Sue Matheson

British Colonial Policy on Rubber Production and Economic Prosperity of Benin Division, Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper examines the effects that British policy had on rubber production and the economic prosperity of the Benin Division in colonial Nigeria. Initially, Britain's primary interest was the exploitation of agricultural resources in Benin's forests. British colonial authorities in Benin implemented agricultural policies that emphasized the domestication or cultivation, production and processing of crude rubber for export. These policies were pursued by farmers who embraced rubber production to the detriment of food crops cultivation and foodstuff production which had been the

main stay of the Benin economy. Although the advent of rubber economy in Benin is synonymous with the British economic policies that emphasized the production of cash crops for export and entailed propaganda, pressure, and price incentives to lure farmers into the cultivation and production of natural rubber, this paper finds Colonial Provincial, Divisional and Chief Secretary's Official reports on Benin report that the living standards of average rubber producers, plantation owners, and their families increased, enabling them access to goods and services that had been unaffordable. Another legacy of colonial economic policy in Benin was a significant increase in enrolments into public schools.

Keywords: Colonial Policy, Rubber Production, Economic Prosperity, Benin Division.

Introduction

Benin is situated in the forest zone, some eighty mile west of the Niger River, in the southern part of Nigeria.[1] Before British conquest and rule in 1897, Benin was a powerful kingdom governed by hereditary kings (Oba) whose origins date back to about the tenth century.[2] The Benin area is a low-laying plain covered with porous red sand, sometimes referred to as the Benin sand which rises to the north to the Esan Plateau[3] which is her boundary to the immediate north. She is bounded on the

1. This refers to the Benin Division which was one of the administrative units in the Benin Province created by the British following the annexation of southern Nigeria. Other divisions of the Province included Ishan, Kukuruku and Asaba. The Benin division was the largest, most populous and endowed in terms of forest and agricultural resources. See, National Archives, Ibadan, Benin Province (hereinafter refers to as NAI, BP) 40, Vol.vi, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1937, p. 3; NAI, CSO 26/2 14617, Vol. xiii, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1938, pp. 1-26.

2. J.U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin* (Ibadan: University Press, 1968), pp. 1-2

3. R.E. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom and the Edo-Speaking Peoples of South-Western Nigeria*, London: International African Institute, 1957, p. 18 and *Benin Studies*, London: International African Institute, 1973, p.7; A.F.C.

west by the eastern Yoruba areas, on the east by the Ika, Urhobo and Itsekiri people of Delta State, and on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. However, prior to colonial rule, these areas were incorporated into the Benin Kingdom by methods that included the force of arms and tacit recognition of the king's authorities. Within the period of this study, the total land area of Benin division was approximated at about 4,012 square miles,[4] and encompassed the core Benin speaking areas of Egor, Ikpoba-Okha, Oredo, Orhionmwon, Ovia North-East, Ovia South-West, and Uhunmwonde Local Government Areas of Edo State. Though this area is devoid of any outstanding physical feature, as in the forms of rocks and mountainous hills that could inhibit human mobility, it is drained by a series of deeply entrenched rivers and small streams flowing in general north-south duration. The major rivers in the area are the Benin River, Siluko, Osse, Orhionmwon, Ikpoba, Ogba, and Ovia. Benin villages avoid close proximity to these rivers and streams so, hardly any are built on their banks.[5]

The area has a tropical climate characterized by both wet and dry seasons with abundant land suitable for the cultivation of variety of crops throughout the year.[6] To a large extent therefore, the mode of life of the people has been determined by their environment. Although a greater part of the country's forest, after the exploitation of its timber[7] and shifting methods of farming, is now secondary, Benin's people are still primarily farmers. The annual crops grown in this area are yams (yellow, white, and water), maize, coco-yam, pumpkin, beans (*Iheme, Ikpakpalor and Ere*), cassava,

Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485-1897*, London: Longmans, 1969, p. 1; Obaro Ikime, *Merchant Prince of the Niger-Delta: the Rise and Fall of Nana Olomu*, Ibadan: Heinemann, 1968, p. 1.

4. NAI, BP 40, Vol. VIII, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1939, p.5; NAI, PX/122A, Population Census of Nigeria, 1952-1953, p. 3.

5. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom*, p. 18.

6. NAI, Ben. Prof/4/3/4 BD, H.N. Nevins, Intelligence Report((Economic) Benin Division, 1932, p. 132.

7. Frank Ikponmwosa and Joseph .I. Osagie, "Colonial Rule and the Exploitation of the Forest Resources in Benin (Benin Province) of Nigeria", *Romanian Journal of History and International Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2, 2015, pp. 183-199.

plantain, okro and cotton. Before the British conquest, Benin was self sufficient in its food production to the extent that surplus were exchanged for other products, for example, fish and salt which were not produced in Benin. In addition to farming, the farmers reared and kept varieties of livestock, such as fowls, goats, sheep, the native dwarf cows, and also engaged in different crafts..

The rubber industry in Benin has attracted academic discourse. For example, J. Fenske[8] contends that though the Benin region was a major rubber producer, the industry developed slowly and eventually failed due to it abandonment by the colonial government. Fenske neither saw the industry developed beyond its infancy, nor did he take into account its contribution to the Crown economy beyond 1921 which was the focus of his paper. J.I. Osagie and F. Ikponmwosa have also focused on the contribution of the Benin rubber industry to colonial and world demands,[9] emphasizing some aspects of the colonial policies such as provision of free tapping materials and price regulations that boosted rubber production in Benin. Like Fenske, they argued that the industry failed because of it abandonment by the authorities when the South East Asian rubber market, which was a perfect substitute for Benin rubber, was re-opened to the British. Contrary to the view that the Benin rubber industry failed, this current study argues that the industry survived colonial role and the policy on rubber did result in a good measure of economic prosperity in Benin during and after colonial rule.

The Advent of Rubber Economy in Benin

By the close of the nineteenth century industrial demands in Europe lent impetus

8. James Fenske, "Rubber will not keep in this country": Failed Development in Benin, 1897-1921". *Munich Personal RePEC Archive, MPRA* Paper No. 30328, 2011, pp. 1-31.
9. J.I. Osagie & F. Ikponmwosa, "The Response of Benin Rubber Industry to Colonial and World Demands, 1900-1945", *OFO: Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, Vol. i, No. 2, 2011, pp. 79-101.

to the Britain's need for and production of crude rubber. Crude rubber was the best source of latex, the milky fluid from which natural rubber products were made. The high demand was occasioned not only by the revolution in transport but also an array of rubber consumer goods such as waterproof clothing, rubber boots, contraceptive devices, sporting balls among others.[10] The production of tyres on a commercial scale had revolutionized transport systems in Europe and in turn, partially strengthened the demand for crude rubber.[11] In addition, rubber had been required in the electrical industries for the insulation of cables. Writing about the importance of rubber in European industries, R. Harms argues that the vulcanization of rubber in the second half of the nineteenth century made it useful for hoses, tubing, springs washers, diagram and other industrial uses, spurring demand that was later accelerated by the spread of bicycles and automobiles.[12] By the beginning of the twentieth century, European industrial demands for crude rubber had increased to the extent that supplies from Brazilian rubber became inadequate. For example, in the United Kingdom alone, rubber consumption rose from initial 608 tons in 1851 to 10,983 tons in 1900.[13] European rubber consumption also rose significantly—to more than 40,000 tons when continental Europe and the United States of America's consumption of natural rubber are taken into consideration.[14] By 1921, England's crude rubber importation stood

10. John Dunlop invented tyre for his son's bicycle which was subsequently patented in 1888 and by 1890 was certified and adopted for bicycle and motor cars uses. See,Osagie and Ikponmwosa, "The Response of Benin Rubber Industry to Colonial and world Demand", p. 80; F. Ikponmwosa, *Colonial Rule* and *Economic Development in Benin* (PhD Thesis, University of Benin, Nigeria, 2014), pp. 152-153; *Chambers Encyclopedia*, New Revised Edition, Vol. iv (London: Int'l Learning System Corp., 1970), p. 670.

11. S.H. Robert, "The Sarraut Programme", in Z.A. Knoczacki and J.M. Knoczacki (eds.), *Economic History of Tropical Africa*, vol. ii, *Colonial Period* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), p. 22.

12. R. Harms, "The end of red rubber: A reassessment", *The Journal of African History*, vol.16, No. 1, 1975, pp. 73-88.

13. W.H. Woodruff, "Growth of the Rubber Industry of Great Britain and the United States", *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 15, No. 4, 1955, pp. 376-391.

14. Frank Zephyr and Aldo Musacchio, "The International Rubber Market 1870-1930", in Steven Topik, Carlos Marical and Frank Zephyr (eds.), *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building*

at 42,100 tons.[15] As the century progressed, the demand continued to increase with Brazilian sources augmented by supplies from the South-East Asia, mainly Malaya and Sumatra whose forests were equally endowed with rubber.[16] Even so these sources did not guarantee a regular supply of rubber for the British and European industries. First, the supply from Brazil was always hampered during the rainy season between the months of October and April when rain did not allow tappers to collect rubber.[17] Second, during the Second World War, South-East Asian sources of supply were severed completely following the British and the allied powers lost of these territories to Japan.[18] In 1944, the Combined Raw Material Board (CRMD) of the United Nations (UN) emphasized, *inter alia,* that "in the strongest possible terms our urgent need for crude rubber," pointing out that

> [the] situation in 1945 will be further aggravated unless more natural rubber than is now in sight is forth coming....It is therefore essential that the greatest possible economic in the use of natural rubber continues to be maintained and that every step be taken to increase the amount of natural rubber available to the United Nations.[19]

In its early years, British exploitation of the crude rubber from Benin relied heavily on the yields from natural rubber bearing plants such as *funtumia* and *landophia* vines locally known as *araba-oha* in Benin, which were wild the forests.

of the World Economy, 1550-2000 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 271-299.

15. G. Rae, "The Statistics of the Rubber Industry", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol.101, No. 2, pp. 317-375.

16. Ikponmwosa, *Colonial Rule and Economic Development,* p. 162.

17. Zephyr and Musacchio, "The International Rubber Market 1870-1930", pp. 271-272.

18. Ibid.

19. This is contained in the United Nations Circular Referenced: No.18078/336, dated 2nd May 1944, addressed to the Resident, Benin Division, through the Acting Secretary, Western Region. See, NAI, BP1273, Vol. ii, Rubber Industry, p. 415.

Rubber tapping and collection attracted the peasant farmers, who had previously been engaged in yam cultivation. Rubber production was a source of regular income, and the more latex or crude (rubber) one produced, the more his income (cash crops) grew.[20] Prices of rubber, though sometimes skewed by the British rubber merchants were in most cases determined according to the current prices of the international market. Consequently, peasant producers were most times able to plan for the future. Unlike the cultivation of yam which required several processes (including clearing of shrubs, felling of trees, burning and packing before planting of yam seeds[21]), rubber, prior to it domestication, grew wild in Benin forest and only required clearing around the rubber vines and the creation of pathways for the tappers to tap and collect latex. Comparatively, the advantages of rubber production were higher than those of any other export crop, such as cocoa which was also produced but in small scale in the division.

The task facing colonial authorities was to achieve higher levels of output in crude rubber without necessarily committing enough resources to research and productivity.[22] Rubber was required in ever increasing quantities from the wild and wildly dispersed trees in Benin forest that could only produce about one kilogram per hectare,[23] Prior to the Second World War, these trees proved to have a short lifespan because of reckless and intensive laceration by rubber tappers to obtain the latex. During the early period of colonial rule in the division, British policies did not guide

20. The trade in rubber was based on the scaling system where the more kilograms natural rubber product weighed on the scale, the more the amount accruable to the producer. The price per kilogram was not static or fixed but as determined by the market forces or sometimes regulated by the colonial authorities in order to attract or push more peasant farmers into rubber production for export. See for example, NAI, BP1273, Vol. ii, Rubber Industry in Benin, pp.478-482.

21. F. Ikponmwosa, "Aspects of Pre-Colonial Benin Economy up to 1897", *Studies in Humanities,* Vol. 10, 2018, pp. 18-31.

22. G. B. Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), p. 17.

23. Zephyr and Musacchuo, "The International Rubber Market 1870-1930", pp. 271-272.

the exploitation of the forest and Benin's agricultural resources.[24] Instead, local traditions, such as the practice of communal ownership and exploitation of resources, dictated her economic policies. Wild rubber trees were viewed as property of all and not necessarily the property of anyone. They grew wild in the forest and not cultivated by anyone who would have protected his investment. The forest in which they grew was communally owned except when it grew in a privately cultivated farm land, it when it became the property of and exploited by the farm owner. Everyone rarely took a particular interest in the protection of wild rubber. Communally owned, wild rubber trees were tapped by indigenes and non-indigenes though not without the permissive right of the village heads (known as *Edionwere*) and the annual payment of a token to the Village. As Fenske posits, "such a situation [quickly came] to resemble open access, the predictable result was degradation of the resources."[25] Rubber tappers, especially the non-indigenes, engaged in reckless laceration (slaughter tapping) in order to raise maximum yield.[26] This drew the concern of the authorities through the Resident in Benin who wrote in 1907 that it was deplorable to see what destruction was wrought by the foreign elements (tappers) around Igbekhue, a village in Benin district, where dead rubber trees were counted in their hundreds.[27] Ten years before, in November 1897, nine months after colonial rule began, Ralph Moor[28] had gleefully reported that the 25% increase in rubber export was satisfactory, adding, "I anticipate considerable increase in the future as much trouble has been taken to open up rubber

24. Osagie & Ikponmwosa, "The Response of Benin Rubber Industry to Colonial and World Demands, p. 82.
25. Ibid., p. 29.
26. Fenske, "Rubber will not keep in this country", p. 4.
27. NAI, CSO 520/7, 26/2/1901, Resident Benin City to Ralph Moor, Consul General, Southern Nigeria.
28. Ralph Moor was the Consul General of the Niger Coast Protectorate (later Southern Nigeria) which Benin territories were incorporated from 1897. See, C.O. Edigin & F. Ikponmwosa, "The Nexus of Colonial Fiscal Policy and Administrative Centralization in Benin, Nigeria 1918-1960", *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly journal from the north*, Vol.15, No.2, 2023, p. 161.

production."[29]

British Colonial Policy on Cultivation and Production of Rubber

The British realized that the survival of rubber industry lay in deliberate policies which would encourage individual cultivation and the ownership of plantations. This would be jealously protected and guarantee regular production of rubber latex for export. In 1907, Egerton asserted he did not consider it feasible to effectively supervise the production of rubber from communally owned rubber trees arguing the future of rubber production was in the individually owned cultivated plantations.[30] In line with Edgerton's argument, and to ensure the survival of the rubber industry, the authorities adopted aggressive and persuasive policiesthat included price regulation, propaganda, and compulsion and wage regulations to compel peasant farmers to engage in the domestication and production of rubber in Benin. First, an intensive campaign was launched for individuals to adopt the plantation system and strengthened by the introduction of the high latex yielding *Brazilian Para* rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*) by the Forestry Department in 1913.[31]

To encourage the widespread cultivation of *para* rubber by individuals, administrative policies or measures were strenuously implemented by the authorities, including the massive importation of seeds and instruction about the techniques of

29. Niger Coast Protectorate Annual Report 1896-7, obtained from Fenske, "Rubber will not keep in this country", pp. 1-4.

30. Fenske, "Rubber will not keep in this country", p. 14.

31. This contradicts the year given by Kurt R. Anschel, *Economic aspect of peasant rubber plantation in Mid-western Nigeria: Rubber Industry and Trade* (Michigan: Michigan State University, 1965), p.48. The 1913 stated in the paper appears more appealing and makes a stronger argument because Benin was one of the first few places in Southern Nigeria where rubber trade first developed. If it is taken into account that the industry only began after the imposition of colonial rule in 1897, there is no possibility therefore of introducing *para* rubber to Benin before the conquest. See J.O. Ahazuem and Torin Falola, "Production for the metropolis: Agriculture and Forest Products", in Torin Falola (ed.), *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?* (London: Zed Books, 1987), p. 86; Onwuka Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria, 19th and 20th Centuries* (Nsukka: Magnet Business Enterprise, 2001), p. 161.

its cultivation. Extension service stations were established first at Ogba and later in Sapele near Benin City as demonstration centres, with nurseries units from which *para* seedlings were produced and distributed freely to peasant farmers for cultivation.[32] Reporting on these models to encourage the cultivation of rubber plantations, Annual Reports from 1911 to 1913 observed

> [w]e see no reason why the establishment of a few estates in such areas should not be permitted in order to provide demonstrations. The rubber estates, especially that near Sapele, have shown that the methods of such European estates are copied by the people. The number of labourers that are necessarily trained on the estates is a most important factor in this matter.[33]

These projects also entailed the employment and training of indigenes as rubber inspectors at the extension service stations. They remained employees of the colonial authorities and were deployed to different villages within the division to encourage individuals to begin rubber plantations and instruct them in *para* rubber cultivation. Subsequently, nurseries centres were established at strategic locations in Igbekhue, Urhonigbe, Siluko, Igbanke, and Ekenwan among others, outside Ogba and Sapele, to ease the production and distribution of seedlings to farmers for cultivation.

Individual farmers responded by transplanting *para* seedlings after harvesting the food crops. The domestication of rubber became so rapid that between 1913 and 1927, the total acreage of land covered by rubber in the division increased to over

32. NAI, Southern Nigeria, Annual Reports 1911-1913, NAI BP 1273, Vol.ii, Rubber Industry in Benin, pp. 29-566.
33. NAI, BP 415/1926, Report of Committee on problems connected with the planting of oil palm, p. 2.

6,021 with more than 1,250,000 trees.[34] As farmers embarked on the rapid cultivation of rubber on tracts of land earlier cultivated for food crops, the British position on cash crops, especially rubber, in Benin emphasized "the more the Benin land can be kept under deep-rooted tree cover the better. The Binis [sic] should make their money … by making and selling articles of wood and with the proceeds obtain food from outside."[35] Between 1942 and 1945, additional acreage of about 1,688 of Benin land was planted with rubber, bringing a total acreage of about 7,709 divisional land covered by rubber.[36] It could be hazarded that over 35% of the entire divisional land was covered by rubber plantation. With returns of between 37.5% and 40.35% annually, Benin consistently became the British highest producer of natural rubber in the whole of Nigeria.[37]

The table below shows the natural rubber graded for export in Benin Division between 1940 and 1953.

Year	**Tons**	**Year**	**Tons**
1940	1,887	1947	1,976
1941	1,980	1948	2,940
1942	2,039	1949	2,197
1943	1,618	1950	5,039

34. NAI, CSO.026/ 09125, Assessment Report on Benin Division, 1927. Maclver Holdings in Urhonigbe were later taken over by the United Africa Company (UAC), thus becoming the Jamieson Estate Plantation. See Uyilawa Usualele, *State and Class in Benin Division 1897-1959, A History of Colonial Domination and Class Formation* (MA Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, ABU Zaria, 1988), pp. 77-88.
35. Mr. Collier gave this official position in 1942 and this was called in 1947 when the problem created by excessive rubber cultivation was examined in Benin. See NAI, Benin Province , BP. 42/ix, Annual Report 1947, p. 11.
36. NAI, CSO 26/2, 1461, Vol. xv, Annual Report Benin Province, 1938, pp.16-20; NAI, CSO 26/2, Annual Report Benin Division, 1943, p.3; Uyilawa Usuanlele, *Colonialism and the Environment: the Deforestation of the Rain Forest of Benin and Ishan Divisions, 1897-1960* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ibadan, 2003),p. 161; Osagie & Ikponmwosa, "The Response of Benin Rubber Industry", pp. 79-101.
37. Annual Report, Benin Province1938 in ibid.

1944	2,241	1951	9,072
1945	3,956	1952	6,808
1946	3,601	1953	6,966

Sources: NAI, Ben Prof. Annual Reports,1940-1953.

In short, production and quality steadily increased proportionately according to colonial policies and stimulated by the appointment of a staff of Rubber Production Assistants in each respective rubber production area. These assistants taught farmers how to carry out all processes from tapping the trees to drying the prepared rubber sheets so that a maximum or highest of grade sheet and a minimum of any kind of scrap are produced.[38]

At the peak of rubber cultivation and production almost all the farm lands in and around Benin villages were converted into rubber plantations. Alarmed by this development, the Benin Native Authority[39] began to estimate the negative impact of this on food crops production, noting that

> [the] cultivation (of rubber) has become increasingly popular and the emphasis laid on rubber production … has led to such competition among farmers as to give rise to fears of local food shortage, due to the utilization for rubber cultivation of any unduly large proportion of agricultural land. The Native authority therefore ordered that no further rubber plantations should be established without permit.[40]

38. BP. 41, Vol. ix, Annual Report, Benin Division 1943, p. 87.
39. This was in charge of the local administration in Benin and takes directives from the British colonial authorities at the central administration. In contemporary Nigeria's administration it is refers to as Local Government Administration.
40. NAI, Ben Prof. BP 41/ix, Annual Report, Benin Division, 1947, p. 11.

These were genuine, justifiable fears expressed by the native authority, but its order did not halt the planting of rubber in the division. The British drive for rubber production had become so intense that the opening-up of new farm land for rubber continued, and Benin farmers continued to "want to plant more and more rubber"[41] in order to realize more and more income.

Rubber Production and Economic Prosperity in Benin

An encouraging feature of colonial policy concerning rubber production was the steady or regular flow of remuneration earned by producers and plantation owners. While latex producers (tappers) were sure of the sales of their products, plantation owners were also sure of the royalties made from their plantations. Although the prices paid for rubber were not proportional to the world market price as the colonial authorities always tinkered with it in favour of crown rubber merchants,[42] a higher level of prosperity than before did prevail during the rubber trade, prompting Mr. Cruddas, the District Officer, Benin Division to state that

> [t]he Bins who has no tradition for hard work, has found it easier than ever to earn his daily bread. In every village in the middle of morning are to be found numbers of able-bodied men doing nothing. In a few hours of rubber tapping they have earned all they want, and are unwilling to undertake work which involves hard manual labour.[43]

Here it should be noted that these remarks of the colonial official who probably was unaware of the traditional background of the people certainly do not apply to every

41. NAI, BP. 40/ Vol. xiv, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1950, p.29.
42. NAI, BP. 1273, "Rubber Industry: Petition, Benin City Farmers' Association to the Chairman, Labour Advisory Board, Benin Province, pp. 477-575.
43. Annual Report, Benin Province, 1950, p. 29.

man and also serve as sharp contrast to the majority who prior to colonial rule were hard working and combined different economic activities such as farming, hunting, and at times trading.[44] Indeed, the exploitative tendencies of British economic activities engendered apathy or reluctance. For example, in Agbor District (Asaba Division of Nigeria) produce sellers expressed their grievances in 1939, saying,

> [w]e do not know if there is any part in the World, where a mercantile man would have a right to control the farmers as to what rate they must sell their produce to him, as UAC Manager, is trying to do. …The District Officer was all along in favour with the Manger, and we were left entirely without any protection.[45]

Because plantation owners, producers, and tappers were able to earn fairly high regular wages or income from rubber production, the gap between income earners and subsistence food producers increased considerably. With the additional or increased income, there was "the tendency to consume more of everything hitherto less consumed,"[46] especially, European products such as textiles, spirits (whiskey), jewelries or adornments, canned-foods, and flour.[47] These, however, were largely a means of retrieving whatever income or profits made by rubber producers in Benin back to the metropolis. The enduring impact of the British policy on rubber in Benin may be found int the financing of projects for individuals and the Benin Native Authority. Some individual rubber dealers built homes or expanded existing ones

44. P. A. Igbafe, "The Pre-colonial Economic Foundations of Benin Kingdom", in A. I. Akinjogbin and S. Osaba (eds.), *Topics on Nigeria Economic and Social History* (Ile-Ife: University Press, 1978), pp. 19-34.
45. Annual Report 1938, p. 23; NAI, Ben. Prof. BP. 361/3, Produce Prices, Benin Province, p. 18.
46. Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* 2nd edition, (Oxford: Westview Press, 1996), p. 141.
47. Annual Report, 1950, p. 30.

with corrugated iron roofing sheets purchased from the UAC or John Holt[48] for the roofing of their houses. This was not a mean feat in Benin where houses were thatched (with leaves) before the advent of rubber trade. In addition, some families witnessed expansion as more wives were married and more children were born. This signalled prosperity in Benin society as in other parts of Africa (especially during the period of study) when children were considered the wealth of the family. Major plantation owners and rubber businessmen bought cars with proceeds from rubber, and others, including their counterparts in villages and rubber tappers, bought Raleigh bicycles which were a source of prestige. By 1948, for example, it is recorded that over 192 private cars were registered in the division[49] with the impact of rubber trade partly accounting for these purchases. Chief Agho Obaseki made his fortune cultivating rubber[50] and Musa Yusufu Eke inscribed his, wVauxhall, its Registration Number B143, "Rubber-Rubber,"[51] indicating his prospects from rubber enterprise.

The economic prosperity from rubber also positively impacted primary and secondary education in the division. Plantation owners and rubber producers, who were making fortunes from rubber by way of royalties, wages and profit, were now able to pay the basic charges for their children's primary and secondary educations.[52] Consequently, all schools in Benin City were overcrowded which called for the establishment of more. This increase in enrolments resulted in increases in public schools from ten in 1937 to over twenty in 1948. By 1955, this number had risen to

48. These were two of the major British trading firms engaged in merchandise trade in Benin. While they were the major rubber buyers, they were also the major importers of foreign goods in Benin.
49. NAI, CSO 14617, Vol.xiv, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1948, p. 22
50. P.A. Igbafe, *The Nemisis of Power: Agho Obaseki and Benin Politics, 1897-1956*, Revised Edition (Benin City: Mindex, 2016), pp. 81-86.
51. Olushola Akinwumi, A Retired Academic Oral Interview, 21/07/ 2014.
52. V. E. N Osakue, A Retired School Principal, Oral Interview, 24/08/2014.

148.[53]

Finally, the rate of re-investment into rubber production by the local producers increased with the rapid expansion in plantations and importation of rubber processing materials. Benin farmers became proud owners of several hectares of rubber plantations, which returned more and more income. The immediate prosperity associated with rubber production led to the neglect of other aspects of agriculture, including food crops cultivation and foodstuff production. Coupled with this neglect, the slump in rubber prices between the late nineteen-forties and early nineteen-fifties created a double tragedy in Benin. Most of the peasant producers stopped tapping. The prices of local foodstuffs soared alarmingly beyond the reach of many including rubber producers, because food production had been neglected.Then, rubber producers lost their investments in the land cultivated for rubber that no longer had any financial benefits. Ironically, colonial authorities whose policies had emphasized the cultivation and production of rubber remarked

> Benin is still cursed by rubber. All the best land … has been seized …for rubber plantations so that foodstuffs in Benin have to be brought from a considerable distance. The sharp fall in the prices of rubber may induce some of the rubber planters to cut their losses and revert to growing foodstuffs. And it would appear to be a waste of both time and money to continue tapping and preparing rubber.[54]

It was also observed that

53. NAI, BP, 40, Vol.vi, Annual Report 1937, p. 17; Annual Report 1948, p. 8.
54. Annual Report 1946 , p. 7 .

> [t]o a great extent it is entirely their own fault that they cannot make their plantations pay even at the present price of rubber as in the past. They have been repeatedly warned of what would happen if they did not improve their methods of tapping and curing rubber. The production of rubber has dropped by one-third.[55]

In response, many farmers abandoned their plantations, others fell their rubber trees. Improving the methods of rubber production could not yield the result of economic stability and enduring prosperity. As Geoffrey Kay argues, "the colonial economy was for most time unstable because of the heavy dependence upon the export of a single primary commodity."[56] The instability of the colonial economy also arose from the British economic policy which was skewed in favour of the metropolis. It is quite shocking that throughout the period of British rule in the division, no single rubberbased production factory was established. Since the production of crude rubber yielded quick returns or revenue invested in the crown, no efforts were made either to diversify Benin's economy or commit to agricultural technology and research. The consequence was that the extent to which the productionof crude rubber survived was the result of the high degree of organization and enterprise that peasant farmers brought to the venture by domesticating and protecting it in their plantations.

Conclusion

The advent of rubber economy in Benin is synonymous with the British economic policies that emphasized the production of cash crops for export and entailed

55. Annual Report 1947, p. 26.
56. Geoffery B. Kay, The *Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: a collection of documents and statistics, 1900-1960*, p. 16.

propaganda, pressure, and price incentives to lure farmers into the cultivation and production of natural rubber. Farming crude rubber yielded quick returns and turned land cultivated for food crops into plantations. The sphere of economic activities which engaged the attention of Benin farmers was the cultivation, protection, production, processing and marketing of rubber. Rubber became the main source of income and the export product from the division. In spite of the fact that prices of rubber were regulated or controlled by the authorities, in favour of the crown trading firms, it cannot be denied that Benin farmers realized some good fortune from rubber production, being able to purchase European consumables which had been beyond their reach. Also, the social impact of the rubber trade in Benin, evident in the significant expansion and increase of school enrolments, has been long-lasting. The colonial policies of the rubber trade introduced Benin's farmers to this benefit of the rubber tree, Today, Benin remains a major producer and exporter of rubber in post-colonial Nigeria,.

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Sue Matheson

The Significance of Subtitling: Enhancing Global Communication for Nigerian Cinema

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Abstract

Often referred to as "Nollywood," the Nigerian cinema industry has been gaining international recognition, and its cinematic productions have attracted widespread attention. A critical challenge facing Nigerian filmmakers is how to effectively communicate with diverse audiences globally. Analyzing the impact of subtitling on audience accessibility, cultural representation, and preservation of the cinematic voice, this paper uses auteur theory as a lens to investigate the nuances of language, dialogue, and cultural contexts that preserve the essence of Nigerian cinema.

Keywords: Subtitling, Nigerian Cinema, Communication, Globalization, Auteur Theory.

Introduction

The Nigerian film industry, often referred to as Nollywood, has gained remarkable recognition, locally and internationally. Nigerian filmmakers have successfully produced captivating stories that resonate with audiences around the world. Chowdury et al. find that

> [t]he Nollywood industry today is the biggest film industry in Africa and one of the leading industries in the world with respect to the number of films produced per year. A Nollywood film costs between $40,000 and $210,000 to produce and sell up to 120,000 copies locally and more when exported on video or DVD (13).

Conveying the artistic and cultural richness of Nigerian cinema, film subtitling is a crucial tool that bridges linguistic and cultural gaps, enabling Nigerian films to reach diverse audiences on the global stage. Subtitling is defined by Gottlieb as the rendering in a different language of verbal messages in filmic media, in the shape of one or more lines of written text, presented on the screen in synch with the original verbal message (86). In the same vein, Diaz-Cintaz defines subtitles as

> displayed written text, which are usually shown at the bottom of the screen,

> and which give an account of the actors‘ dialogue and other linguistic information which form part of the visual image (letters, graffiti, and captions) or of the soundtrack (songs) (qtd. in Ibbi 50).

What we now call subtitles were called intertitles when subtitling started, because they were titles that appeared between scenes in the movies (Ivarsson qtd. in Ibbi 51). These intertitles were employed to communicate the dialogue to viewers since the technology used during that era does not permit the addition of sound to films.

As a translation and transliteration medium, subtitling seeks to link different languages and cultures. Audience who watch films subtitled in a target language (TL) that is alien to theirs improve their understanding of and develop grammatical competencies in such language. According to Kuo,

> [t]ranslation not only bridges the gulf between speakers of different languages and different geographies and cultures, but it can also foster and facilitate foreign. acquisition. Constant exposure to media translation of all sorts, particularly in the case of subtitling where original text and translation coexist in the same programme, has enhanced the abilities of readers and audiences to distinguish, or at the very least, to acquire a general concept of the quality of a translation (25).

Film subtitling promotes Nigerian cinema on the global stage. Subtitling is important, because it is a means of cultural representation that preserves the authenticity of Nigerian films. Subtitling also supports a film’s accessibility and engagement with its

audience, enabling Nigerian cinema to reach a broader international viewership. This study underscores the influence of subtitling in conveying an auteur's artistic vision and maintaining the integrity of the filmmaker's work across language barriers. The findings of this research will contribute to improving subtitling practices, promoting the global recognition of Nigerian cinema, and fostering intercultural dialogue through film.

Overview of Auteur Theory

Auteur theory emphasizes the role of the director as the primary creative force behind a film. Andrew Sarris, in his article "Notes on Auteur", in 1962, was the first to employ the term "Auteur" which is a direct translation of the English word "Author". He made a distinction between authorship and ownership of a film and enumerated the premise of auteur theory in three concentric orders: the outer circle as the technique, the middle circle as the personal style and the inner cycle as the interior meaning. Thus, directors who wield complete influence on all aspects of filmmaking from pre-production to ultra-post-production are regarded as "Auteur Directors". The *modus operandi* employed by an auteur director during film production is distinct, and he may also occupy other filmmaking roles such as cinematography, film editing, acting, screenwriting or set design. In short, the essence of auteur theory is "to distinguish authors from the anonymous mass of directors, to establish their identity by reference to their most characteristic work and distinguishing style or thematic focus, and to pass judgment as to their respective merits" (Lapsey qtd. in Demiray 10). Auteur theory recognizes sdirector as authors whose individuality and creative choices are reflected

in the overall aesthetic and thematic elements of their films. Prasad et al. emphasize that "movies are the interpretation of the aesthetic personalities of directors". They, therefore, suggest that "the director is assumed to be a person responsible for creating the movie and hence, directors shall be given copyrights for the creativity used by him" (315).

Application to the Nigerian Cinema

In the context of Nigerian cinema, auteur theory provides a valuable framework for analyzing the works of Nigerian filmmakers who demonstrate a distinct artistic vision and authorial voice in their films. Nigerian directors such as Tunde Kelani, Kunle Afolayan, and Niyi Akinmolayan have emerged as notable auteurs, infusing their films with cultural authenticity, social commentary, and unique storytelling techniques. This paper aims to examine how the subtitling of Nigerian films can effectively convey the auteur's cinematic vision to international audiences.

The purpose of subtitling Nollywood movies, therefore, is dependent upon the influence of directors over the Nigerian culture and their quest to reach out to Nigerians and non-Nigerians who do not understand the languages employed in films because of the multilingual nature of our Nation. Uchenna remarks that

> [g]iven the great influence that Nollywood has over African culture, such effect is reinforced by a massive consumption of Nigerian movies by Africans living in Africa and off the shores of Africa. Because of the multilingual nature of Nigeria, it is imperative to bring some form of translations into movies. (qtd. in Ibbi 48).

Auteur theory is also relevant to the study of film subtitling, for it highlights the importance of maintaining the director's artistic intent and style in the process of translating and subtitling their films. Subtitling is not just the technical exercise of translating dialogue; it also involves conveying the director's visual language, narrative nuances, and thematic elements. Auteur theory asserts that the director's creative choices and personal style are integral to the meaning and impact of the film. Thus, subtitling goes beyond literal translation to capture the essence of the auteur's work and communicate it effectively to international audiences. This study reveals the intricate relationship between the auteur's vision, film subtitling, and the promotion of Nigerian cinema on the global stage and explores the cultural representation achieved through subtitling, the enhancement of audience accessibility, and the methods employed to convey the auteur's cinematic voice in Nigerian films.

Without an efficient form of interlingual translation to appeal to the global audience, the reach of any audiovisual production would hardly extend beyond the confines of the local audience who understand the language of the film. While it is generally known that a film has numerous elements apart from dialogue, Ibbi argues that most of the message of a film is embedded in the dialogue:

> [i]n a multilingual and multicultural society like Africa, subtitles become very necessary to bridge the gap between a viewer and understanding. Though a movie appeals to the ears and the eyes, the fact that most of the message in embedded in the dialogue calls for the need for the viewers to understand what the dialogue is all about (49).

Communication as the Bedrock of Filmmaking

Filmmaking is a powerful art form that transcends cultural boundaries and has the potential to connect with audiences on a profound level. At its core, the essence of filmmaking lies in engaging the audience members and effectively communicating with them, thus enabling filmmakers to convey their messages, emotions, and narratives to viewers in an impactful manner. Visual storytelling is the foundation of communication in filmmaking and defined by Künüçen as

> a type of communication that is defined as visual information exchange. Namely, it refers to the conveyance of messages to the target audience by means of a photograph, film, picture, cartoon, various symbols, etc… visual materials. Therefore, expression of an emotion, thought, or concept by means of images and symbols instead of words (Künüçen 236).

Oliver further adds that "people – especially young people – are so thoroughly film- and television-literate that they decode meanings in the course of watching movies and television programmes without even being aware precisely how they do it" (1). A component of filmmaking that plays a pivotal role in shaping the audience's perception and emotional engagement with the narrative is the cinematography. A well-executed shot can communicate a character's vulnerability, a tense atmosphere, or a moment of joy. Through the creative use of camera angles, composition, lighting and color, filmmakers create a visual language that speaks directly to the emotions of audiences without the need for explicit dialogue.

Additionally, dialogue serves as a fundamental means of communication in

film. It allows characters to express their thoughts, emotions, and drives the narrative forward. However, in the context of global audiences, language barriers may hinder the direct comprehension of dialogue thus subtitling plays a crucial role in translating dialogue accurately, ensuring that the intended messages are conveyed effectively to viewers globally.

The essence of subtitling in enhancing communication in film lies in its ability to bridge language gaps, allowing filmmakers to effectively convey verbal and non-verbal dialogue, music, and overall cinematic experience to a global audience. By integrating subtitles into the filmmaking process, directors and producers can ensure that their narratives transcend linguistic barriers, fostering meaningful connections with diverse viewers around the world. This, according to Umar and Matthew, underscores the essence of filmmaking as a communication channel for disseminating vital information, with the intent of bringing about positive changes in society (16).

Film Subtitling as a Medium of Cultural Representation

Nigerian cinema carries immense cultural significance as it reflects the country's rich and diverse heritage, traditions, and contemporary social issues. Nigerian filmmakers often incorporate elements of local languages, customs, music, and storytelling techniques into their films, creating a distinct cinematic identity. Film subtitling plays a crucial role in preserving and representing this cultural richness when Nigerian films are screened internationally. It enables audiences from different cultural backgrounds to appreciate and understand the cultural nuances embedded within the narratives, dialogues, and visual aesthetics of Nigerian cinema.

Nevertheless, the complexities of cultural translation arise from the need to balance accuracy and cultural authenticity with readability and comprehension for international audiences. Translating cultural references, idioms, proverbs, and specific cultural contexts requires a deep understanding of the source and target cultures. Subtitlers must make informed decisions to ensure that the intended cultural meanings and messages are effectively conveyed to global viewers without compromising the artistic integrity of the film. Similarly, Furgani believes cultural gap is the most important challenge faced by translators:

> Bridging the cultural gap between source language (SL) and target language (TL) is the most important challenge of the translator and this gap appears significant in subtitling when translating cultural patterns such as idioms, proverbs, humour, swear words, name of places, food, and cultural events (14-15).

Eugene Nida observes that "the person who engages in translating from one language into another ought to be constantly aware of the contrast in the entire range of culture represented by the two languages" (194). This accentuates the fact that culture is an indispensable aspect of every translation process. As Aksenova and Orlova remark,

> [b]y the end of the 20th century, communicative and sociocultural approaches were at the centre of attention, and so translation came to be viewed as nothing short of a cultural phenomenon. Thus, the concept of

> the ‘cultural turn‘ was another crucial advance in translation studies that warranted further investigation. It was proved that translation could not develop without culture studies, since translations enrich nations with the cultural values of other peoples (73).

Effective subtitling can contribute to the preservation of cultural nuances in Nigerian cinema. It involves not only linguistic translation but also the adaptation of cultural expressions and contextual explanations. Subtitlers need to consider the target audience’s cultural background while maintaining the essence of the original dialogue. Through appropriate choices of language, expressions, and formatting, subtitlers can convey the cultural subtleties and idiosyncrasies present in Nigerian films, enabling international audiences to engage with the cultural fabric of the narratives. By addressing these challenges and prioritizing the preservation of cultural nuances, film subtitling can become a powerful medium for cultural representation, fostering cross-cultural understanding, and promoting Nigerian cinema on the global stage.

Enhancing Accessibility and Bridging Language Barriers

Some of the most popular indigenous languages spoken across Nigeria include Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa, and a vast majority of the films produced by Nollywood contain scenes in which these languages are spoken. Film subtitling, therefore, serves as a vital tool in bridging the language barriers and making Nigerian cinema accessible to a diverse range of international audiences. By providing translated subtitles in widely spoken

languages such as English, French, Spanish, and others, Nigerian films can reach viewers who may not understand the original language of the film. Subtitles enable audiences to follow the plot, comprehend dialogue, and engage with the narrative of the film regardless of their linguistic background. Ibbi says,

> [i]n a multilingual and multicultural society like Africa, subtitles become very necessary to bridge the gap between a viewer and understanding. Though a movie appeals to the ears and the eyes, the fact that most of the message is embedded in the dialogue calls for the need for the viewers to understand what the dialogue is all about (49).

Subtitles play a crucial role in enhancing the engagement of the audience with Nigerian cinema. They provide a means for viewers to fully immerse themselves in the film, enabling a deeper connection with the characters, themes, and emotions portrayed. Subtitles help audiences to grasp the intricacies of the storytelling, including cultural references, humor, and linguistic nuances that contribute to the overall cinematic experience. By facilitating the engagement of audience across continents, subtitling promotes a more profound appreciation of Nigerian cinema on the global stage.

Movie translation has overwhelming contributions to the influence the Nigerian film industry. Through Africa Magic DSTV channel, Netflix, Youtube and other online video sites, Nollywood serves as the mirror through which the Western audience understand the cultural milieu of Nigeria and other African countries. As Chowdhury et al. put it; the branding of Nollywood has indirectly positioned the overall Nigerian cultural industry at the forefront of the African landscape, thus possibly stimulating

indigenous and foreign tourism, also in concordance with the numerous local film festival (24).

Without an efficient form of interlingual translation to appeal to the global audience, the reach of any audiovisual production would hardly extend beyond the confines of the local audience who understand the language of the film. While it is generally known that a film has numerous elements apart from dialogue, Ibbi argues that most of the message of a film is embedded in the dialogue. He points out that

> [i]n a multilingual and multicultural society like Africa, subtitles become very necessary to bridge the gap between a viewer and understanding. Though a movie appeals to the ears and the eyes, the fact that most of the message embedded in the dialogue calls for the need for the viewers to understand what the dialogue is all about (49).

The above outlines the essence of efficient translation and transliteration in bridging the gap between a viewer and their understanding of the message of a film. Ibbi then proceeds to suggest subtitling as the most appropriate form of translation:

> Subtitling has proved to be the best form of translation a Nigerian movie can give a viewer without disrupting the flow of his/her viewing. This is because voice over which would have been a better choice will not be beneficial to viewers with hearing disabilities (48).

Subtitling Techniques for Optimal Accessibility

To ensure optimal accessibility, subtitle writers must employ effective techniques in the subtitling process. Clear and well-timed subtitles, proper positioning on the screen, and appropriate font size and style are essential elements to consider. Additionally, these writers should be mindful of the pacing and duration of the subtitles to allow viewers sufficient time to read and comprehend the text without detracting from the visual elements of the film. Corroborating this assertion, Thompson suggests that "the ideal is for a subtitle to appear upon the screen at the exact moment that a person begins to speak, and, conversely, for the subtitle to disappear from the screen at the exact moment when the person ceases to speak" (qtd. in Ibbi 56).

In the same vein, the use of color coding or other visual cues can also aid in distinguishing different speakers or indicating sound effects, further enhancing the viewing experience for international audiences. By prioritizing audience accessibility through high-quality subtitling practices, Nigerian cinema can expand its global viewership and establish a stronger presence on the international film stage. Nigerian filmmakers often have a distinct artistic vision and style that defines their works. Their films reflect their personal creative choices, narrative approaches, visual aesthetics, and thematic exploration. Subtitling plays a pivotal role in conveying the auteur's cinematic voice to international audiences, allowing them to experience the director's unique perspective and storytelling techniques.

It is important to note that film subtitling is not limited to translating dialogue; it also encompasses the translation of visual and aesthetic elements. Nigerian cinema often relies on visual storytelling, symbolism, and non-verbal communication to

convey messages and evoke emotions. Subtitlers must consider these visual elements and find appropriate ways to communicate their essence through translated subtitles. This involves ensuring that the auteur's intended visual experience is effectively communicated to global viewers.

Similarly, Liu at al. agree that these writers may take account of timing, punctuation and other conventions (114). In the same vein, they highlight language and culture as factors that might pose challenges:

> Subtitlers also need to take account of other factors in relation to language and culture, in order to present or transfer information to their target audiences. We may, therefore, conclude that technology, when it comes to subtitle translation, does not greatly change the essence of translation, but enriches it. In film subtitle translation, not only linguistic or cultural factors must be taken into consideration, as with literature, but also different technical limitations (118).

In addition to translating dialogue and visuals, subtitling must capture the narrative flow and tone of the film. The choice of words, phrasing, and punctuation used in subtitles should align with the auteur's intended narrative rhythm, emotional tone, and stylistic choices. Subtitlers need to carefully consider the contextual meaning behind dialogue and ensure that it is accurately conveyed, preserving the authenticity and impact of the original work.

Zhao summarizes these criteria in four basic terms: videlicet, brevity, synchronization, reliability and efficiency. According to Zhao,

> [s]ubtitling should preferably meet the following requirements. First, it should be concise, so it would not divert the viewers' attention from the picture. Second, it should be synchronized with the characters' or narrators' statements and consider the source of picture's rhythm. Third, it should match the intent, contents and context of utterances and minimize the deviation from the source picture. Fourth, subtitling should be able to help viewers understand TV programmes or movies with ease. Brevity, synchronization, reliability and efficiency are four major criteria against which subtitling is measured as good or bad. (21)

To achieve effective subtitling that conveys the auteur's cinematic voice, collaboration between filmmakers and subtitlers is crucial. Open communication and understanding between the auteur and the subtitling team can facilitate the transfer of the director's artistic vision and ensure that the subtitled version maintains the intended creative integrity. Collaboration may involve providing supplementary materials, directorial notes, or even involving the auteur in the subtitling process, allowing for a more accurate representation of the filmmaker's cinematic voice.

Conclusion

Film subtitling serves as a medium for cultural representation by preserving and conveying the cultural nuances embedded within Nigerian cinema. It enables international audiences to appreciate the rich heritage, traditions, and contemporary social issues portrayed in Nigerian films. By bridging language barriers, subtitling

enhances audience accessibility and fosters engagement with Nigerian cinema, allowing viewers from diverse linguistic backgrounds to connect with the narratives, themes, and characters portrayed on screen.

Moreover, effective subtitling goes beyond literal translation by considering the visual and aesthetic elements, preserving the narrative flow and tone, and maintaining the director's intended artistic vision and style. This requires collaboration between the auteur and the subtitlers to ensure that the subtitled version remains faithful to the director's creative choices and maintains the cinematic voice of the film. By recognizing the significance of film subtitling and implementing high-quality subtitling practices, Nigerian cinema can strengthen its presence on the global stage, expanding its viewership and promoting cross-cultural understanding. Subtitling plays a crucial role in showcasing the artistic expressions, narratives, and cultural heritage that define Nigerian cinema, contributing to its recognition and appreciation by international audiences.

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Sue Matheson

Fire Services Response to Market Fire Ooutbreaks in Benin City: How Effective?

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Abstract

A market fire disaster is a catastrophic event involving the widespread ignition and destruction of a marketplace or commercial area, often resulting in significant economic and social impacts. This paper examines the response of fire services to market fires in the Benin metropolis. It was aimed at determining causes, awareness, and preparedness among traders and firefighters to market fire disaster. Surveys revealed electrical hazards as the major cause of market fires, which mostly occur

at night during the dry season. Our findings indicate insufficient awareness of emergency protocols among traders and inadequate firefighting resources in markets. Additionally, this study highlights the importance of response time in successfully extinguishing market fires and suggests implementing measures such as creating service lanes for emergency vehicles and conducting training drills for stall owners to enhance preparedness for market fire disasters.

Keywords: Awareness, Disaster, Firefighting, Preparedness, Relational Analysis.

Introduction

Disasters, natural or human-made, overwhelm individuals, communities, and societies, causing significant harm to lives, property, and the environment. Fires, typically sudden and triggered by human activity, spread rapidly and cover wide areas. Fire disasters, characterized by uncontrolled burning, lead to loss of life, property destruction, and community disruption, particularly in urban areas with inadequate infrastructure and overcrowding. Fires, resulting from rapid oxidation, pose a severe threat, frequently causing significant damage to buildings and the economy (Kyessi, 2002; Buchanan, 2001; Cavalliini, 2007). According to National Emergency Management Authority NEMA (2006) in Nnamdi et al., (2019) numerous public structures have succumbed to fires, destroying lives and properties worth billions of naira.

Urban markets in Nigeria are highly vulnerable to fire disasters due to overcrowding and the informal construction of structures, resulting in significant financial losses over time. Developing nations, including Nigeria, face consistent

disruptions to urban livelihoods from such disasters, exacerbated by limited resources, rapid urbanization, and socioeconomic vulnerabilities. According to the World Fire Statistics Centre WFSC in 2012, fire disasters globally amount to approximately one percent of the global gross domestic product. Yohannes, et al., (2010) and Greg (2021) have pointed out in their research that market fires have rendered many individuals unemployed, caused environmental damage, and disrupted economic activities. In Benin City, market fire outbreaks have become increasingly common, posing risks to both property and human lives, exacerbating unemployment, environmental damage, economic disruption, and poverty. Therefore, evaluating the response of Benin City's fire services to handle market fires is crucial. This research aims to identify the causes of market fires, assess awareness and preparedness among traders and firefighters, and evaluate preventive measures, public awareness, and response strategies to mitigate these disasters.

Researchers have extensively studied fire disasters in marketplaces and proposed various solutions to address the issue and enhance capacities in different areas. These include investigations into socio-cultural aspects of space use and architectural features for cultural sustainability in markets (Abba et al.,2017; Shinga et al., 2017), classification of causes and strategies for curbing market fires (Duniya, 2015 and Odaudu, 2021), awareness of fire insurance (Odaudu, 2021), awareness assessment of hazardous activities and their effects on market fires (Ilodiuba et al., 2017), and awareness and preparedness of stakeholders to market fire (Kachenje et al, 2010; Ogajo, 1013; Kikwasi, 2015 and Kofi et al., 2016). Additionally, studies have examined determinants of active fire protection measures (Odaudu et al., 2019), statistical analysis of fire department response times (Buffington & Ezeoye, 2019;

Home Office, 2023), evaluation of security and preventive measures in markets (Odaudu & Zubair, 2019), and comparisons between architectural qualities of shopping malls and traditional markets (Duniya, 2015; Ohambele, 2019 & Odudu, 2021). Moreover, research has explored response strategies to combat market fires (Leo, 2014) and examined how traders cope and adapt to the increasing incidents of market fire disasters (Onyejekwe et al., 2023).

Twum-Barima (2014) assessed the awareness of fire insurance in the Kumasi informal central market in Ghana and uncovered that power fluctuations were the primary cause of fire incidents (26%), followed by exposed cooking fires (19%), overloaded electrical appliances (16%), improper electrical wiring (13%), illegal connections to the power grid (11%), the use of substandard electrical materials (8%), and defective generators (7%). Odaudu et al. (2019) studied the causes of fire incidents in Garki model markets. Their surveys showed that 84.0% of the respondents claimed the cause of the fire incidents in Garki model market was electrical equipment/wiring, 7% of them responded that arson is the main cause of fire incidents, and 1.0% of the respondents claimed the cause of market fire was cooking with gas cookers and naked fire. Buffington and Ezekoye (2019) conducted a statistical analysis of fire department response times and their impact on fire outcomes in the United States. Their study examined how longer response times affect various indicators of fire severity, such as reported fire spread category, estimated monetary losses in property and contents, and reported flame damage. Their findings revealed that all averaged measures of fire severity escalate between response times of 3 to 13 minutes, primarily because longer response times are associated with a higher probability of extremely severe fire incidents.

Onyejekwe, et al. (2023) assessed the vulnerability of traders to fire outbreaks in South-Eastern international markets in Nigeria, and the results revealed that the leading cause of market fire were the use of substandard electrical materials (20.66%), electrical fault (18.88%), carelessness in the use of fire (18.62%), overload of electrical appliances (16.33%), defective generator (11.73%), illegal tapping of electricity (9.95%), cooking with naked fire (3.06%), and dry weather conditions (0.51%). Aderonmu et al., 2023 carried out a study on curbing fire outbreaks in public places using some selected markets in Lagos as a case study. The results revealed that the time of occurrences of market fire outbreaks were often at night (32.0%), followed by morning (30.9%), evening (30.9%|), and afternoon (6.2%). Also, the response rate of dire services personnel was early (30.4%), late (57.8%), and never (11.8%). Ismaila et al., 2023 assessed the 2021 Sokoto Market fire in Nigeria and found that the major cause of market fire was the careless attitude of shop owners (62.7%) while 55.2% attested to the fact that the magnitude of damages by the fire was a result of the distortion of the market's place plan and 22.0% attributed it to lack of functional fire service facilities and inadequate manpower in the market. Majority of the respondents (66.4%) attested that the response time of the fire services was between 10-30 minutes after call was made to them. Kabara et al. (2023) studied the fire safety preparedness in Muhammad Abubakar Rimi market in Kano. It was revealed that majority (72.2%) of the respondents had no idea about fire safety regulations, while 95.4% had no fire extinguishers in their shops, 83.0% had no practical fire training, and 89.0% had no fire safety policy awareness.

This study aims to address the existing gaps in our understanding of how fire services respond to market fire outbreaks in Benin City. In achieving this aim,

the various objectives were set: to identify the causes of market fire, evaluate the preparedness among market occupants and fire services personnel in the advent of market fire outbreak, determine the distribution pattern of fire services, and assess their response time and analyse existing preventive measures and their adequacy.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptualisation of response time is an integral part of evaluating the response of fire services to a market fire. Response time is multifaceted and has been defined from the perspective of fire fighters and the public. According to U.S. Fire Administration/ National Fire Data Centre (2006) in the fire service, response time typically starts from when a call is received by the emergency communications centre until the first apparatus arrives at the scene. For the public, the response time clock starts ticking when they become aware of an ongoing emergency incident and notify the fire department. Response time in the context of a fire service response to market fires involves the swift and coordinated effort to address emergencies occurring within market places (Challands, 2010; Jaldell, 2017; Buffington & Ezekoye, 2019). Fire services' responses to market fire have been conceptualised as follows:

Notification Phase: The response time begins when the fire department receives notification of a fire outbreak in a market. This notification may come from various sources, including emergency calls, automated fire alarms, or reports from market vendors or bystanders.

Dispatch and Mobilisation: Upon receiving the notification, the fire department promptly dispatches firefighting units and resources to the market fire scene. Dispatchers prioritize the allocation of resources

based on the severity of the fire, potential risks to life and property, and the need for specialised equipment.

Travel Time and Access: The distribution/location of fire services stations play a crucial role in the ease of reaching the market places. Firefighters navigate through traffic and possibly congested market areas to reach the fire location. The accessibility of the market, including narrow alleys, crowded stalls, and limited entry points, may affect travel time and present challenges for fire apparatus manoeuvrability.

On-Site Assessment and Action: Upon arrival at the market fire scene, firefighters conduct a rapid assessment to evaluate the extent of the fire, potential hazards, and the need for additional resources. They initiate firefighting operations, such as deploying hoses, establishing water sources, and implementing tactics to contain and extinguish the fire.

Evacuation and Rescue Operations: Simultaneously, firefighters prioritize the evacuation of market occupants, including vendors, shoppers, and bystanders, ensuring their safety and facilitating their exit from the affected area. Rescue operations may be necessary to assist individuals trapped or injured by the fire.

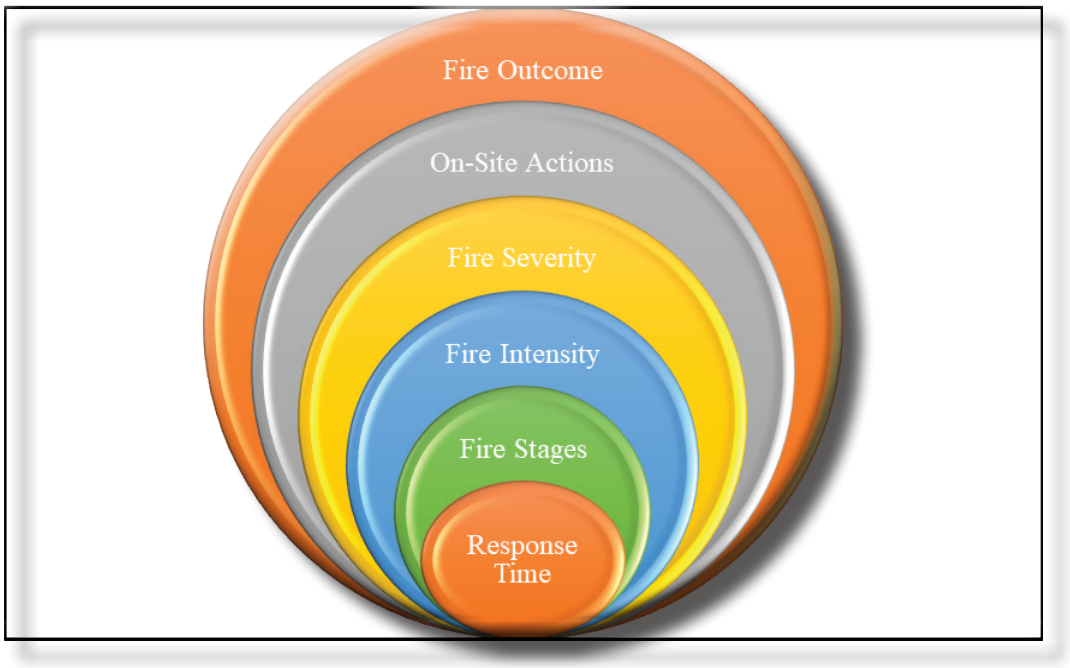
Collaborative Response: Fire services collaborate with other emergency responders, such as police, medical personnel, and municipal authorities, to coordinate efforts and manage the overall response to the market fire. This collaboration enhances resource allocation, communication, and incident command.

The schematics (see Figure 1) show the relationship between response time and other variables (Fire stages, Fire intensity, Fire severity On-site action, and Fire outcome). The relationship between response time and fire stages is crucial in understanding the dynamics of firefighting operations and their impact on the progression and outcomes of fires.

Ignition Stage: The ignition stage marks the beginning of a fire, where a heat source ignites a combustible material, leading to the release of heat, light, and gases. During this stage, the response time of firefighting personnel plays a critical role in preventing the fire from escalating and spreading further. A rapid response can contain the fire while it is still small and localised, minimising damage and reducing the risk of injuries or fatalities.

Growth Stage: As the fire grows in size and intensity, the response time becomes increasingly important in controlling its spread and preventing it from reaching more advanced stages. During the growth stage, firefighting resources must arrive promptly to initiate suppression efforts, such as deploying hose lines, establishing water supplies, and implementing tactical strategies to confine and extinguish the fire.

Figure 1: Relationship of Response Time with the Effect of Fire



Outcome Source: Authors' Abstraction, 2024

Fully Developed Stage: In the fully developed stage, the fire reaches its maximum size and intensity, with flames engulfing the area and generating intense heat and smoke. Response time remains critical during this stage, as delays in deploying firefighting resources can result in rapid fire growth, structural collapse, and increased hazards for occupants and responders. Effective coordination and rapid deployment of firefighting tactics are essential to prevent further escalation and mitigate the impact of the fire.

Decay Stage: As firefighting operations progress and the fire is brought under control, it enters the decay stage, where the intensity and size of the fire diminish. While response time remains important during this stage, the focus shifts towards containment, extinguishment, and

overhaul activities to ensure that the fire is completely extinguished and that hot spots are adequately cooled to prevent re-ignition.

The relationship between response time and fire stages underscores the critical importance of timely and effective firefighting operations in mitigating the impact of fires and safeguarding lives and property. By minimising response times and deploying resources efficiently, fire services can improve their ability to intervene at various stages of a fire's development, ultimately enhancing their effectiveness in fire suppression and prevention.

Response time is critical for controlling fire intensity, which is evident throughout the fire stages. During the initial stages, a rapid response can limit fire escalation by containing it while small, reducing fuel consumption and heat release. As fires progress, delays in response can lead to increased intensity, rapid spread, and greater challenges for containment and suppression. Peak intensity poses the greatest threat, requiring prompt deployment of resources. As fires are brought under control, response time remains influential in managing residual heat and preventing re-ignition. Minimising response times and effective resource deployment enhance firefighting efforts, saving lives and reducing property loss.

A rapid response to a fire incident can greatly impact its severity. The early arrival of firefighting personnel allows for containment in the initial stages, preventing the spread and reducing structural damage and risk to occupants. Response time directly affects firefighters' ability to contain and suppress fires, with delays leading to increased severity and challenges in suppression. Timely deployment of resources enables effective tactics like ventilation and water application. Severity is closely tied to risks to life and property, with fast responses minimising exposure and damage.

Rapid containment also reduces environmental impact, preventing pollutant release and ecological damage. Efficient response efforts by fire services reduce severity, protecting lives, property, and the environment.

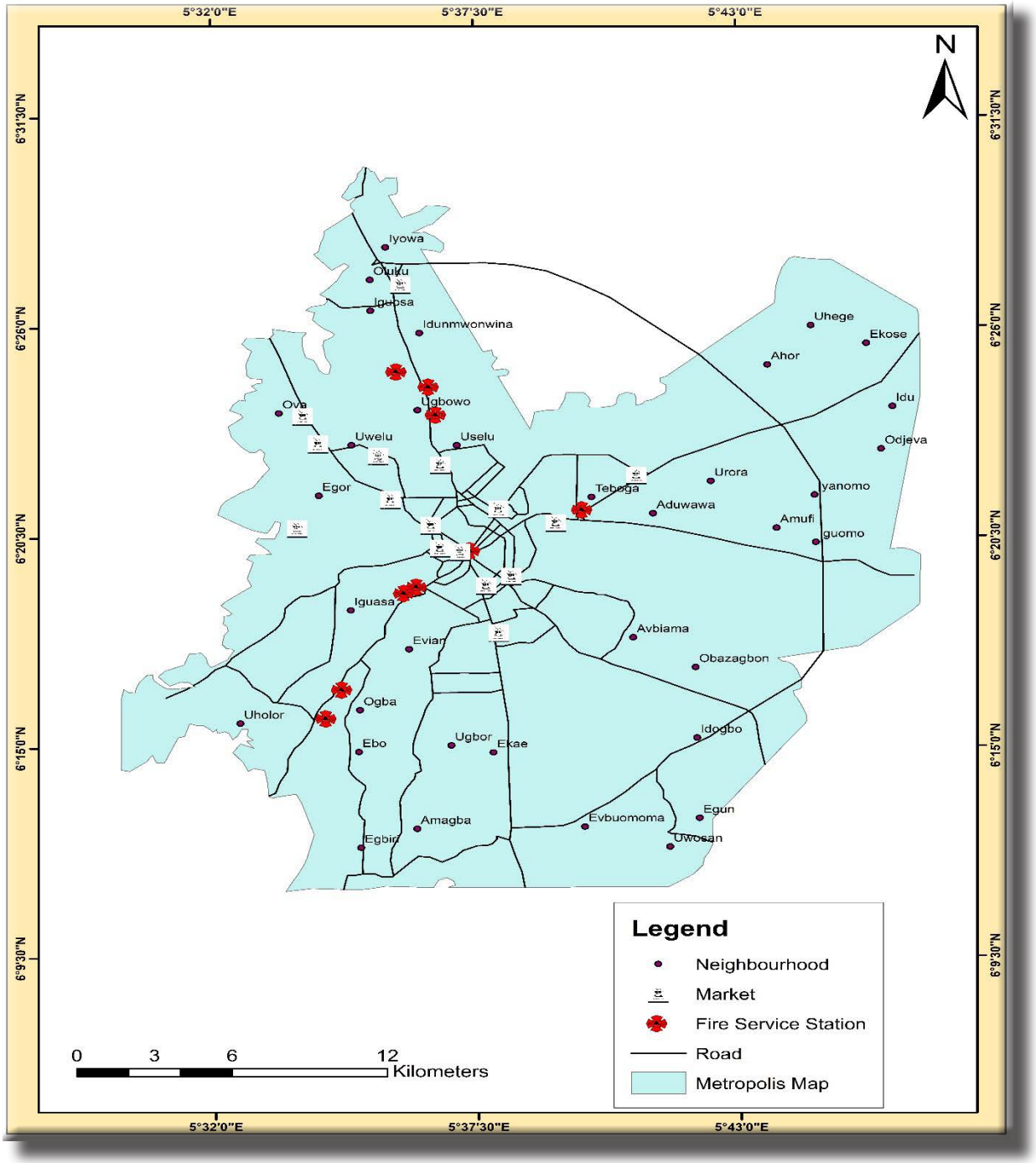
A rapid response time enables firefighting personnel to swiftly arrive at fire incidents, facilitating immediate on-site actions such as situation assessment, command establishment, and firefighting operations initiation. Prompt arrival minimises fire escalation and reduces its impact on life and property. Response time directly influences resource and personnel deployment, allowing for timely equipment and specialised team deployment based on fire severity. Safety measures implementation, including evacuation and Personal Protective Equipment use, is enabled by rapid response. Shorter response times afford more time for strategic decision-making, enhancing effectiveness in adapting tactics and optimising on-site actions. Coordinated efforts and communication among responders are vital for effective on-site actions, facilitated by rapid response times. By minimising response times and optimising on-site actions, fire services enhance their ability to control fires, mitigate risks, and protect lives and property.

To effectively manage response time in market fire incidents, proactive planning, training, and coordination among fire departments, market management authorities, and local stakeholders are essential. By integrating response time considerations into the context of market fires, fire services can improve their preparedness, responsiveness, and effectiveness in protecting lives and minimising property loss during emergencies (Feng, Y., & Cui, 2021).

The Study Area

The Benin metropolis is an important pre-colonial Nigerian urban centre. Positioned approximately between latitudes 6°19'00''N and 6°21'00''N and longitudes 5°34'00''E and 5°44'00''E, with an average elevation of 77.8m above sea level. The city is located in southern Nigeria and experiences a tropical wet and dry climate characterised by distinct rainy and dry seasons. In Benin City, Nigeria, the dry season typically spans from November to March, while the wet season, is between April to October. Benin City embodies the amalgamation of three contiguous local government areas (Egor, Ikpoba-Okha, and Oredo) and segments of two additional local government areas (Uhunmwode and Ovia North-East). Situated in Nigeria's southern region, Benin City has experienced significant growth and transformation, fuelled by its historical significance and strategic location. Rapid urban expansion, primarily driven by residential development, characterises the city's spatial growth, with an estimated growth rate of 5.5 km^2 annually and a yearly population growth rate of 5.5% (World Population Review, 2024). The status of the city as a transit hub coupled with migration is a key factor propelling its physical expansion. (See Figure 2 for reference.)

Figure 2: Benin Metropolis Showing Fire Services Stations and Market Facilities



Source: Gadm (2024), Google Earth Map (2024), Modified by Authors, 2024.

Methodology

The study investigated the response of fire services to market fire outbreak in Benin metropolis, Nigeria, using the survey research design. The research was carried out

from 2023-2024. Data were generated through the use of questionnaires (traders and fire services personnel) and complemented by data from secondary sources. Markets that have records of fire outbreaks in the last fifteen (15) years were the objective of the study and traders in these markets were the population of the study, to whom the questionnaire was administered. Questionnaire were also administered to fire service personnel.

A total of 480 copies of questionnaire were administered equally to stall owners (30 each) in the various markets and 361 copies of questionnaire were returned (75.2% response rate). During the recognisance survey, the floor plan showing the numbers and positions of the stalls of each of the studied markets was drawn. This formed the sampling frame for the individual market. In selecting the stall owners who were part of the study, the simple random sampling method (Lucky Dip) was employed. In each market, 30 copies of questionnaire were administered to shop-owners. Thirty-six fire service personnel were administered 36 copies of questionnaire (i.e. four fire service personnel from each fire service station). Table 1 and 2 show the spread of the questionnaires distributed to stall owners and fire service personnel.

Table 1: Spread of Questionnaire Distributed

Market	Questionnaire Distributed	Valid Questionnaire Returned
Commercial Building (New Market)	30	13
Commercial Building (Oliha Market)	30	10
Egor Market	30	30
Eki-Osa Market	30	29

Evbuotubu Market	30	30
Kara Market	30	30
Lagos Street Market	30	25
Oba Market	30	30
Ogida Timber Market	30	30
Oregbeni Market	30	22
Phil Hall Mark	30	4
Santana Market	30	17
Shopping Complex (Oluku Market)	30	11
Useh Market	30	20
Uselu Market	30	30
Uwelu Market (Motor Parts)	30	30
Total	**480**	**361**

Source: Authors' Fieldwork, 2024

Table 2: Interviewed Fire Service Personnel

Fire Services	Personnel Interviewed
UNIBEN Fire Services	4
Nigerian Army School of Supply and Transport Fire Department	4
NPDC fire Services	4
Integrated Data Services Limited Fire Services	4
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting Services	4
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	4
Edo State Fire Services	4
Federal Fire Services, Edo State Command	4
UBTH Fire Services	4
Total	**36**

Source: Authors' Fieldwork, 2024

Results and Discussion

Causes of Market Fire

Benin City faces challenges of aging infrastructure, overcrowded markets, and informal electrical connections, all of which increase the risk of fires. To be able to determine the prevalent causes of market fire outbreaks in the study area and establish if there is a variation in the mean of the causes of market fire outbreaks among the markets, frequency table and analysis of variance ANOVA statistical technique was employed. Table 3 and Table 4 showed the frequency and percentages of the causes of market fire outbreaks by traders and fire service personnel respectively, while Table 5 showed the ANOVA test. Table 3 was computed as a frequency and percentages while Table 4 was a multiple-choice question computed as a frequency and percentages. The responses of traders were juxtaposed with those of fire service personnel to ascertain any disparities in their assessments. Analysis of Tables 3 and 4 revealed a congruence in the responses provided by both market stall owners and fire service personnel regarding the causes of market fires in Benin metropolis.

Table 3: Causes and Mean ($\bar{x}$) of Market Fire Outbreaks in Benin Metropolis (Stall Owners' Response)

Causes of Market Fire	Frequency	Percent	$\bar{x}$
Electrical hazards	237	65.7	1.83
Unattended Refuse Fire	8	2.2	
Cooking Fire	86	23.8	
Kerosene Explosion	30	8.3	
Total	361	100.0	

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

Table 4: Causes of Market Fire Outbreaks in Benin Metropolis (Fire Service Personnel Response)

Cause of Market Fire Outbreak[a]	Responses		Percentage of Cases
	N	Percentage	
Hydrocarbon (Kerosene) Explosion	24	16.8%	66.7%
Unattended Refuse Fire	12	8.4%	33.3%
Gas Cause Fire	44	30.8	122.2
Electrical Hazard	63	44.1%	175%
Total	143	100.0%	397.2%

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

From Tables 3 and 4, it can be observed that the major cause of market fire outbreak in the metropolis was electrical hazards. The primary cause of market fire outbreaks in the metropolis, particularly in Benin City, is electrical hazards. These hazards stem from various factors, including outdated or poorly installed electrical wiring systems prone to degradation over time, leading to faults such as short circuits and exposed wires. The use of substandard electrical materials and wiring exacerbates the risk, as they may be unable to handle required electrical loads, resulting in overheating and fire hazards. Additionally, the high demand for electricity in crowded marketplaces leads to the overloading of electrical circuits, sparking fires. Illegal tapping into the electrical grid further increases risks, as these connections often disregard safety standards. Inadequate maintenance of electrical systems also contributed significantly to the prevalence of faults, with environmental factors such as high temperatures and humidity compounding the risks by corroding electrical components. Overall, the combination of poor infrastructure, substandard materials, overloading, illegal connections, lack of maintenance, and environmental conditions create a precarious

situation in many markets, making them vulnerable to fire outbreaks caused by electrical faults.

Cooking fires are a major cause of fire outbreaks in Nigerian markets due to factors such as the widespread use of open flames, overcrowded conditions, lack of ventilation systems, and proximity to flammable materials. Kerosene explosions follow cooking fires in terms of frequency, posing a significant threat due to the highly flammable nature of kerosene and issues like improper handling, counterfeit products, and inadequate safety measures, as seen in the case of Evbuotubu market. Additionally, unattended refuse fires contribute to the risk in Nigerian markets due to the accumulation of combustible materials and environmental conditions that facilitate fire spread.

This finding is backed by the findings of Twum-Barima (2014), Odaudu et al. (2019), and Onyejekwe, et al. (2023). They found out that electrical hazards are the major cause of fire outbreaks in markets, particularly in Sub-Saharan Countries.

A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the four identified causes of market fire outbreaks in markets that have had fire incidents in the last 15 years. From Table 5, the one-way ANOVA revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in the mean cause of market fire outbreak between at least two markets, $F(3, 357) = 23.903$, $p = 0.000 < \alpha=0.05$. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternate hypothesis accepted which states that “there was a significant difference in the mean causes of market fire outbreaks in the study area”.

Table 5: ANOVA Test

Name of Market					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	722.594	3	240.865	23.903	.000
Within Groups	3597.406	357	10.077		
Total	4320.000	360			

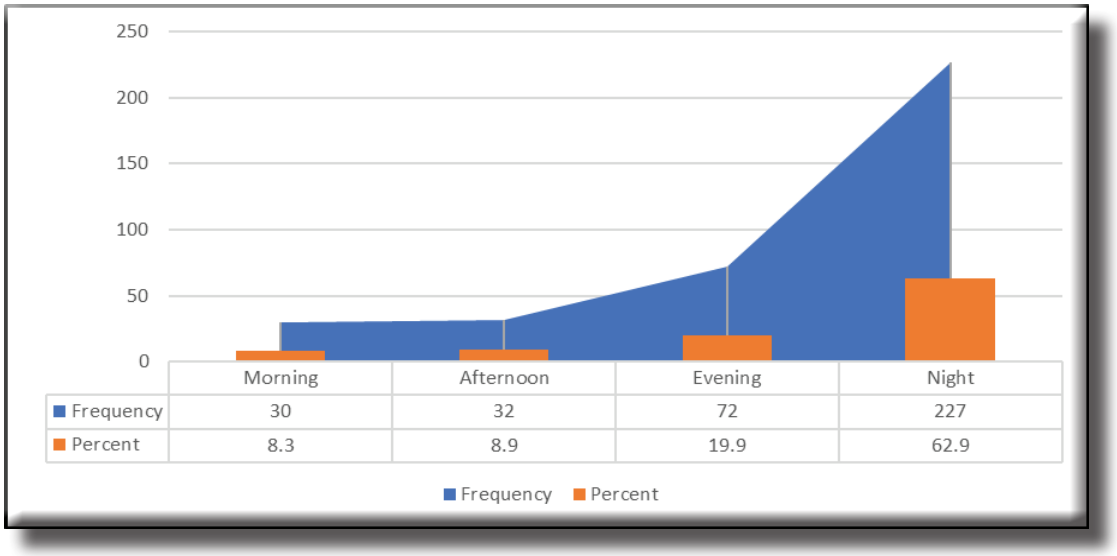
Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

Electrical hazards were identified as the major cause of fire in markets places such as New Benin, Oregbeni, Uselu, Phil Hall Mark, Uwelu, Commercial building (New Market), Commercial building (Lagos Street), Oba, Ekiosa, Kara, Egor, Plymouth shopping complex, Commercial building (Oliha), Santana, and Ogida. While kerosene explosion was identified as the major cause of fire in Evbuotubu market.

Relational Analysis of Time of Market Fire Outbreak in Benin Metropolis

It is important to note that market fires can occur unpredictably at any time of the day due to various factors such as negligence, accidents, or arson. Market fires in Nigeria can occur at any time, but certain patterns may emerge based on factors such as market activity, cooking practices, and electricity usage. Understanding this pattern would help in mitigating the outbreak of fire in markets in Nigeria. Figure 3 showed the time of the day of market fire outbreak occurrence.

Figure 3: Time of the Day of Market Fire Outbreak Occurrence



Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

From Figure 3, the result showed a continual increase in the frequency of responses as day-time transitions to night-time. Those who affirmed that the market fire occurred at night-time had the highest number of responses. The occurrence of market fire outbreaks at night in Benin City can be relationally analysed through several factors. Firstly, reduced visibility during night-time may delay the detection of first-stage fires, allowing them to escalate before intervention. Additionally, at night there are fewer people present compared to daytime, potentially impacting response times and rescue efforts. The continued use of electrical appliances during night-time hours also contributes to the risk of fire outbreaks, especially if safety measures are not strictly adhered to. Moreover, the absence of proper lighting may make it more challenging for security personnel to notice hazardous conditions such as faulty wiring or overheating equipment. Lastly, in some cases, deliberate acts of arson may occur under the cover of darkness, further increasing the likelihood of market fires at night. These relational factors highlight the multifaceted nature of market fire outbreaks during night-time

hours in Benin City, emphasising the importance of comprehensive fire prevention and safety measures.

The above findings are in partial agreement with those by Aderonmu et al. (2023), in that fire outbreaks were also found to be highest at night. However, while the second-highest market fire occurrence was found to be in the evenings in this study, the aforementioned researcher observed the second-highest fire occurrence to be in the mornings.

Relational Analysis of Seasons of Occurrences of Market Fire Outbreak in Benin Metropolis

Understanding the impact of climatic factors on market fire occurrences in Benin City is essential for implementing effective fire prevention and management strategies. As earlier stated in the study area section, Benin City is characterised by wet and dry seasons. These climatic conditions can influence various aspects of market activities, including the use of cooking methods, the prevalence of electrical appliances, and the susceptibility of market infrastructure to environmental stressors. By conducting a relational analysis of climatic effects on market fires, we can uncover the interplay between weather patterns, market dynamics, and fire risk factors, ultimately informing targeted interventions to enhance market safety and resilience.

Table 6 was used for the relational analysis between seasonality and market fire outbreak incidents in Benin City. The red highlights show market fire that occurred in the dry season while the blue highlights show market fire that occurred in the wet season.

Table 6: Date of Market Fire Outbreak Occurrence

Market	Date of Market Fire Outbreak	
	Month	Year
Commercial Building (New Market)	January	2024
Commercial Building (Oliha Market)	April	2023
Egor Market	November	2021
Eki-Osa Market	December	2019
Evbuotubu Market	June	2018
Kara Market	February	2018
Lagos Street Market	January	2023
Oba Market	June	2020
Ogida Timber Market	January	2016
Oregbeni Market	March	2021
Phil Hall Mark	December	2016
Santana Market	October	2019
Shopping Complex (Oluku Market)	April	2023
Useh Market	July	2023
Uselu Market	February	2015
Uwelu Market (Motor Parts)	August	2019

Source: Authors' Fieldwork, 2024.

From Table 6, it was observed that majority (62.5%) of the market fires occurred during the dry season while few (37.5%) of the market fires occurred during the wet season. The occurrence of market fire outbreaks during the dry season in Benin City can be analysed through a combination of environmental, socio-economic, and behavioural factors. The dry season is characterised by hot and dry weather conditions. During this time, the woods, tarpaulin, and other materials used for building market stalls and their extensions become dry and combustible, increasing the risk of fires spreading rapidly. Additionally, the harmattan wind exacerbates the effects of electrical faults by

transporting electrical sparks and leading to an increased likelihood of electrical fires in marketplaces. The dry season also coincides with periods of heightened shopping activities, as individuals flock to markets for various purposes such as shopping and food purchases. This increased human activity, coupled with the prevalent use of electrical devices (electric-powered festive decors), further elevates the risk of fire outbreaks.

The occurrence of market fire outbreaks during the wet season in Benin City involves a complex interplay of environmental, infrastructural, and human factors. The wet season is characterised by heavy rainfall and increased humidity. While the wet conditions may mitigate the risk of fires caused by dry vegetation, they introduce other challenges such as water damage to electrical systems and infrastructure, which can potentially lead to electrical faults and fires.

Evaluating the Preparedness Among Stall Owners and Fire Services Personnel in Advent of Market Fire Outbreak

Assessing the preparedness of market stall owners and fire services personnel is critical for enhancing fire prevention and management strategies in the event of market fire outbreaks. The effectiveness of response efforts relies heavily on the preparedness levels of both stall owners, who are responsible for fire prevention measures within their stalls, and fire services personnel, who are tasked with extinguishing fires and ensuring public safety. By evaluating the preparedness among stall owners and fire services personnel, insights can be gained into existing strengths and areas for improvement in fire prevention, response, and mitigation strategies, ultimately contributing to safer market environments and reduced fire-related risks.

Awareness of Emergency Protocol in the Advent of Market Fire Outbreak

An emergency number in a fire service station is crucial for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a direct and immediate means for individuals to report emergencies, enabling swift response from firefighting personnel. Secondly, it facilitates coordination and communication during crises, ensuring that resources are efficiently deployed to address the emergency. Additionally, it enhances public safety by empowering community members to seek assistance promptly in the event of a fire or related emergency, potentially minimizing property damage and saving lives. To assess the presence of emergency contact information of fire service stations throughout Benin metropolis, as well as the awareness of this information among stall owners, data were gathered from fire service personnel regarding the availability of emergency numbers and from stall owners regarding their knowledge of such numbers. The findings are presented in Tables 7 and 8, delineating responses from both groups.

Table 7: Contingency Table of Name of Fire Services and Availability of Emergency Number

Yes		Availability of Emergency Number		Total
		No		
Name of Fire Services	NPDC Fire Services	0	4	4
	Federal Fire Services	4	0	4
	UBTH Fire Services	4	0	4
	Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	4	0	4
	107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	0	4	4
	Edo State Fire Services Oredo	4	0	4
	UNIBEN Fire Services	0	4	4
	Nigeria Army Fire Department	0	4	4
	Integrated Data Service Limited	4	0	4
Total		20	16	36

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

From Table 7, it was observed that only five out of the nine fire services stations located in the metropolis have emergency numbers and out of these five, only three (Federal fire services, Edo State fire services and Integrated data service limited) offer public services outside their premises. Others offer their services within their premises

and are not under any obligations to venture outside. However, it was mentioned by the fire services personnel in UBTH that on few occasions they have rendered public services to burning buildings and vehicles that are close to the location of their institution.

The cross-tabulation analysis revealed the respondents' awareness of the fire service emergency number and their propensity to dial it during market fire outbreaks. Table 8 indicates that a significant majority of respondents are unaware of the emergency number for fire service stations. This lack of awareness among market stall owners in Benin City may stem from insufficient public education or outreach efforts regarding emergency protocols and contact details. Among those who are aware of the number, a majority (58.1%) did not utilise it during market fire outbreaks. Possible reasons for this include assumptions that others will take action, fears of repercussions, distrust in response times, or feeling overwhelmed by the situation.

Table 8: Contingency Table of the Awareness of Fire Service Emergency Numbers and Dialled Emergency Numbers During Market Fire Outbreak

Yes		Called Emergency Number		Total
		No		
Awareness of Fire Service Emergency Number	Yes	31	43	74
	No	7	276	283
Total		31	324	357

Source: Authors' Computation, 20214.

The chi-square test was carried out to validate the proposition that there was no

association between awareness of the fire service emergency number and calling it during market fire outbreak.

Table 9: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	118.607[a]	1	.000		
Continuity Correction[b]	113.748	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	95.586	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	118.274	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	357				
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.84. b. Computed only for a 2x2 table					

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

From Table 9, it was observed that the chi-square test of independence revealed a significant association between awareness of fire service emergency numbers and calling during market ire outbreak, X^2 (1) = 118.607, p = 0.000 < α=0.05. Since the pseudo value is lower than the alpha value, the null hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternate hypothesis that states that "there was a significant association between

awareness of fire service emergence number and calling during market fire outbreak". To enhance understanding of the awareness levels among stall owners regarding appropriate actions during market fire outbreaks, input was sought from both fire service personnel about the organisation of awareness programmes focused on safety protocols for stall owners during such incidents, and from stall owners themselves vis-à-vis their familiarity with safety protocols applicable during market fire outbreaks. See Tables 10 and 11 for the respective results.

Table 10: Contingency Table of Fire Services and Awareness of Safety Protocol Programmes to Market Traders

Name of Fire Services	**Awareness Programmes to Market Traders**		**Total**
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	4	4
Federal Fire Services	4	0	4
UBTH Fire Services	0	4	4
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	4	0	4
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	4	0	4
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	4	0	4
UNIBEN Fire Services	4	0	4
Nigeria Army Fire Department	4	0	4
Integrated Data Service Limited	0	4	4
Total	**24**	**12**	**36**

Source: Author's Computation, 2024.

From Table 10 it was observed that personnel from six out of the nine fire service

stations affirmed that they have organised awareness programs on safety protocol programmes for stall owners during market fire outbreak. In Benin metropolis, the reasons behind some fire services personnel for not organising market fire protocol are as follows; focus on immediate response, inadequate training in public education, miscommunication within the department, or prioritization of other tasks. While most offer fire safety protocols programme due to mandates for public education, legal obligations, community outreach efforts, prevention initiatives, and enhancing public safety.

Table 11: Awareness of Safety Protocol During Fire Outbreak by Stall Owners

Safety Protocol	Frequency	Percent
Yes	21	5.8
No	340	94.2
Total	361	100.0

Source: Author's Computation, 2024.

The findings from Table 11 reveal a concerning trend: the majority of stall owners lack awareness of the appropriate fire safety protocol to follow during a market fire outbreak, with only a few claiming familiarity with such protocols. When considering these results alongside those presented in Table 10, it becomes apparent that the implementation of market fire safety protocol programs by six different fire service stations has not effectively increased awareness among stall owners. While the decision to implement market fire safety protocol programs for market stall owners likely arose from concerns over previous fire incidents, regulatory requirements, or community safety initiatives, the result indicated that the majority of stall owners were

unaware of the market fire safety protocol which suggested that there are potential shortcomings in program's effectiveness, such as insufficient outreach, inadequate communication channels, or a lack of engagement from stall owners.

This result provided additional insight into the findings presented in Table 8, which indicate that the majority of stall owners lack awareness of the emergency contact numbers for fire service stations and a significant portion of those who are aware choose not to contact fire service stations during market fire incidents.

Assessment of the Preparedness for Market Fire Outbreak

Assessing the preparedness for market fire outbreaks is crucial for ensuring the safety and security of both stall owners and customers in the market. With the potential for devastating consequences, understanding the readiness of markets traders to effectively respond to fire emergencies is paramount. This assessment encompasses various factors, including the availability and accessibility of firefighting resources, fire drills and exercises, and the effectiveness of preventive measures. By evaluating these aspects, stakeholders can identify strengths, weaknesses, and areas for improvement, ultimately enhancing the overall resilience of markets to fire incidents.

When evaluating firefighting resources' availability and accessibility, it is paramount to prioritize the assessment of firefighting personnel's availability, given its pivotal role in ensuring effective response and mitigation of fire-related incidents. Table 12 showed the contingency table between the name of the fire services and the number of fire services personnel.

Table 12: Contingency Table between Name of Fire Services and Number of Firefighting Personnel

Name of Fire Services	Firefighting Personnel										
	10	13	15	16	19	22	24	30	38	73	
NPDC Fire Services	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Federal Fire Services	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓	73
UBTH Fire Services	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0	24
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	30
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	0	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	22
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
UNIBEN Fire Services	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	19
Nigeria Army Fire Department	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Integrated Data Service Limited	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Total	10	13	15	16	19	22	24	30	38	73	222

Source: Authors' Fieldwork, 2024.

As per the findings presented in Table 12, it is evident that every firefighting station surveyed met the prescribed threshold of four firefighting personnel, following the guidelines set forth by the International Association of Fire Fighters (IFA, 1995).

According to IFA standards, a minimum of four firefighters are required on each engine or pumper company, and at least five firefighters on each ladder truck company, ensuring safe and effective operations during any type of structural fire. It is crucial to emphasize that these staffing levels represent the minimum requirement for ensuring operational safety and efficiency.

The findings presented in Table 13 indicate that all fire service stations surveyed possess at least one fire engine. However, upon comparison with the standards outlined by the International Association of Fire Fighters (IFA), it becomes apparent that certain stations, such as the Federal Fire Service, lack a sufficient number of fire engines relative to the size of their staffing. Conversely, other stations, exemplified by NPDC, demonstrate adequacy in their fire engine allocation relative to their staff size. Notably, the cumulative ratio of fire engines to staff across all stations stands at 1:12, significantly surpassing the recommended ratio of 1:4. This observation underscores the critical role of the availability of fire engines in effectively combating market fire outbreaks, as it directly impacts the success or failure of firefighting efforts.

Table 13: Contingency Table Between Fire Service Station and Availability of Firefighting Resources

Availability of Fire Engine			
Name of Fire Services	Availability of Fire Engine		Total
	Yes	No. of Trucks	
NPDC Fire Services	✓	2	1
Federal Fire Services	✓	1	1
UBTH Fire Services	✓	1	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	3	1

107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	2	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	5	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓	1	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	2	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓	1	1
Total	9	18	9

Availability of Fire Hose

Name of Fire Services	Availability of Fire Hose	Total
	Yes	
NPDC Fire Services	✓	1
Federal Fire Services	✓	1
UBTH Fire Services	✓	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓	1
Total	9	9

Availability of Fire Hydrant

Name of Fire Services	Availability of Fire Hydrant		Total
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	✓	1
Federal Fire Services	0	✓	1
UBTH Fire Services	✓	0	1

Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	0	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	0	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	0	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓	0	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	0	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓	0	1
Total	7	2	9
Availability of Fire Extinguisher			
Name of Fire Services	Availability of Fire Extinguisher		Total
	Yes		
NPDC Fire Services	✓		1
Federal Fire Services	✓		1
UBTH Fire Services	✓		1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓		1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓		1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓		1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓		1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓		1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓		1
Total	9		9
Availability of Smoke Detectors			
Name of Fire Services	Availability of Smoke Detectors		Total
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	✓	1
Federal Fire Services	0	✓	1

UBTH Fire Services	✓	0	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	0	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	0	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	0	✓	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	0	✓	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	0	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓	0	1
Total	5	4	9

Availability of Hand Gloves

Name of Fire Services	Availability of Hand Gloves		Total
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	✓	1
Federal Fire Services	✓	0	1
UBTH Fire Services	✓	0	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	0	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	0	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	0	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	0	✓	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	0	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	0	✓	1
Total	6	3	9

Availability of Fire Blankets

Name of Fire Services	Availability of Fire Blankets		Total
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	✓	1

Federal Fire Services	✓	0	1
UBTH Fire Services	0	✓	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	0	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	0	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	0	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓	0	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	0	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	✓	0	1
Total	7	2	9
Availability of First Aid Kit			
Name of Fire Services	Availability of First Aid Kit		Total
	Yes	No	
NPDC Fire Services	0	✓	1
Federal Fire Services	✓	0	1
UBTH Fire Services	0	✓	1
Aerodrome Rescue and Fire Fighting	✓	0	1
107 Air Maritime Group, Nigerian Air Force	✓	0	1
Edo State Fire Services Oredo	✓	0	1
UNIBEN Fire Services	✓	0	1
Nigeria Army Fire Department	✓	0	1
Integrated Data Service Limited	0	✓	1
Total	6	3	9

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

It was also observed that all the fire station trucks were equipped with fire hoses and fire extinguishers. Two fire services were found to be without fire hydrants and blankets, while three of the fire services stations were not provided hand gloves and first aid kits. And four fire service stations were not having smoke detectors. These findings underscore the importance of comprehensive resource allocation and adherence to safety standards in ensuring effective firefighting capabilities across all stations, thereby enhancing preparedness and response to fire emergencies.

Table 14 showed the firefighting resources that were said to be available in markets in Benin metropolis. understanding the availability and accessibility would help to explain the success or failure of putting out market fire.

Table 14: Availability of Firefighting Resources in the Market

Availability of Fire Alarm		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	6.4
No	338	93.6
Total	361	100.0
Availability of Fire Extinguishers		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	76	21.1
No	285	78.9
Total	361	100.0
Availability of Fire Hydrants		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1	.3
No	360	99.7
Total	361	100.0
Availability of Fire Hose and Cables		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	23	6.4

No	338	93.6
Total	361	100.0
Trained for Fire Outbreaks		
	Frequency	Percent
Yes	11	3.0
No	350	97.0
Total	361	100.0

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024

The data in Table 14 underscores a notable scarcity of critical firefighting resources, including fire alarms, extinguishers, hydrants, and hoses, alongside a conspicuous absence of training for effective fire outbreak response. These findings are in line with the findings of Kabara et al. (2023) which revealed that majority of the respondents were not aware of fire safety regulations, had no fire extinguishers in their shops and had no practical fire training. These deficiencies illuminate a pressing need for heightened endeavours aimed at bolstering accessibility to firefighting essential resources and implementing comprehensive fire training programs. Such initiatives are imperative for fortifying preparedness levels and augmenting response capacities essential for mitigating the risks posed by fire emergencies effectively.

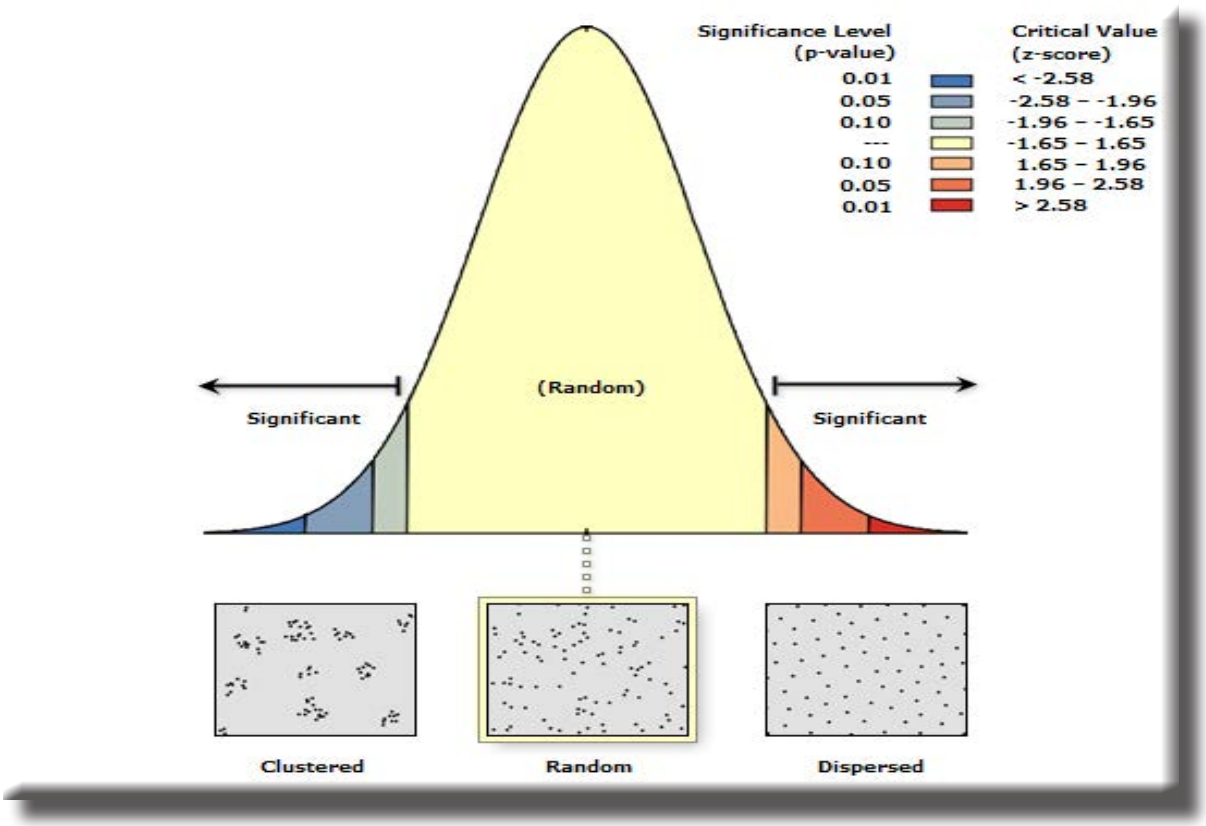
Distribution of Fire Service Stations and their Response Time to Market Fire Outbreak

The distribution of fire service stations and their response time to market fire outbreaks play a crucial role in safeguarding lives, protecting property, and minimising economic losses in urban areas. Understanding the distribution of fire service stations and their ability to respond promptly to market fire outbreaks is essential for enhancing fire safety measures and disaster management strategies. By analysing these factors,

valuable insights would be gained to inform policy-making, resource allocation, and emergency preparedness efforts aimed at improving fire incident response and overall community resilience.

The distribution pattern of the fire services station was determined using Nearest Neighbour Analysis and it is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Nearest Neighbour Analysis of Fire Service Stations in Benin Metropolis



Nearest Neighbour Ratio:	0.898999		
z-score:	-0.579669		
p-value:	0.562138		
Observed Mean Distance:			1761.9276 Meters
Expected Mean Distance:			1959.8782 Meters

The Nearest Neighbour Analysis of fire service stations in Benin metropolis as an Rn = 0.01 and critical value of >2.58, with N = 9, study area = 138.28km², Nearest

Neighbour Ratio: 0.898999, observed mean distance=1.76km Expected mean Distance =1.96km, and the test significance: p=0.562138 z = -0.579669. The result of the analysis showed that all the fire service stations were randomly distributed. Thus, it can be implied that there was no outlined optimal locational plan for the siting of fire service facilities in the study area. This could be a result of the interest of spatial satisficers. Facilities with a random distribution pattern present both challenges and opportunities for service delivery and emergency response. While this distribution may lead to uneven resource allocation, variable response times, and coverage gaps, it also offers potential benefits such as service redundancy and spatial equity.

In assessing the zone of influence of fire service stations within the Benin metropolis, a buffer analysis was conducted employing a radius of 10km. This distance parameter was established by converting the standard maximum response time of 10 minutes to reach a fire disaster location. In this calculation, the permissible speed limit for fire engines, set at 60km/h, was utilised to determine the expected distance the fire engine could cover within the allotted 10-minute timeframe, resulting in a radius of 10km. Figure 5 showed the result of NNA, as the first plate showed all the fire stations in the markets that have experienced fire outbreaks while the second plate showed the fire service stations that respond to fire outbreaks outside their immediate domain.

Through an extensive buffer analysis utilising a 10km radius, it was discovered that the coverage areas of fire service stations extend to include markets affected by fire outbreaks, despite the absence of three fire service stations (Aerodrome, UBTH, and UNIBEN fire services), which do not respond to fire disasters beyond their jurisdiction. This analytical approach, which delineates spatial zones within

a specified distance from fire stations, facilitates an understanding of the extent to which these stations can provide timely response and support to adjacent areas in the event of emergencies. This finding emphasised the finding result that was revealed by the NNA which stated that although the distribution pattern of the fire service stations was random, their coverage encompassed the market facilities that have experienced fire disasters.

The findings underscore the critical role of fire service stations in mitigating fire-related risks within market environments and highlight the potential effectiveness of their spatial distribution in addressing such incidents. By demonstrating the overlap between fire station buffers and areas prone to fire outbreaks, this analysis offers valuable insights for enhancing emergency preparedness, resource allocation, and response strategies aimed at safeguarding marketplaces and minimizing the impact of fire incidents on communities and local economies.

Response Time of Fire Services to Market Fire Outbreak in the Study Area

Benin City faces unique challenges in effectively combating fires and minimizing their impact on communities and local economies. The response time of fire services to market fire outbreaks is a critical aspect of emergency management and urban resilience Understanding the response time of fire services to market fires is essential for assessing preparedness levels, identifying potential areas for improvement, and enhancing overall disaster response capabilities. A rigorous statistical analysis employing contingency tables, chi-square tests, and eta measures of direction was conducted to investigate the association between response time and the effectiveness

of extinguishing market fire disasters. See Tables 15 to 17 for the contingency table, chi-square test, and eta measures of direction.

Table 15: Contingency Table of Success of Extinguishing Fire and Response Time of Fire Service Department

	Response Time of Fire Service Department						
	10-19 Minutes	20-29 Minutes	30-39 Minutes	40 and Above	They did not Respond		Total
Unsuccessful	0	2	4	5	39	42	92
Fairly Successful	0	2	1	28	147	0	178
Successful	2	0	1	18	70	0	91
Total	2	4	6	51	256	42	361

Source: Authors' Computation , 2024.

The contingency table (Table 15) provided valuable insights into the response time of fire services to market fire outbreaks and its association with the success of extinguishing the fire. Analysis of the data reveals a stark reality: a significant portion of incidents resulted in the fire services not responding within the observed period of the fire occurrence, indicating potential shortcomings in the emergency response system in Benin metropolis. For cases where the fire services did manage to respond, there's a clear trend indicating that a quicker response time is associated with a higher success rate in extinguishing the fire. Notably, incidents where the response time exceeded 30 minutes exhibited a notably lower success rate, suggesting that delays beyond this threshold significantly hamper the effectiveness of firefighting efforts. This finding confirms the concept of response time indicating that there is a strong relationship between the rate of successfulness of extinguishing market fire and

response time. Consequently, this relationship underscores the critical importance of prompt and efficient firefighting operations in mitigating the impact of market fires and safeguarding lives and property. Rapid response enables immediate on-site actions, minimises market fire escalation, facilitates strategic decision-making, and enhances coordination among responders, ultimately improving the effectiveness of fire services in market fire suppression and prevention.

Table 16: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	157.893[a]	10	.000
Likelihood Ratio	152.422	10	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	28.499	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	361		
a. 9 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .50.			

Figure 4: Nearest Neighbour Analysis of Fire Service Stations in Benin Metropolis

In Table 16, the chi-square test, which revealed a significant association between the rate of successfulness in putting out market fires and the time of response by fire services in Benin City. With $X^2(10) = 157.893$, $p = 0.000$, indicated that the association is statistically significant. Similarly, the likelihood ratio test and the linear-by-linear association test also confirm this significant relationship with p-values of .000. These results suggest that the success rate of extinguishing market fires is indeed dependent

on the time it takes for fire services to respond. From these findings, it can be inferred that quicker response times by fire services are associated with higher rates of success in putting out market fires. This underscores the critical importance of rapid deployment and efficient allocation of firefighting resources to effectively manage fire outbreaks in market areas. By minimising response times, fire services can enhance their ability to contain and extinguish fires before they escalate, thereby reducing property damage, protecting lives, and mitigating the overall impact of fire incidents in marketplaces. This result was supported by the findings of Buffington and Ezekoye (2019), which revealed that quick response is the solution to the successfulness of extinguishing fire.

Using the ETA measure of direction to discuss the response time of fire services to market fire outbreaks to the rate of successfulness of putting out the fire provides insights into the strength and direction of the association between these variables. The eta measure assesses the degree of association between two categorical variables, indicating the magnitude of the relationship. See Table 17.

Table 17: ETA Measures of Direction

		Value
Nominal by Interval	Success of Fire Service Department Dependent	.541
	Response Time of Fire Service Department Dependent	.307

Source: Authors' Computations, 2024.

From Table 17, it was revealed that the eta measure of direction provided valuable

insights into the relationship between the rate of successfulness of putting out market fires and the time of response by fire services. In that analysis, a value of 0.541 indicated a moderate to strong association between the success of the fire service department and the rate of response. This suggested that variations in response time significantly influenced the success rate of extinguishing market fires. Additionally, the eta value of 0.307 for response time indicated a moderate association, further supporting the notion that response time played a crucial role in determining the effectiveness of firefighting efforts. Overall, these findings underscored the importance of timely response by fire services in mitigating the impact of market fire outbreaks, highlighting the need for efficient resource allocation and operational strategies to improve firefighting outcomes in such scenarios.

Existing Market Suppression Measures and their Adequacy

The analysis of market fire suppression measures and their adequacy is crucial for safeguarding lives and properties within commercial spaces. This analysis entails evaluating the existing measures utilised by market users in fire suppression, rescue, and evacuation of goods in Benin metropolis is essential in addressing any shortcomings and enhancing the overall resilience of marketplaces against fire hazards.

Table 18: Market Fire Suppression Measure in Benin Metropolis

Market Fire Suppression Measures	Frequency	Percent
Fire Service	15	4.2
Communal assistance	128	35.5
Fire Service and Communal Assistance	218	60.4
Total	361	100.0

Source: Authors' Computation, 2024.

Table 18 presents data on the market fire suppression measures employed by stall owners and market users in Benin City. It suggested that there are various strategies utilised for fire suppression within the market environment. Stall owners and market users appear to rely on a combination of fire service assistance and communal efforts, with the majority utilising both concurrently. This indicates a cooperative approach to fire safety, where both formal firefighting services and communal assistance play integral roles in fire suppression efforts. The table highlights the importance of collaboration and community involvement in addressing fire emergencies within the market setting. It suggests that stall owners and market users recognised the value of pooling resources and coordinating efforts to mitigate the impact of market fires effectively.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, the effectiveness of fire services' response to market fire outbreaks in Benin City hinges on various factors, including response time, resource allocation, and coordination efforts. While the data indicates a significant reliance on both formal fire services and communal assistance, there may be room for improvement in terms of response times and overall effectiveness in suppressing market fires. Addressing challenges such as the timely deployment of resources and enhancing coordination between stakeholders could enhance the efficacy of fire services in mitigating the impact of market fire outbreaks. Overall, continual evaluation, investment in resources, and community engagement are crucial for improving the effectiveness of fire services' response to market fire incidents in Benin City, ultimately safeguarding lives and property within these bustling marketplaces

To address this issue and enhance the efficacy of fire services in managing market fire outbreaks, there's a pressing need for improvements in infrastructure, resource allocation, and operational efficiency. Additionally, implementing strategies for early detection and swift communication of fire incidents can help expedite response efforts, minimize damage, and safeguard lives and property within Benin Metropolis.

The evaluation of fire services' response to market fire outbreaks in Benin City yielded several recommendations for improving response capabilities and outcomes. Firstly, measures should focus on reducing response times by strategically placing fire stations closer to market areas, optimising emergency routes, and utilising technology for real-time monitoring and dispatch. Secondly, regular training and drills specific to market fire scenarios for firefighters, stall owners, and market users are essential to enhance preparedness and coordination among emergency responders. Also, the markets should be furnished with proper lighting systems at for night-time. Additionally, adequate allocation of resources such as firefighting equipment, vehicles, and personnel is crucial, along with fostering collaboration and communication between fire services, stakeholders, and local communities to encourage active participation in fire safety initiatives. Moreover, the enforcement of strict fire safety regulations within market areas and the development of comprehensive emergency response plans tailored to market environments are recommended. Finally, raising public awareness about fire safety practices through educational campaigns and community outreach programs can empower individuals to prevent fires and respond effectively in emergencies. By implementing these recommendations, Benin City can strengthen its fire services' response to market fire outbreaks and enhance overall community resilience to fire emergencies.

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Hudson Bay Museum Tea House: #5

Sue Matheson

Is Mmusic Male or Female? Genderism and Socio-cultural Musical Practices in Old Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Genderism posits that there are only two genders, that a person's gender is fixed at birth, and that masculinity and feminity have culturally approved roles in their society. In Igboland and in Old Aguata Local Government, in particular, gender binarism determines everyday lives, making ,the status of a woman is lesser than that of a man. This study examines a corpus of beliefs, proverbs, and music (music being its major focus as an intangible cultural practice/heritage), which denigrates and attacks

women. Because female denigration is orchestrated by men to assert their superiority, it is argued there is a need for cultural re-engineering and recommended that harmful practices against women should be abolished..

Keywords: Genderism, cultural practice, Igboland, traditional music; womanhood.

Introduction

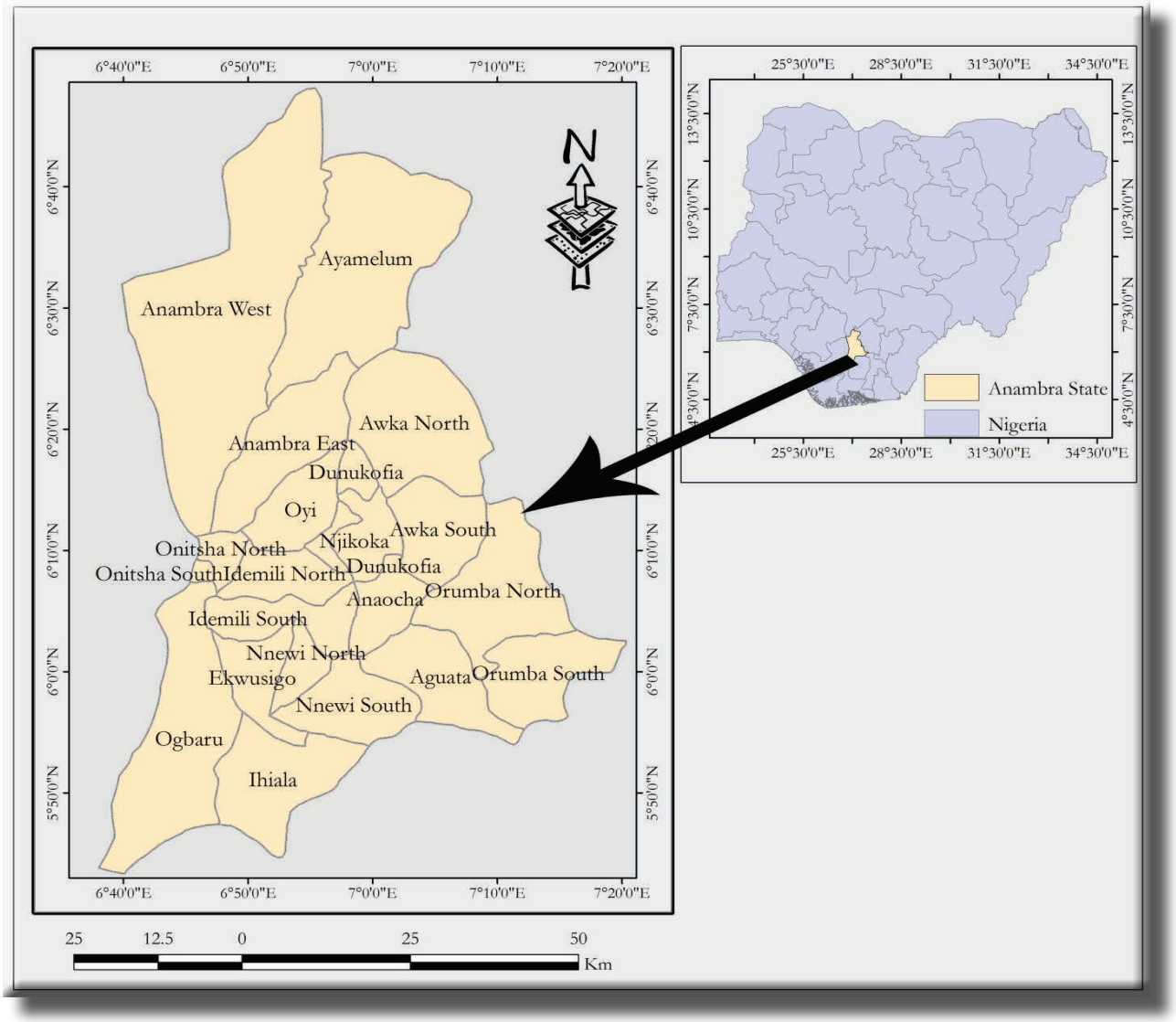
The Bible offers the view that God created a woman out of man's rib—hence, there is the popular saying 'that women are weaker vessels,' inferring that is He made a woman out of a man to illustrate the genesis of inequality in human existence. Inequality is also the case when one considers gender disparities in different African cultures, especially Nigeria, that place men above women. In Nigeria, and in the Eastern part of Nigeria in particular, the responsibilities of community dwellers are regulated according to gender. In such societies, women are restrained from performing certain actions and duties by laws put in place to subdue/marginalize women. As Forchu (2017) points out, such marginalization deprives the entire populace of women's contributions and retards the development of their society (129).

In particular, this genderism has a negative effect on music performance. In Igbo culture, women are forbidden from participating in some ensembles. They are also banned from touching or playing certain musical instruments regarded as sacred. This paper examines the effect of gender issues on socio-cultural practices in Igbo culture, with particular reference to music performance. The discussions in this study center on the Igbo people of old Aguata Local Government of Anambra State.

Locale of Investigation

The Igbo people which is also quite often spelled Ibo is one of the three major ethic groups in Nigeria. They spread primarily across Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, and Imo States and extends to Delta State where they speak a variant of Igbo language. An appreciable Igbo population is also found in Rivers State and in Edo State, where they live as farmers in camps. According to Wikipedia, aside these locations, Igbo people are found in Cameroon, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea, as migrants as well as outside Africa. There has been much speculation about the origins of the Igbo people, which are largely unknown. Geographically, the Igbo homeland is divided into two unequal sections by the Niger River—an eastern (which is the larger of the two) and a western section. Slattery (2010) Opines that Igboland is the home of the Igbo people and it covers most of Southeast Nigeria. This area is divided by the Niger River into two unequal sections. The river, however, has not acted as a cultural barrier to cultural unity rather it has provided an easy means of communication in an area where many settlements claim different origins. The Igbos are also surrounded on all sides by other tribes (the Benin, Urhobo, Ijaw Ogoni, Igala, Tiv, Yako and Ibibio).

Figure 1: Map of Anambra State showing the 21 Local Government Areas



Source: Department of Geography: courtesy of Chidimma Umeogu.

The discussions in this paper are limited to the Igbo people of Old Aguata L.G.A. Aguata is one out of the twenty-one local governments in Anambra State. It is among the largest local government in the state, made up of fourteen towns and situated at the boundary between Anambra and Imo State. Onwuka (2011:26) notes that it sheared boundaries with Aniocha, on the North, Ideato North in Imo State on the South; Orumba North on the East, Orumba North on the north East, Idemmili South on the West and Nnewi South on the North West. In the past, Aguata L.G.A. comprises the

present Orumba North and Orumba South. In 1982, both were created by the then Governor of Anambra State, His Exellency Jim Nwobodo. For a short time, it was abolished when a new regime under Late C. C. Onoh took over, but shortly after his inauguration, the military took over and re-established the two local governments. Orumba North LGA is comprised of fifteen towns with its headquarters at Ajali, while Orumba South is also made up of fifteen towns with its headquarters at Umunze. When included with Nnewi North, Nnewi South and Ekwusigo Local Government Areas, they make up the Anambra South South Senatorial District.

Methods

Data for this study was gathered ethnographically, using interviews, group discussions, non-participant observations, and reviews of relevant literature. The researchers drew respondents from the Igbo communities in Old Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra State. Visits were made to most of the communities, indigenes were randomly interviewed on the subject matter of this research work. Eighteen research assistants were employed, six from each local government. They were first educated about the purpose of the research, encouraged to be open minded, and aided in supplying the information needed. In the course fieldwork, the researchers observed some disparities on the accounts given by the respondents, however, they considered the most recurring accounts as working material for this study. Data was also gathered from the review of related literature.

Definition of Genderism

Genderism, also known as gender binarism, is defined as "the belief that there are only two genders, that a person's gender is fixed at birth" (https://www.dictionary.com/

browse/gendersim). The term genderism was first recorded between 1960 - 1965. A person's gender is determined at birth depending on the genital organ (sex) he/she came into the world with, either male or female. Of course, there are categories of persons who do not fall into any of these: they are either transgender or non-binary gender, and /or queer bodies. The main focus of this study, however, is gender binarism.

Genderism and Gendered Roles in Igbo Culture

The values and norms of Nigerian societies are determined by the men folk. They stipulate what should be regarded as acceptable behaviour expected from every citizen. Doing so, they place themselves higher than women in virtually every aspect of Igbo life. As Ekwueme (2005) in Mokwunyei (2018:5) observe, "in patriarchal societies such as ours, gender functions have been so arranged and segregated that men arrogate superior functions to themselves and inferior functions to the women due to gender stereotypes." In same vein, Ozah (2018:27) asserts that "men are often regarded as the locus of cultural value and ascribed the public spheres while women are relegated to domestic spheres of activity". These actions have situated the women in unfortunate positions. Forchu (2017) correctly observes that

> [t]he patriarchal contemporary Igbo society accords women lower status than men and perpetrates subordination of women witnessed in various acts of repression, discrimination, oppression and abuse. Women constitute roughly a little more than half of the population of the people. Marginalization of women deprives not only women, but the entire populace of the developmental resources that women would have

contributed if they were empowered. This marginalization of women retards the development of the society. (129)

Typically, the Igbo woman has no inheritance in her father's house, and she has no local standing. Heir brothers and parents often tell her *'jee nuo di nke gi,'* which means go and get married, they are in effect reminding her that she has no place within them. This generally results in child abuse when an underage girl-child is forcefully given out in marriage. The words of a woman lack consideration in both her father's house and in her husband's house. Concurring, Anugwa (2018:234) states that "some cultures hold that women are to be seen and not to be heard."

As the head of the household, the man dominates the woman. She is fined at every little provocation. Women are regarded as non-free human beings. Their husbands see them as property in the house; that is why they call them, *'onye bem,'* my woman. Even when the woman uses her money to buy chicken for the house, tradition ensures that the man takes the choicest parts of the meat. In some cases, women are subjected to sexual exploitation. This happens when a woman is forcefully taken by his dead husband's brother—it is called *ikuchi nwanyi* in the Igbo language. There have been cases where women are deprived of access to their late husband's property by their in-laws, because they failed to consent to their commands. Women are not involved in the settling of land disputes even when theirs are being taken away from them. Only women who have emotionally manipulated the situation regained their lands in some instances. Also, in traditional Igbo society, a woman who is menstruating is seen as an unclean person. She is prohibited from seeing her husband. In some communities, such women are banned from going to the streams to fetch water.

In Igbo culture, some roles are assigned according to gender. Men are naturally

more powerful than women in terms of physical strength, so roles that require strong physiques ascribed to men. Men are protectors and providers in their families and the community at large. They fight wars and engage in occupations such as trading, hunting, farming, and anything that will earn resources with which to take care of the needs of their families. Any man that records outstanding produce in his yam farm is called *Di ji/Eze ji*, which literally means 'king of yam' in some Igbo communities. Men also engage in strenuous activities because of their muscularity. On the other hand, women take up feminine roles. Their culturally assigned roles forbid them from climbing of trees, especially palm trees, tapping wine, hunting, and masquerading. Women do domestic chores like cooking, fetching water and firewood, house scrubbing, and baby-sitting.

Genderism and Musicality in Old Aguata Local Government Area

From the Nigerian lens, as observed by Adekogbe (2022),

> [g]ender stereotypes continue to persist at all levels, in politics economics, science, technology, commerce, trade and particularly, regarding male and female participation in music and musicianship. Indeed, stereotyping is evident in all ramifications of human endeavors research has shown sex-stereotyping of choice of musical instruments to exist, often unconsciously, in both males and females. here are classified musical instruments that are both culturally and professionally attached to sexes; usually, trombone, drums, tubas, guitars and saxophones are viewed as being overtly masculine instruments while the flute, clarinet, violin, viola and oboe are viewed as feminine instruments. (55-56)

Adekogbe's observation looks beyond cultural considerations into the current scenarios in some federal colleges in Nigeria where choices of musical instruments are made along gender lines. What informs such distinctive demarcations is not fully understood. Okafor (2005: 79) points out that "Igbo women play major roles in social control by condemning evil in the society, through their songs which they sing." He alsoobserves that

> [w]omen always tend to be on the side of law. They enforce regulations concerning chastity of the young, marriage, fidelity in the home …community development and settling of disputes. In fact, most governing women are administered by women: except when a woman desecrates a masquerade which is a community crime. (79)

Indeed, the role women play in Igbo culture cannot be over-emphasized. They educate their children by introducing them to the culture of the land. Okafor (2005:74) remarks, "Women are the first teachers of music." Igbo woman introduces music to her unborn child as she sings while she does her house chores. When the baby is born, she sings cradle songs to the child to lure him to sleep. Ibekwe (2018:203) finds that "women are designated keepers of folk lore and folk songs which they do best during leisure periods and cooking hours. They spend most of their time with children at home attending to family chores." They make salient impacts on religious, social, and cultural activities. But despite the fact that women play inestimable roles in music making in Igbo society and in Old Aguata L.G.A, in particular, their culture forbids them from participating in some musical activities and from playing certain musical instruments. In other words, there is limit to the level of involvement of women in the

musical activities of the people.

Ibekwe (2012:105) notes that "the separation of men and women as a result of gender differences has some profound implications on their musical thoughts and values." She adds that "the dichotomy limits the musical roles and responsibilities expected of women and undermines or narrows down the overall cultural enrichment of the people." This action has resulted to the extinction of some musical groups practiced by men in the past, since most of them have relocated to urban cities in search of greener pastures. As Aluede (2021) points out,

> [t]he non-involvement of women in the key ensemble in Esan is responsible for the dearth of the practitioners. In the past, every village had ensembles, men of today are busy with economic activities and some have even lost contact with their hometown as a result of urban drift. If both and women are involved in the musical practice in such area, this move will absolve the vacuum created by those in search of greener pastures in the cities; this culture will be kept alive. (Aleude and Aluede: 2021: 87)

Aluede and Aluede (2021) also assert that "any community which demarcates musical performances and spectatorship along gender lines is likely to risk the chances of continuity in their musical practices" (87). Igbo women are forbidden from playing some instruments regarded as sacred instruments. Such instruments include wooden drum, xylophone, flute to mention but a few. Women do not watch some masquerade performances such as *Ogbaagu, Achukwu, Mkporogwu* and many others. This is in consonance with Agu in Aluede and Aluede (2018:460) who

notes that in most Igbo communities, women are prohibited from wearing masks or participating in masquerade music. They are also barred from playing certain musical instruments such as *Oja* (notched flute), *Igba* (membrane drum), *Ngedegwu* (xylophone) et cetera." In such communities, it is an abomination for women to touch these instruments let alone play them. The commonest instrument used by women during performances includes pot drum, *udu* of various sizes; wood block, *okpokolo, nkwo-nkwo*; gourd, *ichaka*; basket rattle, *nsak, oyo*; small slit wooden drum, *obele ekwe*, bamboo clapper- *mpachi* and so on" (Ibekwe 2012:109). Interestingly, women have started playing some of those instruments they were not allowed to play in the past. Presently, women play different sizes of membrane drums in their ensembles. Okafor (2005:82) also observes this and writes "generally, they do not play the flute, *oja*, recently I saw a group in at Awgbu (Aguata LGA) in which women played flutes and very big membrane drum. The researchers witnessed a female ensemble group in Awka playing the membrane drums. It is interesting to note that all the assumptions of the people about the consequences of women playing any of the forbidden instruments have never been real.

Figure 2: Major Ensembles, Descriptions, and Membership

SN	Name of Ensemble	Ensemble Description	Membership
1	*Iduu*	This is an instrumental dance ensemble performed by able-bodied adult male. It is a rigorous dance. Its members are of age 30 and above. They often perform with two big masquerades.	Males only
2	*Oziza*	This is a vocal instrumental dance group performed by both males and females in social activities and during festive periods.	Males and females
3	*Igbe*	*Igbe* is a vocal instrumental dance group performed by women. They feature on invitation in events.	Females only
4	*Egede*	The music of this ensemble is performed exclusively by women in marriages and funeral ceremonies and other social events. The instruments used are mostly percussion instruments.	Females only

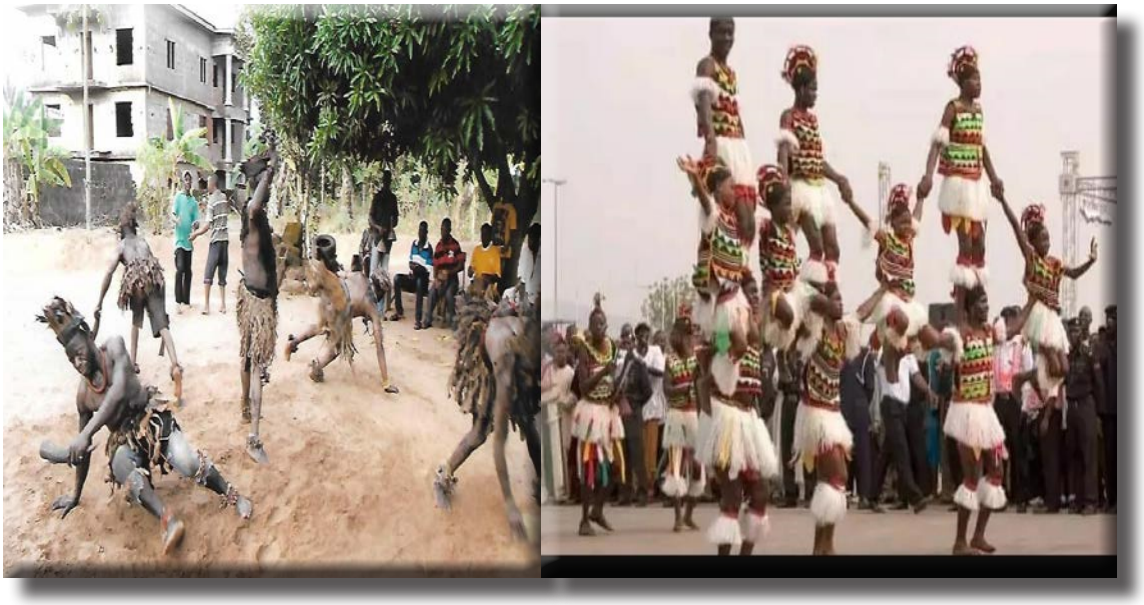
5	*Igba-mmonwu*	This is a masquerade ensemble, the masquerades are the dancers while other members play the musical instruments. They perform on invitation at burials, they do not perform in the burial of a woman, during new yam festival and other festive periods.	Males only
6	*Oluku*	This group have seven masquerades that do dramatic dancing. Their performance on any event is by invitation.	Males only
7	*Ogbaagu*	This is night masquerade ensemble exclusively for adult male. Young men under the age of fifty are not allowed to watch it let alone women. The instruments are played by members while the masquerades do the dancing.	Males only
8	*Chiebenuzo*	*Chiebenuzo* is a masquerade ensemble that perform during social activities. Their performance is done only during the day and women are not prohibited from watching them.	Males only

9	*Etiliogwu*	This is a gymnastic music/dance performance that is done by able-bodied young men in stylized movements to host rhythm and fast tempo.	Males only
10	*Igbaeze*	This is a dignified male ensemble; the major instruments are the membrane drums of various sizes. They do not have specialized dancers. Their performance in any function apart from that of their member is purely by invitation.	Males only
11	*Nkwankwa*	This is a female ensemble. Their name is derived from the major instrument of used by the group-wooden clappers made from the bamboo. They perform on social events.	Females only
12	*Oganachi*	This is the name of the biggest masquerade of this ensemble. It is a male group, the instrument of the group is mostly percussion instrument. The dancers comprise both masquerade and members.	Males only

13	*Ichoku*	The music is performed by the male folk. *Ichoku* is the name of the only masquerade of the group, the name is taken from the bird called *ichoku* (parrot). the group do not have dancers but it has singers who respond to the masquerade's music. The masquerade exposes evil doers through its songs.	Males only
14	*Achukwu*	This is also a masquerade group, they perform both at night and during the day. Women do not watch the night *achukwu*. The masquerades dance energetically to the rhythmic structure of the accompanying music.	Male only
15	*Ekwe-oshe*	The music is exclusively for titled men, their major instrument is the slid wooden drum. They perform during title taking and other cultural events that involves the titled men.	Males only
16	*Nkwa/Ufie*	This also is performed by titled men *(ndi nze na ozo*).	Males only

17	*Ugochamma*	This ensemble is for both males and females. The dancers (women) dance to the rhythmic patterns played by the instrumentalists (men). they perform during social functions.	Males only
18	*Mkpokiti*	This music is performed by young boys. This dance ensemble was established at Umunze in 1959. their dance movement is always in a fast tempo. The dancers respond genetically in a very flexible manner to the rhythm of dance. Their dance steps are characterized by incredible stunts, acrobatic and electrifying movements.	Males only

Figure 2: Photographs of Iduu and Etiliogwu dancers



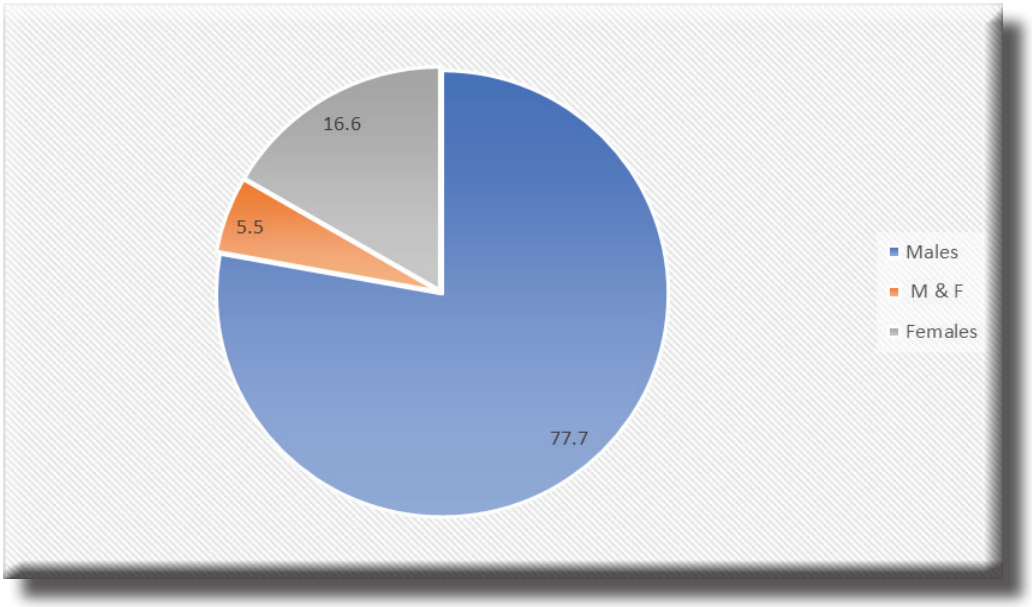
Source: The authors.

Figure 3: Photographs of Oziza dancers

Source: The authors.

The data here presented was gathered from ten (10) communities in Aguata, eight (8) communities in Orumba South and seven (7) in Orumba North. It is important,

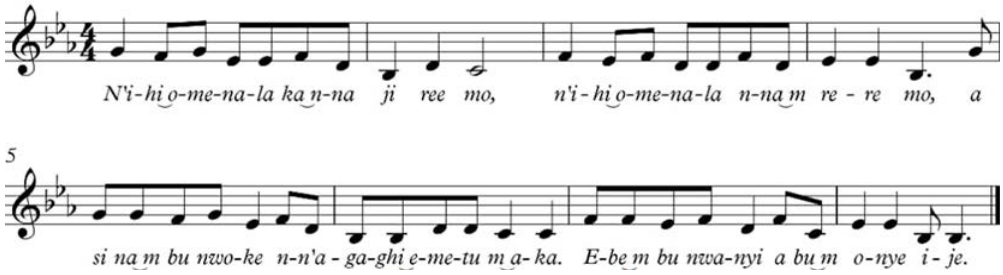
we mention here that the figures above do not entirely represent the overall situation in the Old Aguata L. G. A. The researchers were not able to get reliable information from a few communities in the Orumba North and South local government axis due to the current insecurity of lives and properties in those areas. This, however, is not to say that the tide of events would have changed significantly if data was elicited those areas. The findings in this study is representative enough of the true scenario of the region being investigated.



Analysis of Selected Songs

The treatments meted out for Igbo women (as discussed earlier in this paper) did not go well for them, and they expressed their feelings in songs which they sing. Their aggrieved state is captured in their lyrics which is "the most potent component of traditional music through which women communicate, portray themselves and engage in gender issues" (Forchu 2017:136). Following are samples of the songs performed by the women.

N'ihi Omenala

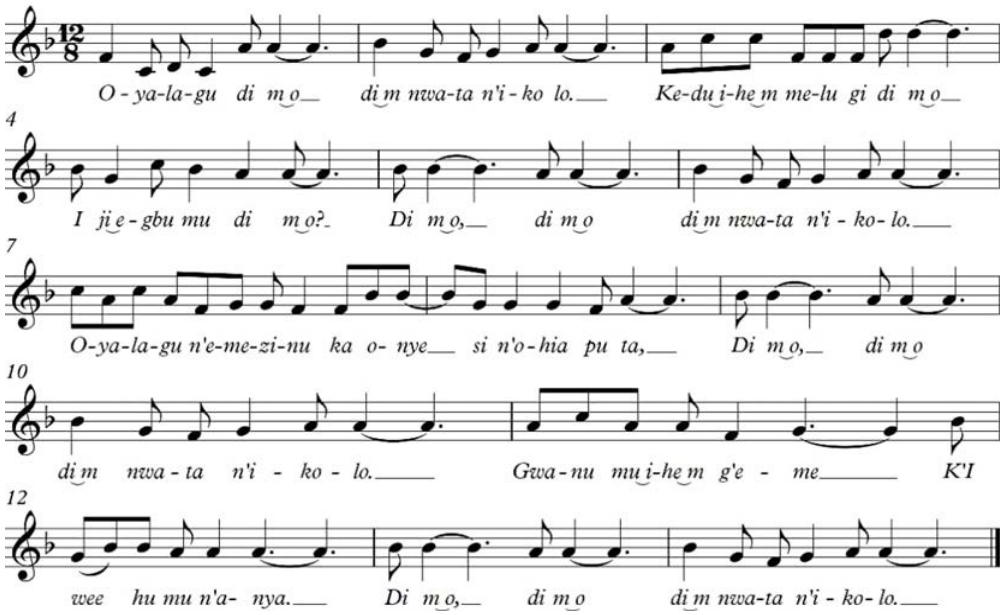


Translation

Igbo	**English**
N'ihi omenala ka nna ji ree m o,	My father sold me out because of tradition,
N'ihi omenala nna rere m o.	For the sake of tradition my father sold me.
Asi na m bu nwoke	Had it been that I am a male,
Nna agaghi akpatum aka	My father would not have given me out.
Ebe m bu nwanyi, abu m onye ijee.	Since I am a woman, I am always in transit.

This song is normally performed by young maidens during traditional marriage ceremony with musical instruments. With this song, the newly married is formally handed over to her husband after every marriage rite has been performed. The song shows clearly that a woman has no share in her father's house. Every parent waits expectantly for suitors to come for their female children.

Dim Oyalagu



Translation

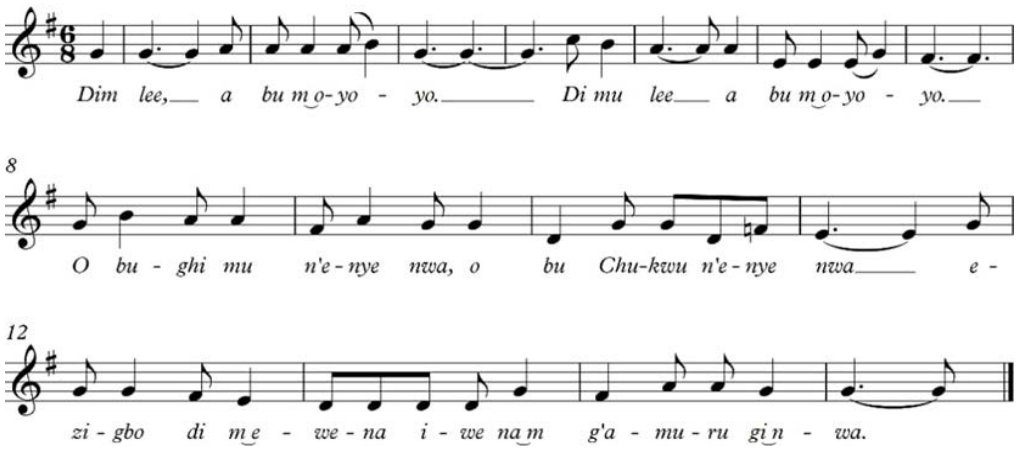
Igbo	**English**
Oyalagu *di m o, di m nwata n'ikolo*	Oyalagu, my husband, my infantile husband,
Kedu ihe m melu gi di m o,	What was my offense that you
I ji egbu mu, di m o?	are maltreating me, my husband?
Di m o, di m o, di m nwata n'ikolo.	My husband, my husband, my infantile husband.
Oyalagu *n'emezinu ka.*	Oyalagu now behaves like
onye si n'ohia puta	one from the wilderness.
Di m o, di m o, di m nwata n'ikolo,	My husband, my husband my infantile husband.

Gwanum ihe m g'eme k'I wee hu mu n'anya, Tell me what to do to regain your love.

Di m o, di m o, di m nwata n'ikolo. My husband, my husband, my infantile husband.

This song is a lament from a woman who is being ill-treated by her husband just because she is a woman. In the words of the song, she pleads with her husband to tell her what to do to regain his love for her. She likens her husband's behaviour to that of a barbarian because of the level of abuse she receives from him.The legend has it that they were happily married but the woman lost her attractive shape after giving birth to her children. The man now sees her as a nuisance to him. Despite the fact she bears him male and female children, he disdains her.

A bu m Oyoyo



Translation

Igbo	**English**
Dim lee, a bum oyoyo, dim lee, a bum oyoyo	My husband, I am an ideal woman.
O bughi mu n'enye nwa, o bu chukwu n'enye nwa,	I do not create children, God does.
Ezigbo dim ewena iwe	My good husband please do not be angry.
na m ga muru gi nwa.	I will bear you a child.

Igbo people value children so much that any woman who is yet to bear her husband a child is regarded as an unproductive woman. She has no full standing in her husband's house. She goes through a lot of challenges from both her husband and her in-laws. The woman may be very good in every other aspects of her life as a wife but the absence of a child in the home is a very big blow to the relationship. In some occasions, the cause of childlessness may be because of the husband, but the woman will be subjected to all kinds of inhuman treatments even from her fellow women (husband's relatives). This song is a plea by a childless woman to her husband and the society in general to bear with her, that at the appointed time God will bless her with the fruit of her womb. Women perform this song during their meetings and public functions.

Discussions of Findings

The belief that there are only two genders is reflected in the cultural and social lives of the Igbo people. Accordingly, Igbo men are assigned masculine responsibilities, and women are deprived of many privileges. Igbo women's voices are not heard. Because withholding priveleges from women affects the growth and development of the people as a whole, this paper argues that women treated fairly in Igbo communities. Music making in Igbo culture is influenced by the gender issues There are musical activities for men as well as for women, but there are not many ensembles that allow membership of both males and females. It is very common for a number of menfolk to be part of a women's ensemble group, but women are not allowed to join the male groups. Such exclusions arise because of "the misconception that women, according to customary beliefs are not capable of resolving issues on their own and so must be monitored and supervised by men" (Mokwunyei 2018:3), while on the contrary, the women seem to be more coordinated and organised than the men.

This study also reveals that dichotomies involved in the playing of musical instruments are fast becoming insignificant as women are seen playing instruments they were not allowed to play in the past. There has been no record of any negative effects on women who played sacred instruments. As Idamoyyibo in Okpala (2021) also points out, there have been no consequences recorded by the ladies who played drums in Okpe disco ensemble. Women should not be prevented from participating in any music genre in the society as it will help in saving the life span of such types of music.

Conclusion

"It is important to note that culture is not static. It changes with time" (Nwamara and Okpala, 2020:46). Men, however, continue to place themselves higher than women in virtually every aspect of Igbo life. Because of genderism in Igbo culture, women are still forbidden from participating in some musical ensembles and also banned from touching or playing certain musical instruments that are regarded sacred. In the Old Aguata Local Government area, a subset of Igbo, the status of a woman is lesser than that of men. This religio/cultural separation of men and women also bars women from taking part in important musical ensembles, although women at present are playing different sizes of membrane drums. In today's world, women now work with their male counterparts at the apogees of their careers.

This paper recommends ensemble membership needs to be liberalized by doing away with gender restrictions. This is necessary for the continuance of the musical culture of the old Aguata people. Continuity in musical practices of this people is necessary for it to flourish. In addition, similar research regarding gender inequality in musicking across Nigerian ethnic nationalities should be encouraged; workshops

and seminars, future research possibilities on disbanding these cultural constructs should also be whole-heartedly supported if traditional music is to survive.

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Interviews

1. Nze Sylvester Ezenwata, male, 89 years. 22nd June, 2023
2. Mr. John Nwosu, male, 76 years. 22nd June, 2023.
3. Mrs. Dorathy Ezennakwe, female, 67 years. 27th June, 2023
4. Mr. Samson Okpala, 62 years. 04 July, 2023
5. Mr. Samuel Okonkwo, female, 58 years. 07 July, 2023
6. Mrs. Victoria Ezeonwu, female, 68 years. 9th July, 2023
7. Mrs. Mercy Okafor, female, 80 years. 13th July, 2023.
8. Mrs. Oluchukwu Ezechukwu, female, 44 years. 17th July, 2023.
9. Mrs. Pauline Ilo, female, 68 years. 17th July, 2023
10. Mrs. Fidelia mmadu, female, 62 years. 19th July, 2023.
11. Onowu David Obi, male, 70 years. 24th July, 2023.
12. Mrs. Magaret Ukachukwu, female, 68 years. 28th July, 2023
13. Mr. Obed obidiegwu, male, 88 years. 31st July, 2023.
14. Mr. Alphonsus Ikenga, male, 76 years. 31st, July, 2023.
15. Nze. Godwin Ibekwe, male, 88 years. 1st August, 2023.
16. Nze. Matthew Okoli, male, 93. 04th August, 2023.
17. Nze. Daniel Ezeobi, male, 05th August, 2023.
18. Mrs. Uzoma Okoli, female, 55 years. 10th August, 2023.

Appendix

Questions administered to the respondents during the field investigation.

1. Who are the Igbo people?
2. Where are they found?
3. How many Local Government Areas are in Anambra State?
4. How many towns are there in Aguata, Orumba North and Orumba South?
5. When was Orumba North and South created?
6. How many towns are in Aguata, Orumba North and Orumba South?
7. What are the musical traditions of old Aguata L.G. A?
8. Are there musical instruments women are not allowed to play?
9. Why were women forbidden from playing certain musical instruments?
10. Are women restricted from belonging to any music ensembles?
11. Why were women not allowed to play some musical instruments?
12. How many male ensembles are there in Aguata, Orumba North and Orumba South Local Government Areas?
13. Are there any known negative outcomes if women should play those instruments the culture forbids them from playing?

CANADA
COATS OF ARMS & EMBLEMS

A Formalist Interpretation of *The Black Hermit* by Ngugi wa Thang'o

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Abstract

Politicians are people in whom the society invests heavily, but they often are not reliable and cannot be trusted. In *The Black Hermit,* Ngugi wa Thang'o's Remi is an example of the early African statesmen who formed national governments immediately after the colonialism. Remi aims at building the spirit of genuine patriotism among his people and other tribes within his country. However, being in conflict with his traditional values, he fails. This African drama places value on respect for parents, especially African mother, also offering insights into women's issues. Ngugi wa Thang'o also critiques corrupt practices in African politics, among them, inflated salaries of the politicians and the nurturing of bribery and corruption in the highest places as well as tribalism generating racial tension when it is deployed for selfish political gains.

Keywords: formalism, New Criticism, drama, Ngugi wa Thang'o, tradition, individualism.

Introduction

Formalism and New Criticism are basic approaches to reading and understanding literature for most of the twentieth century. Their practitioners advocate methodical and systematic readings of texts. Both champion concepts of "art for art's sake," "content = form," and "texts [that] exist in and for themselves" (https://www.sevanoland.com/uploads/1/1/8/0/118081022/new_criticism__formalism_.pdf). Formalist reading strategies, which began in Russia in the 1910s, isolate and objectify the overt structures of texts; New Critical readings, created in America and Great Britain in the first half of the twentieth century, relies also on authorial techniques and language usage, aiming to classify, categorize, and catalog works according to their formal attributes. Formalist theorists also "reject Impressionism, moral tones, and philological studies, and believe that written works should work mostly on the intellect" (https://www.sevanoland.com/uploads/1/1/8/0/118081022/new_criticism__formalism_.pdf). While some current theorists tend to criticize "Formalism for this and other symptoms of narrow-mindedness; still, they cannot deny that New Criticism has left a lasting impression on American [/world] literary scholarship." Its terminology also continues as the basis for most literary education around the world, and other critical approaches to reading and critiquing literature depend upon their readers' familiarity with formalist and New Critical terms to articulate their findings.

Ola-Koyi (2015) believes one can easily understand and fully comprehend the various meanings within an art work (drama/play, novel, film or music) with these formalistic codes of meanings. Referencing Bordwell and Thompson's 2004 identification of referential, explicit, implicit, and symptomatic meanings as offshoots of the four Barthesian codes of semiotics (*proairetic, hermeneutic*, symbolic and referential codes), Ola-koyi (2015) defines referential meaning as being

> very concrete, close to a bare-bones plot summary of the drama/play. Here the meaning depends on the audience's/spectator's ability to identify specific items in the drama/play. A reader or viewer unacquainted with such information would miss some of the meanings cued by the story, drama or play. Basically referential meaning requires the perceiver/ decoder/receiver of such a mediated massage of the drama or drama to make reference from what is depicted, revealed or shown in the plot to what is in existence.

For Bordwell and Thompson (2004), implicit meaning "is considerably more abstract...It assumes things that go beyond what is explicitly stated in the [drama/play] film." The moment a critic/reader/perceiver starts to interpret an artwork, implicit meanings are ascribed to the chosen work. Symptomatic meaning usually "situates the drama/dramawithin a trend of thought that is assumed to be characteristic of a society during a particular in history. A symptomatic claim could be applied to other dramas, plays, films, novels or poems, paintings, advertisements, radio shows, political speeches, and a host of cultural products of a particular period. Bordwell and Thompson (2004) also suggest that symptomatic statements could treat an explicit meaning in an art work as a manifestation of a wider set of values

characteristic of a whole society. For example, in Ngugi wa Thang'o's *The Black Hermit*, the conflict of ethnicity and nationalism in Kenya of the early 1960s was sympotomatic of postcolonial countries. Today in Nigeria, *The Black Hermit* is still relevant, because the issues created by trbalism and colonialism have not been resolved.

Synopsis of the Play

In *The Black Hermit*, Remi, the first man of his tribe to go to a university, runs to the city to escape his responsibilities, his people, and their expectations. There, he decides to live as a hermit, enjoying a solitary life that is free of responsibility. However, almost on daily basis, he is disturbed by the need to return to his family and tribe. Remi wants to eradicate his community's tribalism, religious sentiments and sacred Marua customs via the Africanist Party, hoping he will be able to build the spirit of genuine patriotism among his people who want him to represent them and fight for their tribal rights.But he is coflicted about returning to marry Thioni, his brother's widow. He is also unsure if he should continue to support the Africanist Party while his people feel that their colonial oppression has simply been replaced by an internal oppressor.

Remi's campaign to realize a national patriotism almost suceeds, but he ends up sowing hatred, despair, and other elements of discord among his people. His speeches discourage the majority of the elders who are willing to follow him because it was their idea that Remi represent his people in government. His dogmatism drives Thoni, his brother's widow, who loved Remi without his knowledge and patiently

waited for his return from the city, into her grave. It is only when Thoni's suicide letter is delivered that Remi realizes he has being a fool and regrets his careless speeches about reforming his people's tribal drives, religious concepts and political practices.

Analysis and Discussion

A a brilliant young man, Remi is someone whom his community (this includes the members of his immediate family – his mother, father, mother, brother, the pastor at his church, his schools in Marua land – his teachers and schoolmates) had invested in and nurtured from childhood. However, he was tested by Thoni, a beautiful girl with whom he fell in love before leaving for university, because she married his elder brother. When talking with Omange, Remi recalls the pain he experienced while maturing emotionally:

> My wound is woman. You shake your head? But listen to me, Omange. I had a brother once. He was close to me. But in many ways he was different from me. He was stronger. He was a man of action. But me I was shy with people. Women frightened me. A crowd was different though I was all right standing before such a faceless thing. There was a girl in my village whom I secretly adored. But I was dumb sufferer. Every day I thought I would declare my love. She never gave me a chance. Always looked at me with sharp eyes – bashful yet challenging. I tried to confide in my brother. But somehow something always prevented me. Then I went to college. One day I make up my mind. I would tell her. I would claim her. I was excited and in high spirits. The same day I had a letter from home. (32)

Here, one can see that Remi cannot manage his personal emotions, even at the undergraduate level in a University. He says, "But me I was shy with people. Women frightened me." Crowds, however, do not frighten him, because his relationship with them is not a peronal one. He says, "A crowd was different though I was all right standing before such a faceless thing." imperonal, this facelessness that explains why Remi, like so many politicians, finds it easy to stand before the people and tell them what they want to hear.

African politicians (especially in Nigerian politics) often cannot be trusted to keep most of their electoral campaign promises. In *The Black Hermit,* Jane and Remi's conversation when she discovers that Remi is already married is a testament to politicians not keeping their words and being unable to manage their personal lives:

> Jane: But didn't you think it might upset me just a little when I found out? (Remi silent) You said you would marry me. You promised to marry me. Oh, promises, promises. I should have known what promises mean to you. You are like one of your preciou politicians – they stand on a platform in front of the silly crowd and they shout, "Give me your vote, and I'll give you shoes!" You said to me. "Give me your love, and I will marry you." But when the time comes, when you've got all you want, no shoes, no shoes!
>
> Remi: Jane, you've got it all wrong, It wasn't like that at all. Time and time again I tried to tell you, but somehow I couldn't I – I just couldn't bring myself to hurt you.
>
> Jane: Hurt me? If you had told me at the beginning, it would not have hurt very much. I would have forgotten the pain. And now because of your waiting – And you talk of hurting! (51)

In short, Remi is an example of the early African statesmen who wanted to form national governments to create unity of purpose, development and progress for each of the new, independent states in the 1960s. But on almost daily basis, he finds he needs to return to his community. He wants to project his own aims of joining hands with other tribes to create a national unity and cultural policies for his people.

It is important to note that Remi is also ambivalent about being a politician. As a black hermit, he believes that in the city, he will be free from his familial and tribal responsibilities and able to decide what he wants as an individual. He wonders whether he should fully commit himself to politics or to stay in the city as a member of the clerical staff of an oil company in a dialogue with Jane, when discussing the inflated salaries of the politicians, the bribery, and the corruption in the highest places of government.

> Remi: One day you'll know. It's only that I'm tired of the city – that's all. I hate working for these oil-companies that have invaded our country. Files, files, files all day long.
>
> Jane: Go home. Become a teacher. That's creative isn't it?
>
> Remi: And serve – while ministers and their permanent secretaries fatten on bribes and inflated salaries. (26)

Nonetheless, Remi aims at building the spirit of genuine patriotism among his people and other tribes within his country. But during his first outing at a campaign rally organized to welcome him home, his modern sensibilities insult his tribe's elders. Using reason, Remi intends to sell his nationalist ideology to his elders, but he ends

discouraging and destroying their confidence in him. After gainsaying his tribe's traditional values, he concludes his speech by saying,

> Go now dear elders. And remember what I told you. We must all turn to the soil. We must help ourselves; build more schools; turn our hearts and minds to create a nation, then will tribe and race disappear. And man shall be free…
> (They all cheer wildly as they stream out. Now only Nyobi, Thoni, Paster, Omange and Remi are left on the stage.) (64)

While speaking, Remi attacked the traditional practice of marrying his late brother's wife. He further registered his dissatisfaction with his marriage by speaking disrespectfully to his mother:

> And you mother. I turn to you. What did you do to me? You harped on my weakness and made me to marry a woman whose love and loyalty will ever lie with those in the grave. (64)

Remi's disrespect destroys the hopes of his wife, Thoni who always loved him. His speech pushes Thoni to commit suicide after she listens to him address the public and his mother. His mother, Nyobi attempts to teach Remi to respect and value what he actually has via the African philosophy of a lasting glow in the house being better than the light of a blaze that will quickly expire:

> My son, don't be dazzled by the blaze
> Which will burn for a night and tomorrow it is out, All ashes and blackness,
> Look to your House:
> And there you will see the fire that glows all night and day, between

three heartstones.
There is food and the warmth of life waiting for you.

But with all his academic accomplishments, Remi cannot comprehend the African wisdom delivered by his uneducated parent. then, delivering Thoni's suicide note to Remi, a woman from the village attacks and curses him for his lack of understanding:

Woman: She who was kind.
She who was true
A tender sapling growing straight
Though surrounded with weed.

Remi: What do you mean?

Woman: You are a leader!
Our leader indeed
Know you not what you have done?
Flung insults at your own tribe,
Trampled mercilessly on wives everywhere?
You may praise yourself
(How you have succeeded at politics)
What have you done to the lives of many?
To the hearts of many a man
Who looked up to you for guidance?

Remi: I am still in the dark
Who gave you the letter?
My mother?
(*Opens the letter*)

Woman: Your true wife
The best woman the village had ever borne

Many curses on you.
(*Goes out indignantly*) (71-72)

Because Remi's approach was clearly wrong, its execution (despite his lofty ideals) eventually destroys his dream for a new independent nation and consumes him. He ends by losing Thoni and his elders' trust.

The Black Hermit's issues and situations are characteristic of Nigerian society's, especially in regards to the idea that women are only domestic helpers. This notion, held by the majority of African women, is found in Thoni's observation about herself and attitude towards her situation:

Yet I can't do without a husband,
Without a man to warm my bed,
A man to ask me for a meal in the evening,
A man to make me wash his clothes;
And a child to call me mother,
To make me feel a new self.

Christ have mercy on me.
If this be a curse put upon me,
Remove it.
Why do men not rest in my hands?
Death took a way my first husband.
Now the next, his brother, has left me.
The hut's gloom and loneliness
Has started eating into me.
Yet Christ,
Rid me of this thing,

This temptation harping on my weak flesh.
No, no, no.
I will not go with another,
But him I call my husband,
Even if I wait for twenty years and more,
I shall bear all. (3)

Self-defeatism and the endurance of African women are also found in Thoni's following prayer:

Christ have mercy on me.
If this be a curse put upon me,
Remove it.
Why do men not rest in my hands?
Death took a way my first husband.
Now the next, his brother, has left me.
The hut's gloom and loneliness
Has started eating into me.
Yet Christ,
Rid me of this thing,
This temptation harping on my weak flesh.
No, no, no.
I will not go with another,
But him I call my husband,
Even if I wait for twenty years and more,
I shall bear all. (4-5)

The prevalence of traditional customs is evident in the practice of wife inheritance in which Remi is compelled to participate despite his intention to fight it. Remi's

adherence to his roots is is noted by an Elder who says,

> We knew him once for a good son.
> He acceded to our wishes
> And married the woman,
> A daughter of the tribe,
> Instead of going to a white-skinned woman.
> We were happy.
> Remi was not the husband of Thoni, alone,
> Remi was also the new husband to the tribe.
> Through his big education,
> He would have bound us together
> He should have formed a political party,
> And led us to victory.
> But we, like you, were puzzled.
> Why did he go away from us?
> Is that natural?
> We, the ridge, the tribe, have waited…(8)

Notably, the issues of racial tension and later tribalism Remi aims at eradicating in his dreamed new nation are also reflected in Omange's doubts. He remarks,

> You know Remi, I fear for our country. Independent has not reduced the amount of racial tension. This affair of an Asian girl who has been ostracised by her community because she was seen going round with an African is not an isolated case. (28)

Omange also says,

> You may mock me. But take tribalism for instance. Since Independence

tribalism and tribal loyalties seem to have increased. And even leaders who were the supporter of the African Party are the very ones who are encouraging these feelings. Do you think these people would pass an effective piece of legislation when it would touch the very taproot of their power? (29)

Another importance feature of African culture captured in *The Black Hermit* is the value placed on African respect for parents especially mother. This spiritual and temporal right of and respect for an African mother regarding her child are established early on in the play.

Elder: There is something else.
We wanted you
To give our messengers and their medicine,
A mother's blessings,
To attend them on this difficult journey.
Nyobi: With all my heart
Go in peace, and success attend you
(Elder goes out) (11-12)

Here, the council of Marua elders recognizes the impact and importance of an African mother on her children. In order to ask Remi to come home and represent his tribe in National government as their elected political representative, the elders of the land first send a delegate to visit and seek support from Remi's mother, specifically her authorization and motherly blessing, before embarking on visiting Remi in the city. This action is a testimony to the value, respect and regard in which an African woman is held regarding her child, that is shared by every tribe on the continent.

Conclusion

In Ngugi wa Thang'o's *The Black Hermit,* Remi is an example of the early African statesmen who sprang up to form national governments in the 1960s in other to create a nation with unity of purpose, development and progress for the new independent states in Africa. Remi plans to build the spirit of genuine patriotism among his people and other tribes within his country, but unable to resolve hsi modern aspirations with his traditional upbringing, he is unable to achieve his goal. Ngugi wa Thang'o also critiques corrupt practices in African politics, implying the inflated salaries of politicians and the nurturing of bribery and corruption in the highest places are also responsible for his failure. Manifestating the conflict of traditional values with those of the modern individual, this drama points to similar issues in Nigeria today, manifestating the conflict of traditional values with those of the modern individual.

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A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Kemi Adeosun's Resignation Letter

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Abstract

This paper examines the resignation letter of Nigerian Minister of Finance, Mrs Kemi Adeosun to reveal the persuasive strategies used to capture her audience. Audience Design Theory is used to analyze eight extracts from Adesun's reisgnation letter and identify the five strategies—eulogy, blame game, self-appraisal, storytelling and hedging—that appeal to the addressee (and every Nigerian) and act as face saving strategies.

Keywords: Kemi Adeosun, audience design, resignation, sociolinguistics.

Introduction

Sociolinguistics is the study of how language and society interact. Oha (2009) states that a language defines the linguistic behaviour of a group of people in a given society

(10). In sociolinguistics, language is studied vis-à-vis how it is used in the society to achieve certain objectives. Individuals are endowed with linguistic skills to appeal to societal emotions. Depending on an individual's creativity, emotion-induced strategies are used to achieve certain aims in the society. Choice of words, of course, determines the output of the language use. Language can take various forms in its use. It can be oral or written, and the oral is said to be temporal, while the written is permanent. Both are capable of achieving same objectives depending on the competence of the user. In writing a speech or letter, it is expected that the writer will write to woo the audience to achieve his/her aim. In such letters, lexes and expressions are used in such a way that catches the attention of the reader. Kemi Adeosun's letter of resignation as the then Minister of Finance accused of certificate forgery is a prime example of how words can be used to exonerate and refurbish one's public image.

In a report by the Premium News on 9th July, 2018,Kemi Adeosun was accused of skipping the compulsory National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). Instead of applying for the one-year compulsory service given that she schooled abroad, she opted for an 'associate-assisted certificate'. Two months after the Premium News report, and because of pressure and allegations, the minster resigned. In her resignation letter, she appealed to Nigerians and explained her innocence, carefully selecting her words and narratives and using Audience Design strategies, offering us an opportunity to understand how the political elites use language to win the heart of their audiences, even when they have committed an obvious blunder. To this end, the study is anchored on the following questions; What are the words and styles used by the author of the letter to convince her audience? How are the words and styles used in the letter to achieve desired aim? Why are the words and styles used in writing the letter?

Objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to understand the manner in which Kemi Adeosun designed her resignation letter to capture her addressee. The following objectives serve as the basis for this analysis:

1. To identify words and style used by the author of the letter to convince her audience;
2. To examine how these words and style are used to achieve communicative goals;
3. To understand the reasons for the use of the styles.

Empirical review

Although none of the following conversations in the study of letters and speeches about the practice of constructing a text studied letters of resignation or used Audience Design Theory (ADT) to analyse speeches, they were helpful when preparing this paper. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Iqbal and Anwar (2013) offered useful analyses of two well-structured, official letters; adopting van Dijk's (1993) model of Critical Discourse, Karimi (2015) discussed discursive strategies of presenting positive images of oneself in two letters of complaint; using meta-discourse analysis, Sahebkheir (2018) identified correct linguistic markers in different types of official letters. Examining discourse tactics in military coup speeches in Nigerian military coup leaders, Adegbija (1995)demonstrated self-identifying, discourse initiating, atmosphere sanitizing, and discrediting elements that helped them achieve their aims; adopting a fusion of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and systemic functional linguistics (SFL), Kamalu and Aganga (2011) revealed President Goodluck Jonathan's different ideological stabces in his declaration of interest in the PDP presidential

primaries of 2011; Kamalu and Aganga (2011) examined the President's strategies that appealed to ethno-religious sentiment and the reconstruction of childhood experiences; Ayeomoni (2005) investigated the language of Nigerian political elites. noting certain linguistic choices common to the speeches of political office holders.

The following studies were also instructive: examining speech acts and rhetoric in the second inaugural addresses of President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and President George Bush of America, Adetunji (2009) demonstrated that two contextually contiguous speeches may not have similar illocutionary force and rhetorical elements even when they belong to the same discourse genre; Babatunde and Odepidan (2009) discussed the roles of pragmatics and rhetoric in effective communication in politics and governance, investigating the effects of context, intention and world knowledge on the choice of acts performed in selected speeches of President Olusegun Obasanjo; investigating the national address of President Olusegun Obasanjo on the 8th of October, 2003, on the crisis between the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and the Federal Government of Nigeria, Okpanachi (2009) highlighted and discussed the structure of power struggle and the underlying ideologies in the socio-cultural context in the speech; using CDA, Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) discussed how language was used to advocate and strengthen self-interest in selected Nigerian presidential election campaign speeches; Olaniyi (2010) studied the inaugural speech of 29th May, 2007 of President Umar Yar' Adua' using insights from pragmatics to find assertions and language were used to perform actions.

This paper addresses the absence of Audience Design Theory (ADT) in this critical conversation to analyse speech while describing how words and styles are used in Kemi Adeosun's letter of resignation to achieve persuasive effects. Revealing

the use of persuasive strategies by the political office holders, my study demonstrates how Adeosun captured the whole nation and presented her 'change' mantra via an array of lexical choices and styles expressing emotion-induced strategies which made citizens and the President believe her story.

Audience Design Theory

Introduced by Alan Bell (1984), audience design theory (ADT) is a sociolinguistic theory concerned with adapting language in order to appeal more to an audience or the addressee. Based on this, it can be considered a branch of Gile's Accommodation Theory which posits that linguistic style-shifting occurs primarily in response to a speaker's audience. Bell (1984) argues that an individual makes different choice of words and style, according to the social and economic status of the audience. Speakers adjust their speech primarily towards that of their audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them. In 1984, Bell examined how radio broadcasters' language differed, when reading the news, from one station to another, arguing that the news speaker used different styles when reading the news because he/she wanted to accommodate his/her audience base on their social status. Krauss (1987) states that the audience is a participant in the formulation of a message: Without the addressee that particular message would not exist so "the message, in the concrete and particular form it takes, is as much attributable to the existence of the addressee as it is to the existence of the speaker" (Krauss, 1987, p. 96). Audience Design theory is used widely today by television and media companies and other speech writers to help shape their content, determining what type of shows, movies, and series will be broadcast, and style according to their audiences. According to Krauss, Audience Design also has implications for our daily lives: that is people choose their registers

and styles according to their addressees; they speak differently with fellow students, with a teacher, or with family members.

To begin, Bell defines the following types of audience:

1. Addressee: these are listeners who are known to the speaker.
2. Auditor: these are speakers who are not directly addressed.
3. Over hearer: non-ratified listeners of whom the speaker is aware.
4. Eavesdropper: non-ratified listeners of whom the speaker is unaware.

Bell's theory theory is particularly relevant because Adeosun deliberately chose her words and style to persuade her readers to believe her. She decided to be emotional to save her public self-image, her political party, and the government she served. All the types of audience highlighted above are present with the exception of eavesdroppers who are not applicable in written communication. The addressee, of course, is the President who received the letter.

Methodology

Because this qualitative study adopted textual analysis as its method, Adeosun's resignation letter constitutes the corpus for this study. This letter was downloaded from the website page of the Premium Newspaper and saved on laptop for further analysis. Using Audience Design Theory (ADT), words and expressions relevant to the sociolinguistic strategies adopted for persuasive purposes were extracted and grouped.

Data presentation and analysis

Adeosun's letter is short but precise and loaded with different strategies. Among them, one finds the following:

Eulogy

Eulogy is an address praising an individual. It may be solicited or unsolicited. This is done to to win the addressee's favour. Here, it is used here to appease the President, cabinet members and Nigerians, characterizing Adeosun's letter.

> Your Excellency, it has been an exceptional privilege to have served our nation under your leadership and to have played a role in steering our economy at a very challenging time. I am proud that Nigeria has brought discipline into its finances, has identified and is pursuing a path to long term sustainable growth that will unlock the potential in this great economy.

Adeosun understood that she was writing to the President who was popular because of his war against corruption. To persuade the President (her colleagues, and the general public) to accept her letter, she eulogized his pedigree. The expression, 'It has been an exceptional privilege to have served our nation under your leadership', makes the President feel important and relevant to the writer. It also shows that the writer appreciates the opportunity that was given to her. Opening her letter with this sentence, she prepares the President for and makes him feel comfortable reading her resignation.

At the same time, the general public also finds the writer grateful and humble.

Accommodating her audience, Adeosun shows she appreciates the President and that she is not arrogant. As Krauss (1987) points out, people choose their register and style according to their addressees. Adeosun's style is meant to please her audience.

She continues to eulogize the President to win his favour, saying,

> Under your leadership, Nigeria was able to exit recession and has now started to lay the foundations for lasting growth and wealth creation.

Arguably, the assignment of appraising the president's handling of the economy should be left to the citizens who are affected directly or indirectly by his activities, not to a disgraced Minister of Finance. But to avert prosecution, Adeosun needed to win the President's heart. Consequently she continued to eulogize her relationship with him. She emphasizes her gratitude, writing,

> I thank His Excellency, the Vice President and my colleagues in the Federal Executive Council for the huge pleasure and honour of working with them. I also thank most specially, the team in the 'Finance Family' of advisers and heads of agencies under the Ministry of Finance.

Here, Adeosun understands that her assignment to convince the President alone may not be enough and also needs to carry the members of the cabinet along as well.Eulogizing the other members of the cabinet, including the Vice President, she adopted the appreciation strategy, using words like 'thank' and 'Excellency.' She did not stop at that. She went on to associate herself with them by using the personal pronoun 'my' in the phrase, 'my colleagues'. This makes others see her as one of

them and accepted to the members of the cabinet and their supporters in the larger society as a humble and dedicated officer. Making her letter even more acceptable to the members of the cabinet and to the general public, she remarks,

> The diversity in my team and their ability to work cohesively to deliver reforms, convinces me that Nigeria has the human capital required to succeed.

Here, Adeosun's appeals to the sympathy of Nigerians and her co-workers, for she understood that Nigerians must accept her letter, at least for moral and ethical reasons. The first clause of the sentence above is used to praise her co-workers in the ministry by acknowledging their competence.Giving them a sense of belonging, she was able to win their sympathy. Saying there is human capital in Nigeria society captures the minds of citizens as well. Praising the people raised their spirits and won her forgiveness. Eulogy as an effective audience design strategy for Kemi Adeosun, because she was exonerated and allowed to resign without being prosecuted and travel out of the country despite her government's stance against corruption.

The Blame Game

Playing the blame game is another strategy that this letter uses to shift Adeosun's responsibilities. Users of this strategy do not accept they have done anything wrong. They transfer responsibility for their acts to another person. Playing the blame game enables people who decide to hedge out of a wrongdoing to save face in society. Below, it is used to induce sympathy from the Nigerian citizen. Adeosun claims that she is innocenct and asserts that everything she did was not her fault.

> On the basis of that advice and with the guidance and assistance of those, I thought were trusted associates, NYSC were approached for documentary proof of status. I then received the certificate in question. Having never worked in NYSC, visited the premises, been privy to nor familiar with their operations, I had no reason to suspect that the certificate was anything but genuine. Indeed, I presented that certificate at the 2011 Ogun State House of Assembly and in 2015 for Directorate of State Services (DSS) Clearance as well as to the National Assembly for screening.

Adeosun blames her friends who helped her get the forged certificate. She claims that she was not well-informed. She also states that she did the right thing by approaching friends and associates who helped her to approach NYSC office. She even justified this by stating that she had not worked with NYSC before. As part of her effort to exonerate herself, she shifted the blame to the Ogun state assembly which had cleared her in the past for a political assignment. These arguments look good, but it is often said in law that ignorance is not an excuse. Here, it is a successful element in the blame game, being an audience design strategy used to avoid public embarrassment and possible legal action.

Storytelling

Story narration is an attempt to bring past event to the present, especially for the benefit of those who did not experience the event. It is also used to refresh the memory of those who are participant of the previous event but might have forgotten. It can also be used as a deflection to make participants forget the purpose of the subject under

discourse. Adeosun writes,

> Your Excellency, kindly permit me to outline some of the background to this matter. I was born and raised in the United Kingdom; indeed, my parental family home remains in London. My visits to Nigeria up until the age of thirty-four (34) were holidays, with visas obtained in my UK passport. I obtained my first Nigerian passport at the age of thirty-four (34) and when I relocated there was debate as to whether NYSC Law applied to me. Upon inquiry as to my status relating to NYSC, I was informed that due to my residency history and having exceeded the age of thirty (30), I was exempted from the requirement to serve. Until recent events, that remained my understanding.

In this letter, the writer adopts storytelling to inform Nigerians of her previous exploits. In the story, she informed the country of her previous personal endeavour. The story narrates how she has lived outside the country which makes her not to have participated in the compulsory national service. This story is narrated to induce the audience and persuade them to sympathize with her. This story is an attempt to hedge the writer out of the allegation of forgery. It is a deflective strategy to background the subject under discussion. The story was told to make Nigerians perceive the author as an obedient Nigerian who loved her country. It is designed basically to win sympathy from the audience. The intension of the story is audience oriented.

Self-appraisal

In self-appraisal, an individual assesses him/herself and gives a passing grade. Self-

appraisal is done to make self-happy and feel successful.Self-appraisal is an attempt to show the society what one has done especially when others seem not to see or pretend not to recognize it. In another context, self-appraisal could be regarded as arrogance. Because assessment is expected to be done by a third party, self-appraisal is like the proverbial lizard that jumps from a tall Iroko tree and proclaims that if nobody praises it, it will praise itself. In this letter, the writer resorts to self-appraisal to justify her actions and to tell Nigerians that she deserves accolades rather than social crucifixion. The writer begins by evaluatin her performance, writing to the President that

> [b]e that as it may, as someone totally committed to a culture of probity and accountability I have decided to resign with effect from Friday, 14th September, 2018.

In the above excerpt, the writer refers to herself as being totally committed to a culture of probity and accountability. Of course, such an assessment should be done by a third party. This third party should have been Nigerians since the writer is a 'public servant'. Her appraisal is questionable because the writer assessed herself and gave herself a pasing grade, and if this assessment were correct, the writer should not be involved in this type of scandal in the first place. Be that as it may, this strategy is designed to attract sympathy from the general public. Adeosun claims to be of a person of integrity because she knows that the resignation of a public office holder is unusual in Nigeria. She knows that no public officer, especially a political office holder, will resign because of mere allegations. Therefore, she presents her resignation as a sign of her 'probity' to win the sympathy of her audience. Some Nigerians supported her claim, believing she had done the 'unbelievable' and should be exonerated.

Adeosun's closing phrase,

[p]lease be assured, as always, of my highest regards and best wishes,

reveals another self-appraisal. The phrase 'as always' shows that the minister has been committed and responsible to the President. She is giving assurance that she is ready for any subsequent assignment that may be given to her by her boss. The phrase 'as always' is an example of an antecedent which reveals her previous actions. Although the existing allegation has not been dismissed, and the minister has not been assured of no prosecution, she is promising her subsequent loyalty. This is an attempt to buy the President's heart. She knows the President will be moved to pardon her for giving him her further assurance to serve the nation. This was also effective as Adeosun was allowed to leave the country to escape prosecution.

Hedging

Following Ayantayo's (2019) discussion, hedging is used to dissociate one's self from the truthfulness of a statement. Hyland (1998a:1) corroborates this by describing hedging as any linguistic device used to indicate either a lack of complete commitment to the true value of an accompanying proposition or a desire not to express one's commitment to that act categorically. In communicative events, hedging is adopted to exonerate one's self from events. This is done especially when an evil act is involved or when one simply wants to exclude one's self. Kemi Adeosun hedges to capture her audience's attention and present the misconduct as if she was not concerned with it. For example, she writes,

On the basis of that advice and with the guidance and

assistance of those, I thought were trusted associates,

NYSC were approached for documentary proof of status.

Here, hedging is used to make her audience sympathise with her. Claiming that she sought advice from people exonerates her from the crime as she can be presumed to have been misled by those from whom she sought advice. The claim that she sought advice also suggests that she did not understand what was practicable in the country before her arrival, not being based in the country until she was 34 years of age. She also claimed in the extract that she thought she was seeking advice from trusted people. This instance of dissociation proved effective because of the common ground between her and her audience. She was not born and brought up in Nigeria.

Conclusion

This paper investigated the strategies used by the Minister of Finance, Mrs. Kemi Adeosun when she tendered her resignation in response to allegations she forged her NYSC certificate. Adeosun understood the serious implications of these allegations. When writing her resignation letter, her approach, which offered elements of eulogy, the blame game, storytelling, hedging, and self-appraisal invoked the sympathies of her audience. Adopting these strategies enabled her to be exonerated morally and legally, saving herself and the public image of her political party and the President.

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An Acoustic Analysis of Nigerian English Intonation:
Tone or Tune

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Abstract

The position Nigerian English occupies in terms of tone and intonation has been the subject of a controversial debate for some time. This study adopted Metrical Phonology as its framework while employing Tones and Break Indices (TOBI) to determine whether Nigerian English is tonal or tune in nature. Its findings show that Nigerian English maintains its intelligibility, while it lacks the rhythm and musicality inherent

in the native variety. Pitch duration, intensity, situation, and purpose/intent are determining factors of Nigerian English's tonality. In part, the tonality of the speakers gathered from the results of this study are determined by the ethnic groups to which they belong. The level of a speaker's formal education and other types of training also contribute greatly when it comes to speaking, as these factors determine the various pronunciations that people use and are reliable indicators of their competence and performance.

Keywords: Intonation, Nigerian English, TOBI, Tone/Tune.

1.0 Introduction

Many speakers of English have issues because grasping the intonation system of a particular language or dialect is a difficult task. Essien (2017, p. 60) observes that "listeners who may not comprehend intonation might have difficulty in understanding the speaker's intended meaning which may in turn lead to communication impediment." Issues of pronunciation and intonation among non-native speakers of English have indeed become a growing concern among scholars. Essien (2017, p. 60) cites Roach (1996) as saying that "unless foreign learners learn the appropriate way to use intonation in a given situation, there is a risk that they may unintentionally give offence, for example, the learner might use an intonation suitable for expressing boredom or discontent, when what is needed is an expression of gratitude or affection.

Intonation, as variation in pitch over stretches of connected speech, is a prosodic or melodic feature of speech which operates on the phonological units larger than the sound segment or phoneme, implying that the phrase, the clause, or the sentence is its

domain (Atoye, 2018; p.137). It significantly contributes to meaning in the sense that the choice of a particular intonation pitch or tune when making an English utterance is different from the semantic import the same utterance would have with another pitch. As we know, no one speaks without raising or lowering the pitch of one's voice in a montone (Atoye, 2018, p.137). The tune of voice rises and falls when one speak. In linguistics, intonation is not just for distinguishing words as sememes (a concept known as tone), but also indicating the attitudes and emotions of the speaker, signaling the difference between statement and questions and between different types of questions, focusing attention on the important elements of the spoken message, and helping to regulate conversational interaction. Generally in English, according to Roach (2009:119), there has not been a clear-cut difference between intonation and tone since both concepts talk about the use of pitch in the spoken aspect of someone's voice when they are engaged in a conservation. This study investigates whether Nigerian English is tonal in nature or tune prone, reveals some of the inherent factors and ways in which speakers of Nigerian English articulate words, and addresses stress placement in sentences and at word levels.

1.1 Nigerian English as Tune

Spoken British English varies from Nigerians' spoken English. A wide variety of "Englishes" are spoken in Nigeria, and their diversity in terms of phonology, vocabulary, and syntax is great, ranging from Pidgin English to a near approximation of Southern British Standard (SBE). This study considers the "Standard Nigerian English" (Bamgbose 1982:95-111) that is spoken by most university-educated Nigerians. Standard Nigerian English differs systematically from British English in the areas of stress, rhythm, and intonation (Bamgbose 1971; Bamgbose 1982; Jibril 1986;

Ufomata 1996; Jowitt 2000): Nigerian English has a syllable-timed rather than stress-timed rhythm (Eka D. & Udofot I. 2015); in Nigerian English, vowel reduction is less pronounced than in British English, which leads to a perception of equal weight and length of each syllable; and Nigerian English reflects the prosodic nature of the speaker's native language and that stressed syllables are associated with a high tone and unstressed syllables with a low tone (Wells 1982:279-466).

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to accomplish the following:

i) examine randomly a few University of Uyo students to determine what pitch is inherent in their speeches;

ii) evaluate available data and know the varying tone in individual speaker;

iii) ascertain if truly we should say that Nigerian English is actually tone prone;

iv) observe if there exist some sort of musicality which is an element of tune in Nigerian English.

1.3 Research Methodology

The Random Sampling Technique was used to evaluate the respondents' position in terms of their pronunciation level. The study used a total of 30 respondents from different languages and backgrounds in Nigeria, specifically, from the University of Uyo, where there are students from all the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. There was a control who served as a native speaker considered to possess near-native speaker competence adequately vested in the English language.

The research instrument used was a questionnaire prepared in two sections. The oral test on the realization of Tones in Nigerian English Section 'A' had some paralinguistic factors that required personal information about the respondents, like the age sex, course of study, and their first language or mother-tongue. This background information helped the researchers analyse sociolinguistic factors that may account for the tonality of the respondents as educated Nigerian English Speakers. The English Language.Section 'B' contained twenty-two (22) items, eleven (11) short phrases or utterances, and eleven (11) single word items for testing high (H), low (L), high low (HL), and low high (LH) tones.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

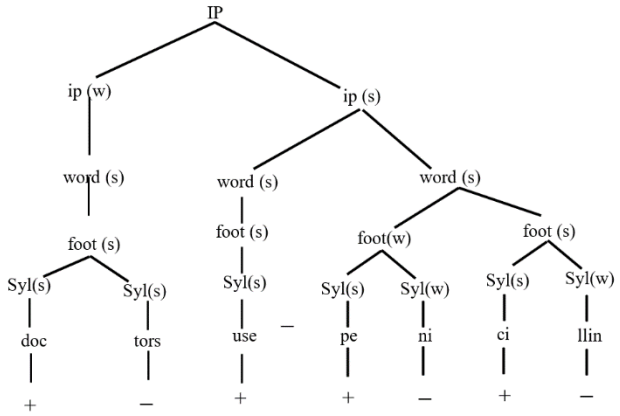
Employing metrical phonology, this study uses the Metrical Theory, a theory of stress or linguistic prominence, propounded by Liberman & Prince (1977). The innovative feature of this theory is that the prominence of a unit is defined in relation to other units in the same phrase. For instance, in most common pronunciation of the phrase 'doctors use penicillin,' the syllable –ci is the strongest or most stressed syllable in the phrase, but the syllable, 'do' is more stressed than the syllable 'tors.' Before, generative phonologists and American structuralists represented prosodic prominence as a feature that applied to individual phonemes (segments) or syllables. This feature could take on multiple values to indicate various levels of stress.

Stress was assigned using the cyclic reapplication of rules to words and phrases. Metrical phonology holds that stress is separate from pitch accent and has phonetic effects on the realization of syllables beyond their intonation, including effects on their duration and amplitude. The perceived stress of a syllable results from its position in the metrical tree and metrical grid for the phrase in which it appears.

1.4.1 Metrical Tree

Linguistic prominence in metrical phonology is partially determined by the relations between the nodes in a branching tree, in which one node is strong (s), and the other node or nodes are weak (w). The labels 'strong' and 'weak' have no inherent phonetic realization but only have meaning relative to the rest of the sister node. The most prominent syllable in a phrase is the one that does not have any weak node above it. This syllable is called the designated terminal element. For example, in Figure 1, the syllable, '–ci,' is the designated terminal element.

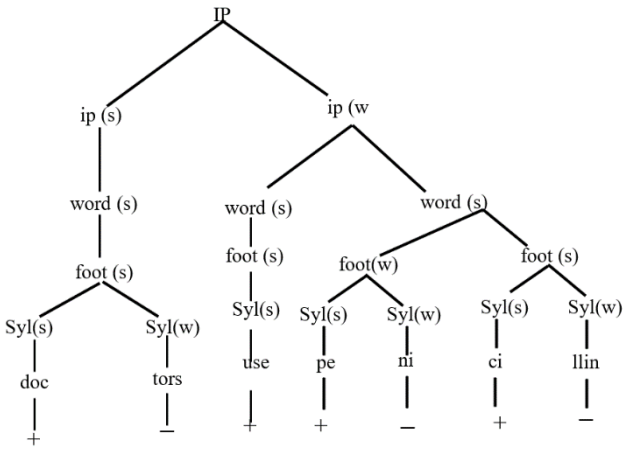
Figure 1 : A metrical tree illustrating: Doctors use Penicillin



Metrical trees allow a change of the stress pattern of a phrase by switching the 's' and 'w' sister nodes. The tree in Figure (1) represents the metrical structure for the sentence, "Doctors use penicillin." When the sentence provides all new information, this is called broad focus and might be used in response to a question like 'What did you learn in the hospital today?' The same metrical structure would be used when the sentence has a narrow focus on the word 'penicillin,'for example, if it were used in response to a question like 'what do doctors use to treat that disease?' However, a new metrical structure is neeeded to apply a narrow focus on the word 'Doctors,' if

the phrase is used in response to the question 'who uses penicillin?' In this case, the 's' and 'w' nodes at the intermediate (ip) level have to switch their results in Figure 2.

Figure 2 : A Narrow Focus of a Metrical tree showing " Doctors use penicillin"



1.4.2 The Metrical Grids Method

The metrical grid theory deals with "beats of utterances and weights through its multi-layered representation" (Udoh, 2011:47). It studies both the beats and the internal structure of syllables and resolves the issue of stress-clash where two stressed syllables come close to each other. This stress clash can be resolved by the rhythm rule which reverses the strong-weak relations for some pairs of sister nodes, as long as such a reversal does not put a designated terminal element of an intonational phrase under any stress directly under a strong node. Below is an example of the metrical grid board which analyses the sentence, 'Doctors use penicillin.'

Table 1: The Metrical Grid Board illustrating "Doctors Use Penicillin"

					X	
X		X			X	
X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Doc	Tors	Use	Pe	ni	ci	Llin

Example of Metrical Grid

The metrical grid and the metrical tree for a particular utterance are related in such a way that the Designated Terminal Element of an S node must be more prominent than the Designated Terminal Element of its sister node, so in Table 1, the metrical grid for the utterance in (1), '–ci–' must be more prominent than 'doc-' because '–ci–' is the Designated Terminal Element of the highest S node and 'doc-' is the Designated Terminal Element of its sister W node.

The structure of the metrical grid explains a number of otherwise surprising features of prominence patterns in language. For example, the main stress in English phrases may be placed on several syllables away from the end of the phrase, even though the rule assigning this stress looks for a lexically stressed syllable near this boundary.

Metrical phonology offers a number of advantages over a system representing stress as a feature that applies to individual segments or syllables, without reference to the other syllables in a phrase.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Review of Literature on Nigerian English

Jubril (1982:364) saw Nigerian English as part of the continuum of "West African English." Recognizing Nigerian English as one of the new Englishes, Odumah (1993) remarked, "our position is that there exists at the moment a single superordinate va-

riety of Standard English in Nigeria which can be regarded as "Nigerian English." Several other linguists have either written about or made passing references to this variety of the English language. Ayo Bamgbose, for example, has written extensively the regional differences of the Nigerian English Language. In the area of lexico-semantic features of Nigerian English, some Nigerian scholars have established the existence of Standard and non-standard Nigerian English varieties (cf. Bamiro 1991:13-15; Okoro (1986) however, argues that there is merely the existence of two distinct varieties of the same variety, i.e. standard and non-standard, which vary according to the basis of education, status, and social exposure of the users (cf. Chiluwa, 2010a).

There are a few features that have united some Nigerian English (NE) communities and bridged the differences between different varieties even within NE, all pertaining to cultural values that are expressed uniquely in English terms. For instance, when considering these two prevalent examples, "sorry" and "sir," the literal meaning of "sorry" usually indicates some sort of responsibility on the part of the person saying it. However, for all of the varieties of NE, it is used to express empathy to whomever has experienced misfortune. "Sir," on the other hand, is the replacement of names with titles, which indicates respect and a high value for politeness. The tacking on of "Sir" to another title (i.e. Professor, Sir) illustrates a greater level of prestige than normal or an instance of being more polite than the norm.

Though the exact levels of Nigerian English usage are contested, one suggestion indicates that there are four varieties of usage within this nativized (but not indigenous) English:

Variety 1: pidgin, spoken as a casual language;

Variety 2: a step above, and the most spoken. This variety is spoken

by those who are in the elementary education. This level according to Eka (2000:87-88), is the non-standard (often associated with the performance of beginners also known as Variety 1);

Variety 3: marked by more expansive lexicon, fluency, and the use of features of level one speakers are avoided. This variety is spoken by those with secondary education. This level is what Eka proposed as the basis or general variety which shows evidence of fair mastery of the segmental and the non-segmental distinctions in English;

Variety 4: proposed as the Nigerian Standard English (NSE) since its features are very similar (but still characteristically Nigerian) "to [the] Standard British English", spoken by those with a college education. This level is also the level Eka regards as the Standard (or educated) variety which shows evidence of appropriate segmental and non-segmental distinction and can be understood and accepted both nationally and internationally. This variety is associated with usage by university men and women as observed by Eka (2000).

Eka (2000:87-88), however, has also proposed the fourth variety of Nigerian English which according to him is referred to as the sophisticated, (ambilingual or near- native) variety which is spoken by people who are highly educated in the language and specifically have received specialized training in spoken English.

The above varieties are the proposed differentiation of the pragmatic realization of Nigerian English. This is because of the nature of its present nativization in Nigeria. English has been a point of contention among Nigerian students who strive

for a more nativistic lifestyle (i.e., returning to the predominant speech of indigenous languages of the country).Again, owing to the nature of the introduction of English in Nigeria and its role in exerting the values of colonization on a post-colonial Nigeria, some would view English as being inseparable from the nature of other language in the region.

2.2 Review of the Nigerian English Phonology

The subject of Nigerian English Phonology is a stimulating volume itself in the study of English as a global language. In addition to contributing to the sociolinguistics of New Englishes, it contributes to their pedagogy by employing the theoretical model of preference Grammar to define the status of its phonological elements. Adedeji (2011) observes that although various studies into the intelligibility of speech have been conducted, limitations may be observed in terms of their basic paradigm (17). Generally, commentators have focused on the measurement of the intelligibility of non-native English varieties to native speakers, being based on the premise that native speaker's speech is inherently intelligible. In contrast, an attempt has been made to assess the intelligibility of native speakers' accent (RP) from non-native (Nigerian English) perspective. This does not only provide evidence that intelligibility is a phenomenon that may be examined from a non-native speaker's perspective; it also identifies specific features of RP segmental phonology that present problems to Nigerians.

2.3 Reviews on Intonation, Tunes and Meaning

Intonation tunes have various names given to them by various linguists. Crystal (1975) calls it "nuclei." Cruttendon (1986) calls it "tunes" while Roach (2010) calls it "tones." But Atoye et al (2018) quote Atoye (2005) who considers the use of the term "tone"

as “a misnomer for intonation types or tunes” because it can be confused with the term “tone” which describes lexically distinctive features in many African languages that are classified as tone languages, suggesting the term “tune” is preferred in the discussion of intonation pattern and that the intonation tunes indicate the varying voice pitch during an utterance (138). The intonation tunes are usually represented with various symbols like dots inside two or more horizontal lines (interlinear tonetics). Its indication marks the (tonetic-stress marks) as well as the use of arrows.

2.3.1 Interlinear Tonetics

Interlinear tonetic is a narrow transcription of intonation because it shows the pitch of every syllable in an utterance by representing each syllable with a dot. The small dots stand for unstressed syllables, while the big dots signify stressed syllables. The downward-pointing tail attached to the last big dot symbolizes a falling tune. If the tail point upwards, the tune is a rising one. The half contact lines indicate pitch tights ranging from low to high.

2.3.2 Tonetic Stress Mark

Tonetic stress marks constitute broad transcription as they show only the intonation tunes with which utterances are made. The diacritic (↘) represents a falling tune; (↗) stands for a rising tune; (↘↗) symbolize falling-rising tune; (↗↘) is used for rising-falling tune; (→) indicates level tune.

2.3.3 Arrow

Arrows are used as ordinary representation of intonation tunes. The arrow pointing downwards stands for a falling tune, the upward-pointing arrow represents a rising

tune; the horizontal arrow symbolizes level tune. Basically there are two tunes with which English utterances are made, and these are the falling tune (↘ ↘) and the rising tune (↗). The two basic intonation patterns can be illustrated in a simple way by saying the same sentences, first with a falling tune and, secondly, with a rising tune:

1. Falling Tune: They are satisfied //
2. Rising Tune: They are satisfied //

The sentence in 1 (above) is a simple statement of fact or of an observation by a speaker. The one in 2 is, by contrast, an enquiry asking the listener whether they are satisfied. The examples above are not punctuated in consistency with the assertion of Roach (2000:129) that the use of punctuation marks is not necessary, or could be confusing in demarcating tone units because "intonation and stress are the vocal equivalents of written punctuation." The slash (//) indicates the tone-unit boundary; single slash stands for the non-sentence final tone-unit boundary, and the double slashes for the sentence-final tone-unit boundary.

2.3.4 Tone Units

English utterances according Atoye et al. (2018) are split into blocks which are variously called "tone groups," "intonation groups," "intonation phrases," "phonological clauses," "phonological phrases," "tone units," "sense groups," "word groups," or "breath groups." The tone unit has the structure (PH), (H) TS (T) where PH stands for pre-head, H for head, TS for Tonic Syllable, and T for Tail:

i) Pre-Head (PH): The pre-head is composed of all the unstressed syllables in a tone-unit preceding the first stressed syllable. Pre-heads

are usually found in the environments when there is no head (i.e no stressed syllable preceding the tonic syllable) as in this example, “in an \ hour.”

ii) When there is a head, as in this example: in a “little less than an \ hour.”

From the above example, the pre-head consists of “in a”, the head consists of “little “less than an”, and the tonic syllable in “\ hour.”

The Head (H): The Head (H) is all the part of a tone unit which extends from the first stressed syllable to the syllable preceding the tonic syllable. For example,

a) Bring me, that//

b) Tom phoned to tell me, that//

In example (a), the head is made up of the first two syllables, while the first five syllables or words in (b) are head in that sentence.

iii) The Tonic Syllable (TS): The Tonic Syllable (TS) is a syllable that carries a tune or tone stress, which makes the syllable the most prominent within its tone unit. It is alternatively called the nucleus, tonic, primary stress or primary accent. For example,

a) Is it good//

b) This is, important//

The tonic syllable in the example (a) above is “nice,” while that of (b) is “por” in the word “important.”

iv) The Tail (T): The tail is any syllable(s) after the tonic syllable or

nucleus of a tone unit. It is the tone unit boundary.

a) look into it//

b) Why are you here//

c) None of them was here//

3.0 Data Analysis and Discussion

The main focus of this chapter was to analyze the performance of Nigerian English speakers in comparison with the native speaker by using a native speaker of English as a control. This shows the differences and similarities where the native and non-native speakers place their stress at the sentence level and at the word or syllabic level. The chapter, therefore, presents the data collected from some experimental groups (EG) and the control. It further presents the perceptual and acoustic analysis of the test items gleaned from both the control and the respondents.

3.1 Presentation of Data

The data collected were analyzed in two dimensions: first, the perceptual analysis involving thirty (30) respondents, and second, the acoustic analysis. In the perceptual analysis, thirty respondents read the test items presented to them for recording. The the acoustic analysis wasaccomplished according to their frequency distribution.

3.2 Perceptual Analysis

This section presents the perceptual analysis of the study carried out on tabulated tables presenting the data obtained from the respondents' pronunciations of the given sentences and individual words. Each table carries three columns. The first column, labeled "pronunciation," presents the variant realizations of the test items by the

respondents. The second column, labeled "code," provides the initial letters of the test sentence for easy identification, understanding, and analysis. For example, the expression, "how could you," is represented as HCY1. The third column, labeled "frequency," shows the number of respondents whose readings and pronunciations of those words and utterances were realized the same way.

The number attached to each of the coded items indicates the different realizations of pronunciation or stress placement observed during their recording and transcription. This charting was absolutely imperative as it facilitated easy reference to any of the transcribed items during the discussion to forestall unwarranted duplication and mistakes.

Table 2: Respondents' Variant Realization of "Was that you"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
wəz ðæt 'ju:	WTY	(native control)
From Respondents		
wəz ðæt 'ju:	WTY 1	4
wɒz ðæt 'ju:	WTY 2	5
'wɔ:z ðæt 'ju:	WTY 3	5
wəs 'ðæt 'ju:	WTY 4	6
'wɒs 'dæt 'ju:	WTY 5	6
'wɔ:s dæt 'dʒu:	WTY 6	4
Total		**30**

Key: WTY – "Was that you?"

Nos 1 – 6 represent the number of respondents per row.

3.3 Discussion of Table 2 Data

The data and results obtained after recording and transcribing, the sentences, 'Was that you?' and 'How Could You?' in Tables 2 and 3 respectively, illustrate variant

realizations of the Nigerian English Speaker's tone and stress placement. The first row on Table 2 represents a total of four (4) respondents of the thirty (30), whose realizations were almost or exactly like the native control. The second row, totalling five (5), were close to the control realization, but the first word, /wəz, the strong form /wɒz/ was substituted in place of the weak vowel i.

The results in Table 3 show that the main variant occurs at the point of articulation or where Nigerian English speakers placed the stress, and there were a few sound substitutions, as in row three (3) where the weak sound /ə/ was substituted for a long /ɔ:/ sound. Again, the stress was placed at two points rather than one, as in the control's in rows five (5) and six (6).

Table 3: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "How could you"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
haʊ 'kʊd ju:	HCY	
From Respondents		
haʊ 'kʊd ju:	HCY 1	3
'haʊ 'kʊd 'ju:	HCY 2	7
haʊ 'ku:d ju:	HCY 3	10
haʊ 'kəd 'ju:	HCY 4	4
haʊ 'ku:d 'ju:	HCY 5	6
Total		**30**

Key: HCY – "How could you?"

Nos 1 – 5 represent the number of respondents per row.

3.4 Discussion of Table 3 Data

The data and results gathered after the recording and transcription of the expression, 'How Could You,' demonstrate that from the native control, there was a close

observation of an assimilation between the last sound in 'could' and the first in 'you' that is voiced alveolar plosive /d/ and voiced palatal approximant /j/ resulting in /dʒ/ in the perfect native speaker. Row one (1) had relatively the same realization with the control but without such assimilation influence, and in row two (2), the stress was realized at two positions.

However, these results also show that the production of seven respondents approximated that of the control with good stress placement and pronunciation. Rows (3) three and four (4), on the other hand, demonstrated a typical Nigerian accent and pronunciation with a slight variation in the middle vowel of the middle word. That is /kəd/ for /kʊ̲d/ in 'could,' and the stressing of all the words in that expression in the last row.

Table 4: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Would You like Some Tea"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
/wʊd ju: 'laɪk səm' ti:/	WYLST	
From Respondents		
/wʊd ju: 'laɪk səm 'ti:/	WYLST 1	8
/wʊd 'ju: 'laɪk sʌm 'ti:/	WYLST 2	7
/'wu:d ju: laɪk sɒm 'ti:/	WYLST 3	9
/wʊd jə: 'laɪk 'sʌm 'ti:/	WYLST 4	6
Total		**30**

Key: WYLST: "Would You like Some Tea?"

Nos 1 – 4 represent number of respondents per row.

3.5 Discussion of Table 4 Data

The results in Table 4 show that since the expression was more like a rapid speech, the control was seen as using the schwa /ə/ in 'some' which is the weak form of that word. In row one (1), eight respondents also used the weak vowel just like the native control. But in row eight (8), apart from placing emphasis on three words, the respondents tended to use the strong vowel /ʌ/ at 'some' which is also correct. But it was observed that the respondents in row four (4) did not use the short /ʊ/ sound in 'would.'Instead they used /u:/ sound as well as the short /ɒ/ in 'some' rather than /ə/ or /ʌ/. Again, the last row placed emphasis on every word except on 'you' and instead of /ju:/ they used /jə/.

Table 5: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "That's not Ordinary"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
/ðætz nɒt ɔ:dnri:/	TNO	
From Respondents		
/ðætz nɒt 'ɔ:dnri:/	TNO1	2
/ɵætz nɒt 'ɔ:dnrɪ/	TNO2	4
/dæts nɒt 'ɔ:dɪnərɪ/	TNO3	4
/'ðætz nɔ:t 'ɔ:rdnərɪ/	TNO4	5
/'dæts nɔ:t 'ɔ:dɪnæri:/	TNO5	15
Total		**30**

Key: TNO: "That's not ordinary"

Nos 1 – 5 represents number of respondents per row.

3.6 Discussion of Table 5 Data

The results in Table 5 demonstrate that contrary to the belief of some Nigerian English Speakers that the word 'ordinary' should be a four syllabic word, the control realized it as a two-syllabic words, /ɔ:d nri:/, and that two (2) out of the thirty (30)

respondents were able to replicate this as seen in row one (1) in Table 5.

Respondents in row two (2) in Table 5 instead of using the voiced interdental consonants realized it as the voiceless counterpart from their pronunciation, and instead of the long /i:/ at the end of the word 'ordinary,' realized it as short /ɪ/. Four respondents in row four (4) in Table 5 realized the voiced interdental consonant /ð/ as /d/ which is a voiced alveolar plosive in the word 'that,'/ðætz/ as /dæts/, and also added the voiceless fricative /ʒ/ instead of the voiced /z/. It was also observed that they inserted the short /ɪ/ after the sound /d/ in 'ordinary,' which was never there. Respondents in row four (4), apart from using the long /ɔ:/ in 'not' as against /ɒ/, also added the tap /r/ after /ɔ:/, showing the use of the American pronunciation of 'ordinary.' While respondents in row five (5)w showed themselves to be typical Nigerian English speakers with a heavy accent, not only did they use the long /ɔ:/ for /ɒ/ in 'not,' they also substituted /ð/ for /d/ in 'that,' added the sibilant /s/ as against /z/ in 'that,' and then gave sound to every syllable in 'ordinary,' so it became /ɔ:dɪnæri:/.

Table 6: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Would You Believe Me If I Told You"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
/wʊd ju: 'bɪli:v mi: ɪf aɪ 'təʊld ju:/	WYBMIITY	
From Respondents		
/wʊd ju: 'bɪli:v mi: ɪf aɪ 'təʊld ju:/	WYBMIITY1	2
/wʊd 'ju: 'bɪli:v mi: ɪf aɪ 'təl ju:/	WYBMIITY2	8
/wʊd 'ju: 'bɪli:f mi: ɪf aɪ 'təl 'ju:/	WYBMIITY3	11
/wəd 'ju: 'bɪli:f 'mi: ɪf aɪ 'təld 'ju:/	WYBMIITY4	9
Total		**30**

Key: WYBMIITY: "Would You Believe Me If I Told You?"

Nos 1 – 4 represents number of respondents per row.

3.7 Discussion of Table 6 Data

In Table 6, the native speaker's result shows when a word like 'could' or 'would' is followed by 'you,' there is a high tendency for assimilation to take place and what is observed is /dʒ/, between the two words. Hence, the two respondents in row one (1) were able to realize them like the native control. The respondents in row two (2) were somewhat close to the control's pronounciation, but they stressed 'you,' 'believe,' and 'told.' Again, it was observed that some Nigerian English speakers tend to elide the last alveolar plosive /d/ when it occurs in words like 'sold,' 'told,' 'mould,' and 'cold'; and so, they omitted the /d/ in /təʊld/ and rather derived /təl/. The respondents in row three (3) toed the same line, omitting short /ʊ/ from the word /təʊld/ in addi-

tion to the /d/, and used a very obvious substitution of the voiced dental fricative /v/ for the voiceless dental fricative /f/ in /bɪli:v/, hence having /bɪli:f/ instead and also the stressing of 'you,' 'believe,' and 'told.' The respondents in row four (4) substituted the middle vowel /ʊ/ for /ə/ with the same substitution of dental fricatives in addition to stressing 'you,' 'believe,' 'me,' and 'told,' and almost every word except three words: "would,' 'if,' and 'I'.

Table 7: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Why Can't I?"

Pronunciation	Code	Frequency
Control		
/waɪ 'ka:nt aɪ/	WKI	
From Respondents		
/waɪ 'ka:nt aɪ/	WKI 1	5
/'waɪ 'ka:nt 'aɪ/	WKI 2	12
/'waɪ 'kænt 'aɪ/	WKI 3	13
Total		**30**

Key: WKI: "Why Can't I?"

Nos 1 – 3 Represents number of respondents per row.

3.8 Discussion of Table 7 Data

The results in Table 7 demonstrate that according to the sentence stress rule, contractions can be stressed as illustrated by the control on the second item 'can't,' which happens to be the only stressed word in the expression. It was also observed in our analysis that five respondents in row (1) realized those words as the control. Respondents in row (2) realized the same pronunciation of those words but placed emphasis instead on every word, thereby stressing all of them. Even though respondents in row (3) stressed every single word as did those in row (2), the difference is that those in

row one (1) and row (2) maintained the long /a:/ sound in 'can't,' and the respondents in row (3) chose to use the short /æ/ sound like American or English speakers.

Table 8: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Comfortable"

Pronunciation	Frequency
Control	
/'kʌmftəbl/	
From Respondents	
/'kʌmftəbl/	7
/'kʌmfətbl/	6
/'kʌm'fɔ:təbl/	8
/'kɔ:m'fɔ:'tebl/	9
Total	**30**

3.9 Discussion of Table 8 Data

The results in Table 8 show that seven (7) respondents realized the word, 'comfortable, as the control. Six (6) respondents in row two (2) realized nearly the same word but with an insertion of the /ə/ sound after the voiceless dental fricative /f/. Gimson's transcription as used in *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* is replicated by the control. In rows three (3) and four (4), there is a slight replacement of the short sound /ʌ/ after the voiceless velar plosive /k/ on the first syllable, and the schwa /ə/ after the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/. In both positions, the speakers in row four(4) substitute /ʌ/ for /ɔ:/ and /ə/ for /e/ with a three-point stress against one.

Table 9: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Extraordinary"

Pronunciation	Frequency
Control	
/Ik'strɔ:dnrɪ/	
From Respondents	
/Ik'strɔ:dnrɪ/	6
/ek'strɔ:dnərɪ/	11
/ek'stra:'ɔ:dɪnarɪ/	13
Total	**30**

3. 10 Discussion of Table 9 data

The results from Table 9 demonstrates that six (6) respondents out of the thirty (30) were able to articulate the word, 'extraordinary,' like the native control. Eleven (11) from row two (2) realized it almost like the respondents in row one (1) but with the substitution of the initial short /ɪ/, according to Oxford Dictionary, with /e/, and then with the insertion of /ə/ after the nasal sound /n/. But respondents in row three (3), coincidentally the most in number, realized it as most Nigerian English speakers do, in six syllables, unlike the control.

Table 10: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Steward"

Pronunciation	Frequency
Control	
/'Stju:əd/	
From Respondents	
/Stju:əd/	2
/Sti:'wəd/	13
/Sti:'wɔ:d/	15
Total	**30**

3. 11 Discussion of Table 10 Data

Table 10 shows that a very limited number of respondents know the appropriate pronunciation of the word, 'Steward': only two (2) respondents in row one (1) realized it like the control. The other twenty-eight respondents in rows two (2) and three (3) got the first syllable wrong and the respondents in row three (3) also got the other syllable wrong by using the long /ɔ:/ instead of the Schwa /ə/ sound.

Table 11: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Incisor"

Pronunciation	**Frequency**
Control	
/In'saɪzə/	
From Respondents	
/'ɪnsɪsɔ:/	20
/ɪnsi:zɔ:/	10
Total	**30**

3.11 Discussion on Table 11 Data

The results from Table 11 demonstrate that none of the respondents knew the appropriate pronunciation of the word, 'Incisor.' These results also indicate that the native control pronounced the second syllable of the word as /saɪ/, while the respondents (ie Nigerian English Speakers) are used to pronouncing it as /si:/. While the control realized the last syllable as /zə/, the respondents realized theirs as either /sɔ:/ or /zɔ:/. While the native control placed the stress on the second syllable, both respondents on the row one (1) and row two (2) stressed the first syllable.

Table 12: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Students"

Pronunciation	Frequency
Control	
/'stju:dnts/	
From Respondents	
/'stju:dnts/	10
/'studnts/	10
/stu'dents/	10
Total	**30**

3.13 Discussion of Table 12 Data

Table 12 shows that a total of ten respondents were able to realize the word as adequately as the control. The remaining twenty respondents (ten per row0 omitted the semi-vowel /j/ in the first syllable. Even though the respondents in row (2) realized the second syllable correctly, the respondents in row three (3) got the second syllable wrong in their pronunciation.

Table 13: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Access"

Pronunciation		Frequency
Control		
/əekses/		
From the Respondents		
/'əekses/		8
/'a:ses/		22
Total		**30**

3.13 Discussion of Table 13 Data

Table 13 demonstrates shows the eight (8) respondents in row one (1) were able to realize the item, 'access,' like the native control, /ækses/. The result simply shows how most Nigerian English speakers pronounce the word as /a:ses/ which is what the

respondents in row two (2) did. The variance here was on the first syllable where the native and the respondents in row one (1) realized the digraph 'ac' as /æk/ for the first syllable, while the respondents in row two (2) omitted the first /k/, resulting in its prnounciation as /a:ses/.

Table 14: Control and the Respondents' Realization of "Vegetable"

Pronunciation		**Frequency**
Control		
/'vedʒtəbl/		
From the Respondents		
/'vedʒtəbl/		5
/ve'dʒɪtəbl/		8
/ve'dʒɪtəbl/		17
Total		**30**

3.14 Discussion of Table 14 Data

The results in Table 14 reveal that like the native control, the respondents in row one (1) correctly pronounced 'vegetable,' most likely because of exposure to the word and acquired knowledge through learning. The respondents in rows two (2) and three (3) realized it almost the same way: as /tebl/, with a slight difference in the change of the weak vowel /ə/ for /e/ in 'table,' that is as /tebl/ as against /təbl/. Again, it was observed that for those who realized it correctly, the stress was placed on the first syllable, while those who could not, placed the stress on the second syllable.

4.0 Spectral Analyses of Some Single Words

Figures in this section are drawn from the spectral analysis of single words from respondents selected from the three major Nigerian linguistic groups (Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo); a respondent from the researcher's minority Nigerian linguistic group (

Ibibio), and the control. The words analyzed were randomly selected from the list of items recorded for this study. The spectrogram shows the wave in tiered intervals, displaying the word, its syllables, and their intensities.

4.1 A Spectral Analysis of the Pronunciation of the Word "Incisor" by the Control and an Igbo Respondent

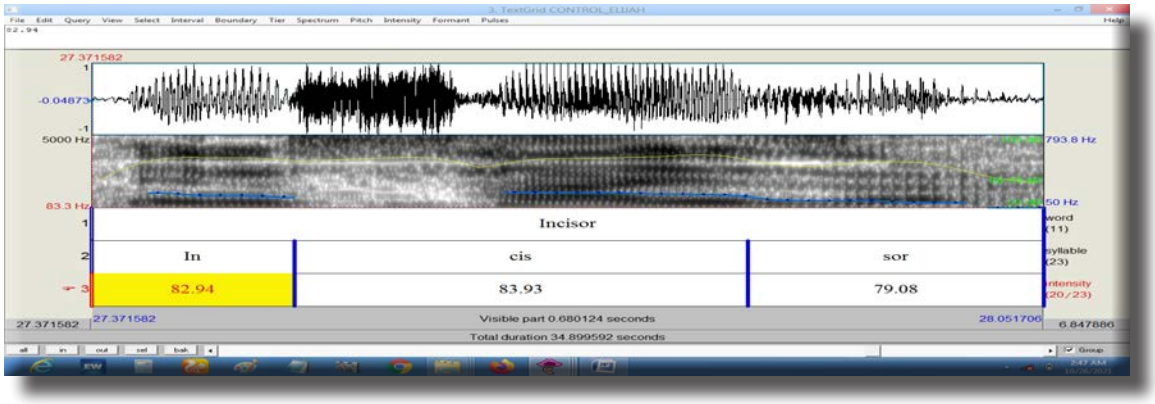


Figure 3: Control's Pronunciation of 'Incisor'

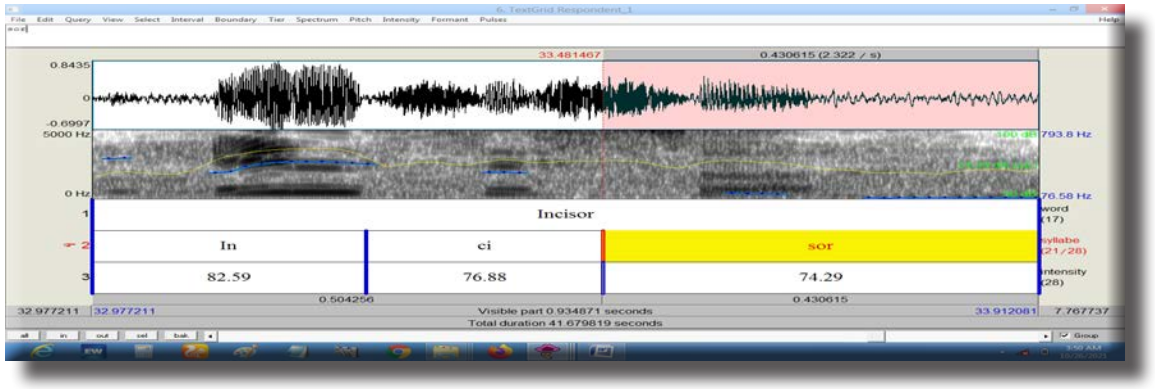


Figure 4: Igbo Respondent's Pronunciation of 'Incisor'

In Figure 3, the spectrogram showing the control's pronounciation of the word 'Incisor'.reveals the highest intensity on the second syllable "ci" /saɪ/: its intensity of 83.93 H2 followed the first syllable 'in' /ɪn/, which is unstressed with an intensity of 82.94 Hz. Finally, the third syllable displays the lowest intensity of 79.08 Hz.

Table 15: Respondent

Incisor			
In	ci	Sor	Syllable (21/25)
82.59	76.88	74.29	Intensity (28)
ɪn	sɪ	sɔ:	Transcription

Table 15 indicates that while the control realized the highest intensity on the second syllable with 83.93 Hz, the respondent's the highest intensity was realized on the first syllable with an 82.59 Hz, which was followed by the second syllable's intensity of 76.88 Hz, and then the final syllable's intensity of 74.29 Hz.The control also realized the second syllable 'ci' as /saɪ/ and sor as /zə/, while the respondent realized it 'ci' as /sɪ/ and 'sor' as /sɔ:/, respectively.

4.2 A Spectral Analysis of the Pronunciation of the Word "Steward" by the Control and a Yoruba Respondent

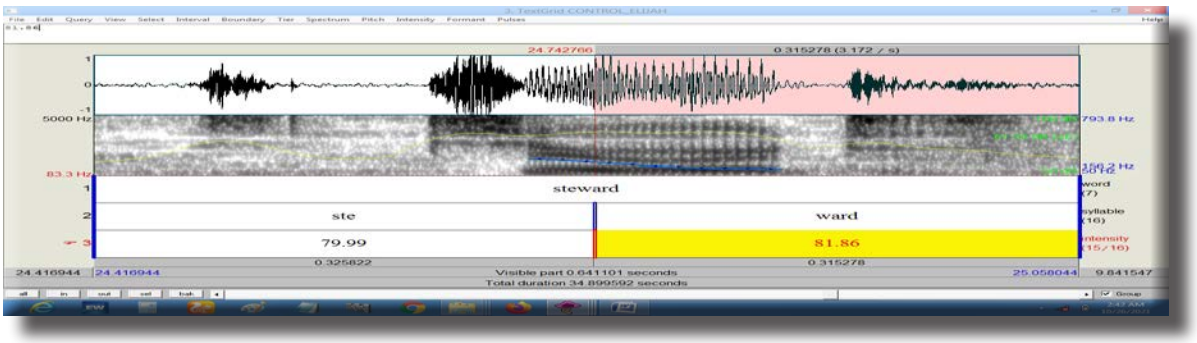


Figure 5: Control's Pronunciation of 'Steward'

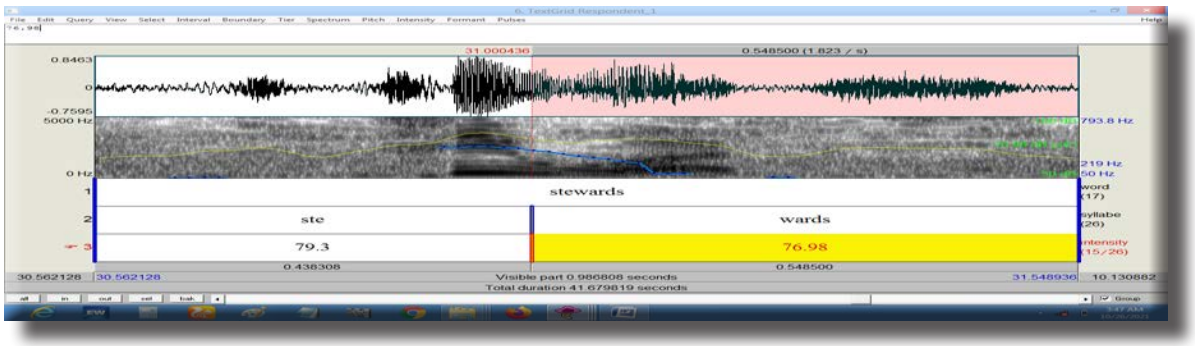


Figure 6: Yoruba Respondent's Pronunciation of 'Steward'

The spectrograms showing the control's and a Yoruba respondent's pronounciation of the word, 'Steward', indicate the control achieved the highest intensity on the first syllable, 'stew' /stju:/, with the 'w' added to the 'ste' at an intensity of 82.99 Hz. The respondent laid the stress on the first syllable with an intensity of 79.3 Hz. The control also got the unstressed syllable, 'ard' /əd/, which cannot be stressed, with an intensity of 77.86 Hz; the respondent's unstressed syllable produced an intensity of 76.98 Hz.

While the native speaker of English realized the first syllable, "stew" /stju:/, the respondent realized the first syllable as 'ste' /stɪ/. The control realized the second syllable, 'ard' as /əd/; the respondent realized it as 'ward' /wɔ:d/.

4.3 A Spectral Analysis of the Pronunciation of the Word "Individual" by the Control and Hausa Respondent Control

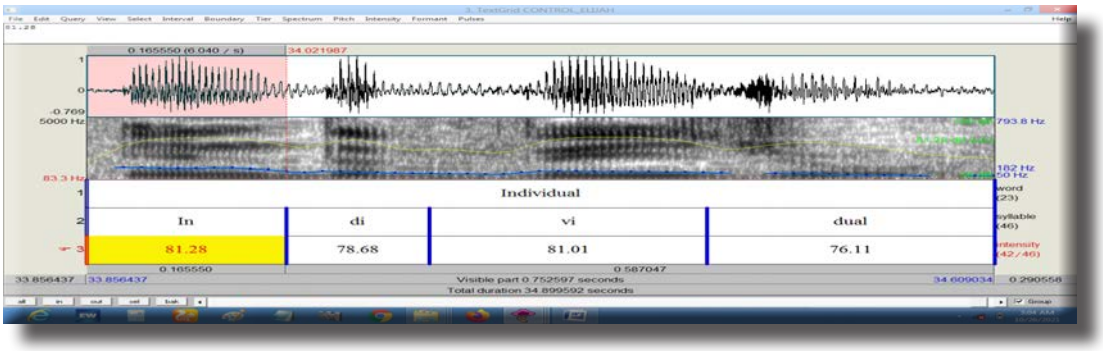


Figure 7: Control's Production of the word 'Individual'

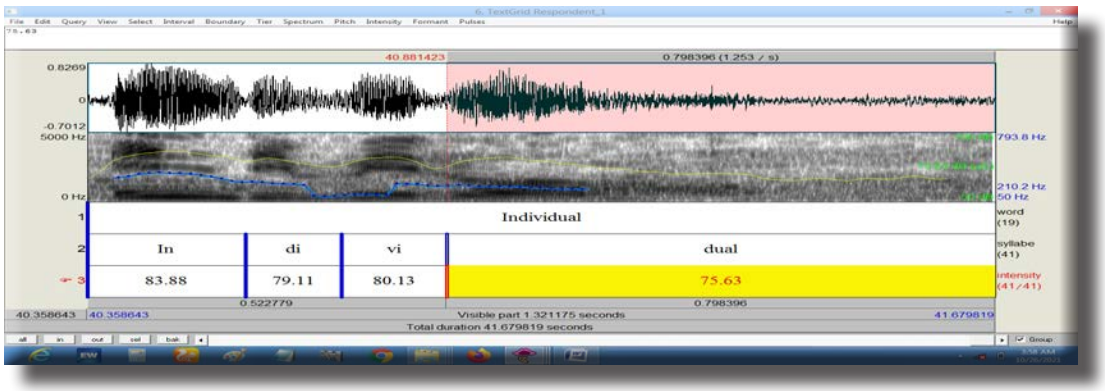


Figure 8: Hausa Respondent's Production of the word 'Individual'

The spectrograms showing the control's and a Hausa respondent's pronounciation of the word, 'Individual', indicate that the control's the highest intensity on the four-syllable word was realized on the third syllable, "vi" /vɪ/, with 83.90 Hz, whereas the respondent's highest intensity was realized on the first syllable, /ɪn/, with 83.88 Hz. The control's second highest intensity was realized on the first syllable, /ɪn/, with 81.28 Hz, followed by 78.68 Hz at 'di' and 76.11Hz at 'dual,' respectively. The respondent's result was recorded as having the second highest intensity on the third syllable, /vɪ/, with 80.13Hz, followed by 79.11Hz in the third position and 75.63Hz in fourth position.

4.4 A spectral analysis of the pronunciation of the word "Vegetable" by the Control and Ibibio respondents

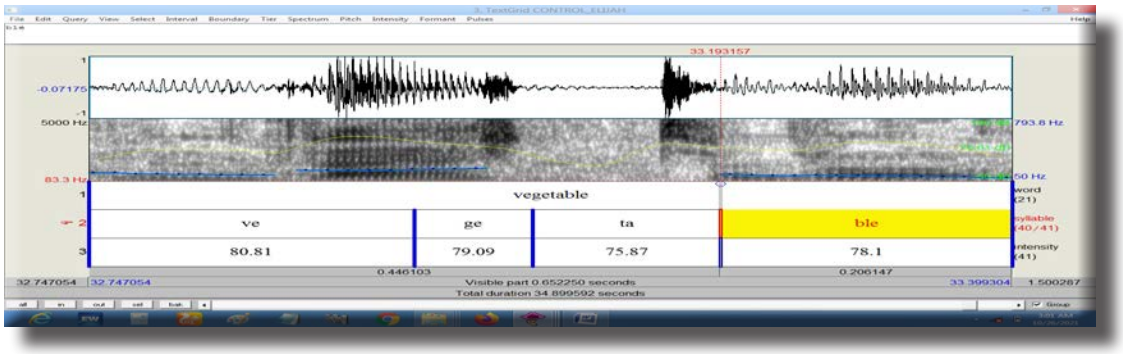


Figure 9: Control's Pronunciation of the word 'Vegetable'

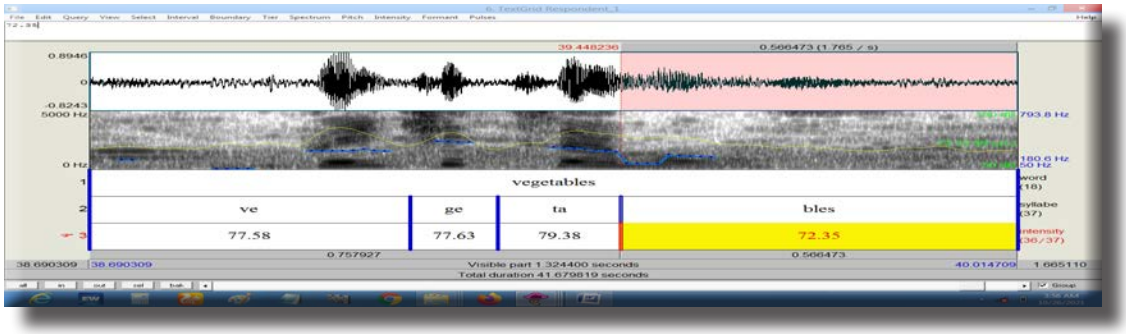


Figure 10: Ibibio Respondent's Pronunciation of the word 'Vegetable'

The spectral analysis showing the control's and an Ibibio respondent's pronounciation of 'Vegetable' indicates that in pronouncing the word, the control realized the highest intensity on the first syllable with 81.81 Hz, while the respondent's highest intensity was realized on the third syllable with 79.38 Hz. While the control pronounced the word as three syllables, the respondent realized it as four syllables. It was also discovered that the syllable with a higher intensity after the first was the third with 76.1Hz, as the schwa sound in /tə/ would not be more audible than the dark /l/ in /bl/ at the final position with an intensity of 75.87 Hz. While the respondent realized the next intensity at /tʃɪ/ with 77.63 Hz., this was closely followed by the first **/fe/** with a 77.58 Hz and the final **/bl/** with 72.35 Hz, respectively.

5.0 Metrical Analyses of the Data

This section presents the metrical analyses of the data gathered for the study. It analyzes the test item,: "Your Skirt is too Short." The analyses are represented on the metrical trees and grids shown in Figures 11 and 11a.

5.1 Metrical Trees

Figure 11: Metrical Tree showing the Production of the Control in the Sentence: "Your Skirt is too Short"

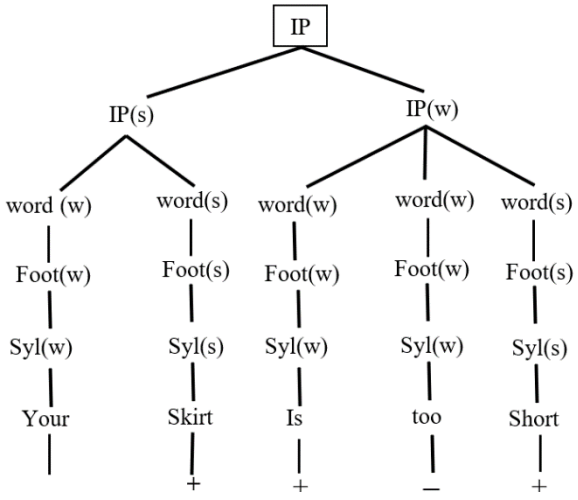
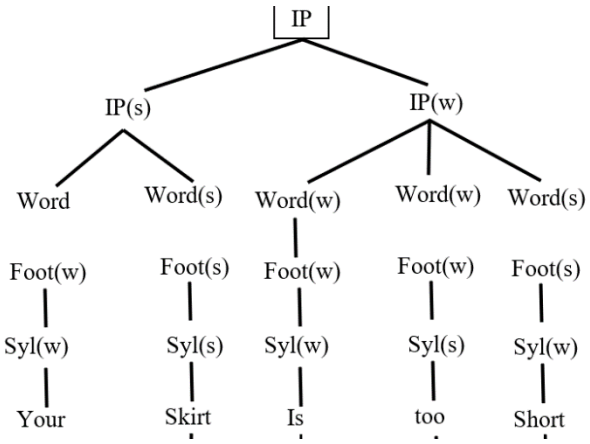


Figure 11a: Metrical Tree showing the Production of the Respondents in the Sentence: "Your Skirt is too Short"



Figures 11 and 11a show the metrical analyses of the sentence, "Your skirt is too Short," as read both by the control and the respondent, respectively. The syllables on the metrical trees are labeled according to prominence with which the respondent produced them and either as 's' or 'w.' representing strong or weak syllables. They were designated with integers as positive (+) or negative (-) to align with 's' and 'w' nodes. The most prominent syllable in a phrase is the one that does not have any weak node above it.

6.0 Conclusion

In most of the cases examined, Nigerian English is tonal. In exceptions to this rule, the speakers may have decided to show indifference or their speech may have been affected by factors such as moods, emotions, and pressure. In part, the tonality of the speakers gathered from our result results from the ethnic groups they belong to. The level of a speaker's formal education and other types of training also contribute greatly when it comes to speaking, as these factors determine the various pronunciations that people use and are reliable indicators of their competence and performance.

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Hudson Bay Museum Tea House: #9

Sue Matheson

Spatial Contestations in a Third World Metropolis: A Study of Informal Economies in Abuja City, 1991-2019

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Abstract

In Abuja City, Nigeria, 1999 – 2019, disputes over economic space arise from the city being planned without consideration of the poor. Using oral interviews and extant literature, this paper considers the urbanization of Abuja and the lives of informal workers, their housing and activities, especially economic informalities considered illegal by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Using oral interviews and extant literature, issue associated with housing, marketing/vending, and transportation are examined.

Keywords: Spatial Contestation, Economic Informalities, Abuja, City, and Urban Poor.

Introduction

The world is made up of cities inhabited by the rich, the middle class, and the poor. There are huge differences in living standards around the world, but in cities located in developed countries of the globe, such as London, New York, Paris, Moscow, Dubai, Singapore, Barcelona, Los Angeles, and Rome,[1] the poor have incomes and access to health care, education, public services, and economic and social opportunities. Even the poorest citizens of the United States have incomes and access to health care, education, public services, and economic and social opportunities that are far superior to those available to the vast mass of people living in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Central America. In part, these differences are due to decisions made during urban planning. In most Third World cities, there was no consideration for the poor. Consequently, their informal workers face debilitating challenges as they struggle to earn a living in spaces that have become theatres for the"survival of the fittest,"sites of conflict for interest and resources. And accordingly, where the poor suffer the most, their cities'informalities are more prominent. The Nigerian landscape is dotted with such cities, scattered across all regions and zones. Nigeria's state capitals are growth poles, attracting greater numbers of people seeking to derive political and economic advantages from the urban environment. Although literature on African and

1. Acemolugu, D. and Robinson, J. A., *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (United States: Crown Business, 2012), 428.

Nigerian history contains copious references to aspects of urbanization in the Nigerian area, there is yet to be a comprehensive overview of the process and dimensions of urbanization in Nigeria from the earliest times to the present.[2]

Nigerian cities have deep roots in antiquity dating from the Neolithic period in prehistory when humans began to domesticate plants and animals and formed nucleated settlements. As centers of popular and traditional cultures, these cities are active in their social and religious expressions. Nigerian urban centers can be broadly categorized into two types. On the one hand, there are urban centers that emerged in the pre-colonial period. On the other hand, others emerged during and after the colonial experience. For both of these categories, however, colonialism has been found to have had a very profound impact on the process of urbanization in Nigeria. The prodigious growth of pre-existing and emerging urban centers during the colonial period and the postcolonial period has been quite glaring.[3] In both these categories, the poor and the rich suffered and continue to suffer. Falola and Salm point out,

> [w]hether it is Kaduna in the North or Lagos in the South, poverty is visible in the cities. All of these cities reflect inequalities in the country, with the majority living in slums and lacking access to good drinking water and medical facilities. The well-to-do also suffer, as their wealth cannot buy them easy mobility on the congested roads, or protect them from armed robbers looking for cars and money to steal at gunpoint.[4]

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2. Toyin Falola, & Steven J. Salm, "Introduction", in Falola, T. and Salm, S.J. (eds.) *Nigerian Cities* (Asmara: African World Press, Inc. 2004), 6.
3. Toryina A. Varvar, and Elizabeth I. Yecho, "Historical Origin of Makurdi: Town" in Armstrong M. Adejo (ed.) *Makurdi: A History of its Rise and Development up to 2010.* (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2013).
4. Falola & Salm,7.

Kaduna and Lagos are just mentioned here as examples, when in reality, poverty and inequality are the dominant feature of all Nigerian cities, including Abuja. Remarkably, Abuja City falls into the category of the settlements that emerged before the advent of colonialism in Nigeria. The profound impact of colonialism later exerted on the settlement can be seen in the provisions of health infrastructure, schools, and churches which subsequently acted as a pull factor to the area before the present urbanization of the place enhanced by sitting as a new FCT. Urbanization in Abuja has become a topical issue in the Nation's history. Indeed, much has been written on Abuja;but an important gap in the literature on urbanization in Abuja remains—the absence of historical studies about the nature and pattern of economic informalities that exist in the city.

It is against this backdrop that the struggles of the poor for survival in Abuja, in disputes poverty and inequality over economic spaces, from 1991 to 2019, are examined. The germane questions at this juncture are the following. What is the nature and patterns of urban economic informalities engaged in by the poor in Abuja City for their survival? What are the challenges that confronted informal workers in Abuja City? What appropriate measures/policy options would help in stemming the tide? This paper's primary variables are conceptualized in its second part. The third segment explores Abuja City's history from its emergence up to 2019. The nature and trends of economic informalities in Abuja are highlighted in its fourth part. The difficulties faced by informal laborers in Abuja are described in its fifth part. The concluding remarks are included in its sixth and final section.

Conceptualizing Informality and the City

The concepts calling for clarifications here are informality and the city. Informality, on the one hand, remains a contested concept but there are several areas that most agree on. As opposed to earlier and highly simplistic approaches that defined the informal sector as "an autonomous, unregulated, often illegal . . . arena for jobs," as opposed to the formal, seen as "registered, regulated . . . legal work," there is now a broad consensus that such distinctions serve little purpose.[5] In many cases, informal workers acquire licenses or pay levies to local authorities, and there is evidence that state agencies act informally or reproduce informality.[6] Hence, the relationship between the formal and informal is messy, blurred, and difficult to disentangle.[7] However, there is a tendency by the state to classify informal activities as illegal. This assumes a distinct boundary between formality/legality and informality/illegality. As Roy points out, informality "uncovers the ever-shifting urban relationship between the legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized."[8] This fluid and ever-shifting relationship is reflected in Yiftachel's concept of grey spaces. Using the example of apartheid South Africa, grey spaces are defined as spaces "positioned between the whiteness of legality/approval/safety and the blackness of eviction/destruction/death."[9] Grey spaces are neither integrated nor eliminated and are sometimes tolerated or encouraged. Informal economy in the context of this paper

5. Garth Myers, *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*(London: Zed Books,2011), 71.
6, Garth, *African Cities,* 72.
7. Melanie Lombard, Paula Meth, "Informalities", in Mark Jayne, &Kelvin Ward (eds), *Urban Theory New Critical Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2017).
8. Ananya Roy, *Slumdog cities: Rethinking subaltern urbanism.* International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (35.29, 2011), 223–238.
9. Oren Yiftachel, "Theoretical notes on 'gray cities': The Coming of Urban Apartheid?" in *Planning Theory* (USA: SAGE Journals, 8.1, 2009), 88–100.

refers to the sector that is dominated by informal workers or workers of informalities. Informalities as conceived by this paper are micro-businesses that are loosely organized and carried out by the poor (who lack money to hire government spaces) but operate by the roadside or beside government-owned facilities and services.

The concept of the city, on the other hand, like virtually any other concept, lacks a precise, generally agreed-upon definition.[10] Hence, it has been subjected to various definitions in different geographical and temporal contexts. A settlement regarded as a "city" in one context could be described as a modest town or, even, an oversized village in another. But in general, a city connotes a "substantial" urban population that depends upon a contiguous countryside. Its economy is no longer merely that of "subsistence," though the pre-modern city was characterized by a blend of "subsistence" and "market" sectors.[11]

The following have been identified as general characteristics of pre-modern cities. First, their physical appearance compares unfavorably with that of their modern counterparts. The houses were made of wood, mud, or brick and roofed with thatch or other non-metallic material. With few exceptions, these buildings were one-story structures. Second, the layout of the city reflected the economic roles of its dwellers and the level of their technological development.[12] Most economic activities were concentrated in the city Centre, where the palace, important shrines, and central market were located. Occupational specialization often coincided with settlement patterns as

10. Josef Gugler and William G. Flanagan, *Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 19.
11. Ayodeji Olukoju, "Nigerian Cities in Historical Perspective" in Toyin Falola, and Steven J. Salm,(eds.) *Nigerian Cities*(Asmara: African World Press, Inc.2004), 11.
12. Akin L. Mabogunje, *Urbanization in Nigeria* (London: London University Press, 1968).

particular groups, such as blacksmiths, carvers, and dyers, inhabited specific wards. The settlement patterns in the pre-industrial city also reflected power and social hierarchy. The ruling class and its associates occupied the central portions of the city while the less privileged lived on the fringes. The city was not divided into industrial and residential quarters, as cottage industries were located inside the dwellings of the people. It was only to the extent that particular wards were noted for certain arts and crafts that they could be described as "industrial," but this was not in the strict sense with which we consider the modern city.[13]

Third, the pre-industrial city was also characterized by its walls, moats, and any other defensive device. As external attacks posed a constant threat to the security of the city, the ruling class and warriors assumed great importance in its social and political setup. Again, given the rudimentary technology of the times, the pre-industrial city in Africa tended to be small when compared to modern standards.[14] Except for Ile-Ife, Benin, Oyo, and Kano, pre-nineteenth-century Nigerian cities had less than five thousand inhabitants. The largest of them probably attained a peak of 30,000 persons. That is to say, the nineteenth-century wars—the Sokoto Jihad and the Yoruba civil wars in the aftermath of the fall of Old Oyo—wrought remarkable demographic changes which swelled the populations and number of cities in Western and Northern Nigeria. In the turmoil, many old cities expanded phenomenally while a few were destroyed. The late nineteenth century ushered in British rule, which introduced certain dynamics that also engendered the rise of new towns and the massive expansion of existing settlements in the colonial and post-independence

13. See Mabogunje, , *Urbanization in Nigeria.*
14. Akin L. Mabogunje, Cities and *African Development*(Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1976).

periods during the twentieth century.[15]

F. Okafor and A. Onokerhoraye made use of the United Nations Economic Commission for African's (UNECA) to differentiate between types of city, rural, and other sorts of urban settlement as follows: "Locality with 500,000 or more = Big city, a locality with the 200,000-499,999=medium city, a locality with 100,000-199,999=City, a locality with 20,000-19,999=Urban locality, Locality with less than 20,000 rural localities."[16]

Historical Foundations of Abuja City, 1991-2019

Abuja is the new Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria abbreviated as FCT. It was created because of the urgent need to relocate Nigeria's capital from the congestion of Lagos to the Abuja area in central Nigeria. The move for this relocation started in 1975 and gained impetus in 1976 during the military administration of General Murtala Mohammed.[17] The FCT was carved out from parts of the states of old Kwara, Niger, Kaduna, and the Plateau States upon the promulgation of decree number 6 of 1976 with the bulk of landmass carved out of Niger State. It is within the Middle Belt region of the country. Unlike the states of Nigeria, which are headed by elected governors, it is administered by the Federal Capital Territory Administration and headed by a minister appointed by the President.[18]

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15. Olukoju, "Nigerian Cities in Historical Perspective", 13.
16. Francis Okafor & Andrew Onokerhoraye, *Rural Systems, and Planning*.Geography and Planning series of Study Notes (Benin: University of Benin, 1986), 6.
17. James N. Obiegbu, "Women in the Economy of Abuja, The Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria" in Aliyu A. Idress & Yakubu A. Ochefu, (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria,*(Vol. 1, Lagos: CSS Limited, 2002), 399.
18. NnennaIbeh, How Abuja Administration Officials Extort Bribes from Petty Traders". Available at https://www.wiego.org/news/how-abuja-administration-officials-extort-bribes-petty-traders. 2013, Accessed June 2019.

Before the creation of the FCT, the Abuja area was peopled by various ethnic groups including the GwariGenge, the GwariYannmaorGwari of the West, the Koro, the Gade, the Ganagana, the Gwandara, the Bassa, the Fulani, and the Hausa. The creation of the FCT, however, meant that they were no longer owners of the land, as all the land in the territory belonged to the Federal Government. The Federal Government started resettlement and compensation policies for the indigenes of the area in new places of their choice at the government's expense. To achieve this task the Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) under Mr. Ajose Adeogun, the then Minister of Special Duties was mandated to seek not just the detailed census of the population to be displaced from the territory, but also of their immovable assets[19]. A survey was carried out to determine those who wished to stay in the FCT or leave. The result of the survey is presented in Table 1 on the next page.

19. Saleh Dauda, "The Establishment of a New Capital Territory in Abuja, Central Nigeria Area: An Appraisal", in Aliyu A. Idress & Yakubu A. Ochefu, (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria,*(Vol. 1, Lagos: CSS Limited, 2002), 39.

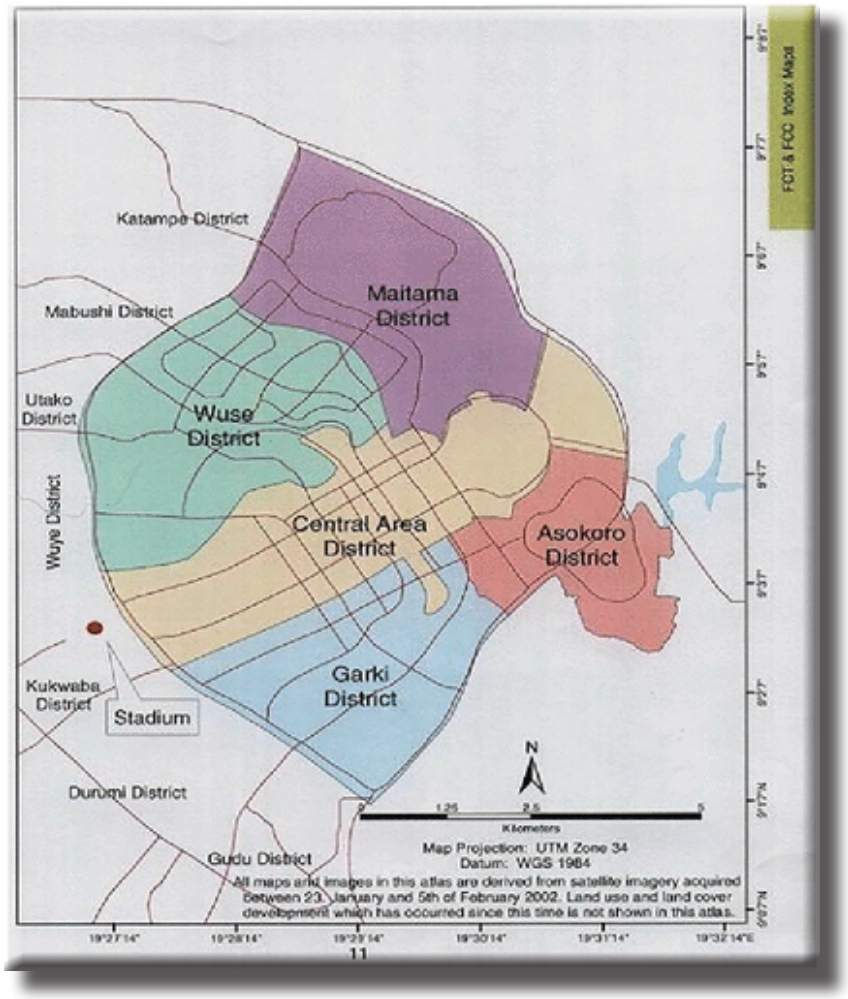
Table 1: Number of People who stayed and those who Left the Federal Capital Territory

District	Total Heads of Household	Those Staying	Those Leaving
Gawu	820	79	774
Suleja	397	74	314
Kuje	4,861	4,679	137
Kwali	7,599	7,279	255
Bwari	4,633	3,823	776
Lapai	623	369	251
Karu	1,506	526	957
Karshi	1,506	526	957
Torto	512	161	404
GadaBuke	1,581	1,346	80
Konto-Karfe	1,690	1,653	7
FCT	26,328	20,619	5,412

Source: Abuja: New Federal Capital Territory, 1991, cited in Dauda, S. (2002) "The Establishment of a New Capital Territory in Abuja, Central Nigeria Area: An Appraisal", in Idress, A.A. &Ochefu, Y.A. (eds.), *Studies in the History of Central Nigeria,* Vol. 1. Lagos: CSS Limited.

Here, it is evident that 20,619 households decided to stay and 5,412 households decided to leave. The total number of households that needed resettlement and compensation were about 11,000, made up of 5,000-7,000 from the priority areas and just over 5,000 from the non-priority areas.

Map: Abuja showing the Central Area and the main city districts of Asokoro, Maitama, Wuse, and Garki



Source: https://images.app.goo.gl/RUi1TZnQBMvxZbqy8 (accessed 1 May 2024).

The population density before the takeover by the government was sparse with a population of 120,000 residents living in 840 villages. Most of Gwariheritage's inhabitants were relocated to nearby towns, like Suleja in Niger State and New Karshi in Nasarawa State on the outskirts of the territory.[20] At the 2006 census, the city of Abuja had a population of 776,298, making it one of the ten most populous cities in Nigeria.

20. Nnamdi Elleh, *Architecture, and Politics in Nigeria: The Study of a Late Twentieth-century Enlightenment-inspired Modernism at Abuja, 1900-2016.* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Abuja grew by 139.7% between 2000 and 2010, becoming the fastest-growing city in the world.[21] As of 2015, the city is experiencing an annual growth of at least 35%, retaining its position as the fastest-growing city on the African continent and one of the fastest-growing in the world.As of 2016, the population of the metropolitan area of Abuja was estimated at six million persons, placing it behind only Lagos, as the most populous metro area in Nigeria. The population of Abuja is currently put at 3,095,000. This population is dominated by informal workers (the poor) who operate under strenuous conditions to earn a living.

Nature and Patterns of Economic Informalities in Abuja City, 1991-2019

There is a growing demand for space from the people who live in poverty in Abuja City, and the needs of the poor have compelled them to develop some coping strategies. These strategies in turn have created fertile grounds for contests between the informal sector and the city authorities. Abuja has many agencies, like the Joint Task Force (JTF) and Mobile Court, put in place that deny informal workers (the poor) a space in the center of the city. The reason that the poor are operating illegally is because they lack the resources needed to meet government standards. Nonetheless, they continue to operate in the same economic spaces with the city authorities, engaging in spatial contestation. The following discussion of contested space in Abuja pays special attention to the poor's issues of housing, marketing/vending, and transportation.

21. Sarah Boumphrey, "World's Fastest Growing Cities Are In Asia and Africa, "Eurometer, 2, March 2010. https://web.archive.org/web/20151117022953/http://blog.euromonitor.com/2010/03/special-report-worlds-fastest-growing-cities-are-in-asia-and-africa.html; also see "Abuja," *WorldPlaces Tour*, https://worldplacestour.com/photos/Africa/West-Africa/Nigeria/Abuja#google_vignette.

Housing

The poor in Abuja City need accommodation to pursue their sources of livelihood. However, government housing units in Abuja, apart from being insufficient, are very costly for the poor to rent. As a result, the poor who are also informal workers settle in and develop ghettos. In part, this is the reason for the proliferation of slums in Abuja City, the FCT. In 2016, the United Nations Settlement Programme in Nigeria reported

> [a]bout 80 million Nigerians, representing 79 percent of the population, are living in slums. The growth of informal settlements around the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) has largely been a result of inadequate and non-affordable housing for all classes of the citizenry. The challenge of surrounding land tenure for the teeming populace, the high cost of building materials, inaccessible building materials, inaccessible mortgage mechanisms for the poor as well as high rents of urban accommodation have been responsible for many of the city's suburban slums.[22]

The Abuja settlements, dominated by slums and informal settlements, include the areas of Nyanya, Karu, Mabushi, and Durumi. The FTC's Federal Housing Authority (FHA) has provided some housing units to address this problem, but they are so costly, the poor cannot afford to rent or buy them. Some of the government housing projects in Abuja City even include homes in expensive, middle class areas like Gwarimpa Estate and Federal Housing Lugbe. Inn addition, middle-income earners who cannot not legally own a plot of land in Abuja have also developed illegal settlements for

22. United Nations, *United Nations Settlement Programme*, (UN-Habita, 2016). Available at https://unhabitat.org/world-cities-report-2016. Accessed January 1, 2024.

economic reasons. Commenting on the high cost of accommodation in Abuja, an estate agent, Ebuka Okora noted

> [t]he high rents usually demanded decent accommodations are responsible for the springing up of many slums in Abuja. Do not blame the people when they live in slums. Houses are very expensive in big state capitals and FCT. A two-bedroom flat in Maitama goes for between ₦2 million and 3 million. It is ₦6,000,000 in places like Karu and Nyanya. How do you expect somebody that earns less than ₦20,000 to rent a place like that or an artisan to pay that kind of money?[23]

Illegal, the slums in Abuja City usually house the poor who managed to rent for themselves. As one informal worker, Terseer Iorpav, observed, "Without illegal settlement and informal work, some...who are not well educated would not have been able to settle in Abuja because of its high standard of living and paucity of Federal Government jobs".[24]

23. Oral Interview with Ebuka Okoro, Estate Agent, Lugbe, Abuja, April 04, 2020.
24. Oral Interview with TerseerIorpav, Worker of Informality, Nyanya, Abuja, August 05, 2020.

Fig. 1: A Slum Housing Unit in Garki, Abuja

Source: Researchers' Field Work, 2020.

Figure 1 above illustrates the high level of poverty in Abuja. It shows young men housing themselves in a dirty/shanty house to settle and continue with the economic informalities. These houses, considered to be illegal and as such, tprone to demolition and evictions, demonstrate the Federal Government of Nigeria has not done much for the poor.

Figure 2: Slum area along Murtala Muhammad Express Way, Abuja

Source: Researchers' Field Work, 2020.

Figure 2 above shows the slum houses around Murtala Muhammad Express Way, indicating the high level of poverty in Abuja and confirming that those who suffer most are the informal workers. Here, it is difficult to differentiate between a house and a refuse dump.

Marketing/Vending

The Federal Government of Nigeria established markets in Abuja City, to enhance trade and exchange. These include Wuse Market, Garki Market, Maitama Market, and the Gwarimpa and Asokoro Markets. To generate revenue for the government and ensure the orderliness of the town the FGN also established the Abuja Market Management Limited (AMML) which was incorporated in 2004 as a subsidiary of Abuja Investments Company Limited (AICL). In February 2005, after the successful development of a corporate structure, the AMML commenced operations of the

market management using the Wuse Market as its pioneer model market.[25] Between 2005 to 2017, AMML has added 14 additional markets in the FCT to its portfolio.

Charged with the responsibility of allocating prices to shops, the AMML leases its shops at rates ~~of ₦~~500,000, ~~₦~~700,000, and ~~₦~~1.5 million.[26] These are relatively high costs for the poor who turn to vending to survive. These vendors work individually or in groups in strategic places such as streets close to government offices, shopping malls, schools, markets, traffic intersections, and parking lots. Some are itinerant, others operate in stable places. Although the government has declared them illegal, it continues to collect taxes from them for using such spaces.[27]

Figure 3: A Street alongside Phase 2, Federal Secretariat Complex

Source: Researchers' Field Work, 2020.

25. See Abuja Markets Managing Limited at https://www.abujamarket.com. Accessed August 17, 2020.
26. Oral Interview with Usman Musa, Trader, Wuse, Abuja, August 12, 2020.
27. Oral Interview with Simon Akiga, Civil Servant, Nyanya, Abuja, July 10, 2020.

In Figure 3, there are are three groups of vendors by a street alongside Phase 2 of the Federal Secretariat Complex (to the right); opposite the secretariat. The first is a highly mobile young female vendor with a bowl of groundnuts on her head. Next are two fewer mobile vendors occupying different spaces. There is a vendor directly on the pavement dealing with mobile phone accessories. Behind this vendor are a group of female food vendors operating behind the barbed wire fence around Eagle Square.

Figure 4: Street Vendors operating on and Under Bridges along a very Busy Street close to Wuse Market

Source: Researchers' Field Work, 2020.

When the tax force officers attempt to stop these people from carrying out the business, the operators persist, because they do not have any other means of survival.

Transportation

Urban transportation gradually attained importance in Abuja as the City assumed increasing importance as a political, administrative, and, to some extent, economic hub of Nigeria. As Otaru observed, when the country's Federal Capital was moved from Lagos to Abuja on December 12, 1991, by the former Military President, Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, the new FCT was still a work in progress, requiring, among other things, an increase in motorization and low-quality public transportation.[28] Responding to this situation, the Abuja Urban Mass Transport Company Limited (AUMTCO), was established by the then Ministry of Federal Capital Territory Administration (FCTA) in 1984 as Abuja Bus Service (ABS), and later registered as AUMTCO, under the Companies and Allied Matters Act 1990, to address the growing transportation needs of the city.[29]

Public transport companies are also available in Abuja. These companies include ABC Transport/Cargo Services, E. Ekesons& Bros Transport Nigeria Limited, Chisco Transport Nigeria Limited, Guo Transport Nigeria Limited, Berekete Family Taxi Services, and the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) Transport Services. In addition, many private individuals, some of them public and civil servants do not register their vehicles and illegally carry passengers. In most cases, these informal transporters operate side by side with the government and other private registered transport companies. These contestations are prominent in Abuja, and is especially in settlements such as Mpape, Durumi, Mabushi village, Dutse Alhaji, and

28. Anthony Otaru, "Abuja Mass Transit Scheme… A Decaying Legacy," available at https://m.guardian.ng/sunday/magazine/abuja-urbanmass-transit-sceme-a-decaying-legacy, 2019 (accessed on August 18, 2020).
29. Otaru, "Abuja Mass Transit Scheme… A Decaying Legacy," https://m.guardian.ng/sunday/magazine/abuja-urbanmass-transit-sceme-a-decaying-legacy, 2019 .

Zuba.[30]

Figure 5: Informal Transporter carrying some passengers

Source: Researchers' Field Work, 2020.

Such transporters mostly operate as itinerant workers. Their types of transportation range from motor vehicles to motorcycles and *Keke*. Operating illegally makes them always on the run. Figure 5 shows Abuja workers (formal and informal) competing for informal transport to get to their workplaces.

Challenges of Workers of Informalities in Abuja City, 1991 – 2019

Over the last twenty five years, the houses occupied by informal workers have usually lacked modern facilities. In Apo, for example, Mrs. Rose Agu, a petty trader and mother of six outlined this challenge, saying, "we share toilets with other tenants

30. Oral Interview with Monday Fundai, Transporter, Mpape, Abuja, August 10, 2020.

and cook outside in a makeshift kitchen."[31] The informant added that her husband is a poor mason and because of that she sells origin (a local spice) to augment their hard-earned income. They cannot afford modern accommodation. Informal workers who practice marketing and vending also are also facing increases in evictions and harassment. As an itinerant vendor pointed out to Onyanta Adama, the poor "were selling everywhere along the streets in the previous years but the task force was a problem. Nobody can approach them… because they will not listen to us".[32] In 2013, Ibeh noted,

> [o]n June 12, hawkers in front of the Federal Secretariat in Abuja were harassed by officials of the AEPD…[this] reporter… witnessed how the hawkers, mostly women selling perishables ranging from carrots, groundnuts, fruits, and corn ran away clutching their goods as the task force officials arrived. Speaking to… after the task force had left, many of the hawkers said similar incidents occurred every day.[33]

In addition, informal workers in the transportation business do not have enough money to register their business and buy land for their parking. As a result of that, each lacks a regular space and moves from one place to another in search of passengers. However, a good number of them can be found near the motor park operating as freelancers. At variance with the government and officials of the registered transport

31. Oral Interview with Rose Agu, Published by the SUN Newspaper. Available at http://www.sunnewonline.com.tale-of-urban-slums-in-abuja-mega-city. Accessed, August 17, 2020.
32. OnyantaAdama, "Criminalizing Informal Workers: The Case of Street Vendors in Abuja, Nigeria," in *Journal of Asian Africa Studies* (June 2020).
33. Nenna Ibeh, "How Abuja administration officials extort bribes from petty traders," *Premium Times*, August 18, 2013. Available at https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/142965-how-abuja-administration-officials-extort-bribes-from-petty-traders.html?tztc=1. Accessed January 1, 2024.

companies, they are chased by officers of the tax force, and when caught, they are prosecuted, fined, or jailed for breaching the law.

Conclusion

It is clear that city planners and developers did not take the needs of the poor into consideration when creating the Master Plan for Abuja City. More than half of the people who live and work in Abuja work informally. Accordingly, informal settlements and houses have become the rule rather than the exception. Considering the challenges confronting informal workers and the poor in Abuja City, this study makes the following recommendations. Because unemployment and poverty prompted people to migrate to the city, the government first should engage poor youth who have qualifications and are willing to work in gainful employment. Because housing constitutes a considerable challenge to the poor, adequate accomodation for the disadvantaged needs to be provided by the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN). As well as other government initaives to improve the City's living conditions, federal programs are needed to encourage itinerant vendors to stop hawking in the heart of the town and to help informal drivers to register their vehicles.

Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy and Resilience Skill Training in Fostering Entrepreneurial Intentions Among Undergraduate Students

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Abstract

Economic growth in any society is significantly impacted by entrepreneurship, particularly in low- and middle-income nations like Nigeria. This paper assesses the effectiveness of entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE) and Resilience Skill Training (RST) in fostering entrepreneurial intention among undergraduates in the University of Ibadan. According to a pre-test, post-test randomized control group design, fifty-six undergraduates were randomly assigned into the two treatment and control groups. The Individual Entrepreneurial Intention Scale (IEIS, α =0.70) served as the primary outcome measure. The mean, standard deviation, partial eta squared, and repeated measures analysis of covariance were used to analyse the data. The findings showed that the control and treatment groups had comparable baseline levels of entrepreneurial intention. The results further revealed that the main effect of treatment on entrepreneurial intention was significant ($F_{(2; 42)} = 948.64$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = .98$). The main effect of gender on entrepreneurial intention was also significant ($F_{(1; 42)} = 11.27$, $p<0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.21$) where female participants ($M = 41.60$) displayed higher intention than male ($M = 40.09$). The main effect of locus of control on entrepreneurial

intention ($F_{(2;\ 42)}$ = 27.14, p<0.01, η^2= 0.56) was significant; participants with high locus of control (M = 42.01) had the highest entrepreneurial intention than those with moderate (M = 41.28), and low locus of control (M = 40.26) respectively. Given the potential benefits of the interventions, the adoption of evidence-based entrepreneurial skills training is recommended for psychologists in order to support and foster entrepreneurial intention among undergraduate students.

Keywords: Entrepreneurial intention, Entrepreneurial self-efficacy, Resilience skills, Locus of Control, Gender.

Introduction

According to Bryson et al. (2022), there was a concerning rise in the global unemployment rate between 2019 and 2022, with an increase from 191.93 million to 235.21 million. This is the largest yearly growth in unemployment throughout the given timeframe. According to the National Bureau of Statistics' 2023 labour force survey, unemployment rates stood at 5.1% in 2022 and 4.1% in 2023. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) calculated that Nigeria accounts for 12.6% of the world's young labour force, or around 74.6 million youth without jobs. The National Bureau of Statistics' 2022 youth unemployment estimates show that 53.40% of young people in Nigeria are jobless. In addendum to Countless global recessions, choice-making along the entrepreneurial path, ignorance, access to relevant creative and innovative information, excessive poverty, loss of jobs to robots, the challenge of the fourth industrial revolution, socio-economic tsunami ravaging the human terrestrial space, especially under developing nations like Nigeria, entrepreneurial intention becomes

a key channel for countries to increase their economic production in order to sustain their standard of living (Gieure et al., 2020).

As more graduates from public and private higher education institutions enter the workforce each year, the problem of graduate unemployment spreads throughout the country. Because a student's employment after graduation can no longer be guaranteed by their academic background, graduates must have a positive outlook on the dynamic global job market (Maheshwari, et al., 2022). Entrepreneurship is regarded a panacea for the development of economy, innovation, and job creation on both national and global scales (Bryson et al., 2022; Douglas and Fitzsimmons, 2013). It represents a fundamental component of economic growth and is instrumental in shaping the future of societies. At the heart of entrepreneurial endeavors lie the intentions of individuals. The understanding of these intentions among the youth, particularly undergraduate students, is of paramount importance in nurturing a culture of entrepreneurship. Nigeria, as one of the leading economies in Africa, has recognized the pertinent role of entrepreneurship in its socio-economic development. Exploring the entrepreneurial intentions of its youth, especially those within the academic sphere, offers a compelling avenue to enhance its entrepreneurial ecosystem further.

In recent years, the exploration of entrepreneurial intention (EI) has gained substantial prominence within academic and business communities (Ferri et al., 2019). Researchers, policymakers, and educators alike have recognized the pertinent role of entrepreneurial intent in fostering the entrepreneurial landscape and driving economic development (Hassan, Anwar, Saleem, Islamand Hussain, 2021; Maheshwari and Kha, 2022). However, as the field of entrepreneurial intentioned research has matured, a conspicuous gap has emerged, one that necessitates focused attention and deeper

inquiry, because it revolves around the effectiveness of specific interventions targeted at augmenting entrepreneurial intention among undergraduate students (Hassan et al., 2021).

Fostering entrepreneurial intentions among undergraduate students is essential for nurturing the next generation of entrepreneurs in Nigeria. Prior studies related to entrepreneurial intention have primarily concentrated on various facets, including the determinants of entrepreneurial intent, the influence of educational interventions, and the factors shaping entrepreneurial aspirations (Choo and Wong, 2009; Mortan et al., 2014; Fehintola et al., 2023). These investigations have employed varied research methodologies in exploring the nuances of entrepreneurial intention among individuals. While these researches, among many others concerning entrepreneurial intention, comprises a variety of descriptive, survey-based, and qualitative research, there remains a noticeable dearth of studies that specifically focus on interventions designed to enhance ESE and resilience skills, among undergraduate students, especially in the context of the University of Ibadan. This study bridged this research gap by implementing a tailored Entrepreneurial Self-Efficacy and Resilience Skill training program.

This study focuses on undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan. The choice of this specific demographic is strategic, as it represents a critical juncture in the lives of young individuals poised to enter the workforce. Their entrepreneurial intentions, manifested in their aspirations, motivations, and attitudes towards entrepreneurship, not only have far-reaching implications for their future career choices but also contribute significantly to the entrepreneurial landscape of the nation. Ibidunni, Mozie and Ayeni (2021) indicate that taking a thorough examination of the

entrepreneurial intentions of students is a step in the right direction for policymakers, educators, and industry stakeholders who seek to promote entrepreneurship as a reliable career option. The results of this study can be used to guide the creation of specialised interventions, curricula, and support systems that will help undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan and other universities inside and outside the nation develop and realise their entrepreneurial potentials.

The idea that one can effectively carry out entrepreneurial duties and overcome obstacles associated with initiating and operating a business endeavour is known as entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE) (Soomro and Shah, 2022). It encompasses confidence in one's skills, knowledge, problem-solving abilities, and the belief that one can effectively navigate the entrepreneurial process (Satriadi et al., 2022). Entrepreneurial intention, or the propensity and drive to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours, has been repeatedly shown by research to be significantly influenced by ESE (Osadolor et al., 2021; Christensen et al., 2023). ESE training, the first training adopted by the researchers of this study to foster entrepreneurial intention, refers to targeted interventions and programs designed to enhance students' self-belief in their entrepreneurial capabilities (Ayodele, 2013; Taiwo and Ojuolape, 2023). The goal of these training programmes is to equip students with the necessary abilities, information, experiences, and encouragement they need to grow and improve their sense of self-efficacy as entrepreneurs. In essence, when students are equipped with the necessary tools and resources, entrepreneurial self-efficacy training can positively influence their entrepreneurial intentions and improve their likelihood of pursuing entrepreneurial careers.

The second training approach that we employed in the study is resilience skill

training. One essential psychological quality that helps people adapt, rise back, and prosper regardless of impending and present hardship, stress, and major obstacles in life is resilience. It plays an important role in promoting well-being, mental health, and overall life satisfaction. While highlighting the importance of resilience, researchers and practitioners have emphasized the need for resilience skill training interventions to enhance individuals' ability to cope effectively with adversity (Bullough and Renko, 2013). Through focused treatments, resilience may be enhanced and developed rather than being limited to a fixed trait. Programmes for developing resilience skills are designed to provide participants with the information, abilities, and tactics they need to improve their psychological resilience (Korber and McNaughton, 2017). These programs typically focus on aspects such as cognitive reframing, problem-solving, emotion regulation, social support, and self-care.

Abur (2020) indicated that resilience skill training is applicable to individuals of all ages and backgrounds. It is particularly relevant in various contexts, including educational settings, workplaces, healthcare, and community-based programs. For example, students can benefit from resilience training to better cope with academic pressures, while employees can develop resilience skills to navigate challenging work environments (Mortan et al., 2014). Furthermore, individuals facing trauma, loss, and/or major life transitions can enhance their resilience through targeted interventions. While the importance of resilience skill training is widely recognized, there is a need for empirical investigation to assess its efficacy and determine the most effective strategies and approaches for different populations. Because of the enormous benefits of resilience skill training, it is beneficial to incorporate it into different aspects of entrepreneurship.

While earlier studies have clearly shown the elements that impact a person's propensity to pursue entrepreneurial endeavours (Adewuyi, 2019; Gieure et al., 2020; Satriadi, et al., 2022), a critical question looms large: How can we actively and intentionally stimulate, nurture, and elevate entrepreneurial intention among the youth, particularly within the dynamic and formative context of higher education?. This is where the essence of this research study comes into play. While extant literature has extensively examined the determinants of entrepreneurial intention, it has perhaps not delved as profoundly into the strategic interventions and mechanisms through which such intentions can be bolstered. The present study, therefore, examined the potential moderating roles of gender and locus of control (LoC) on the connection between the treatment (entrepreneurial self-efficacy and resilience skill training) and entrepreneurial intention among undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan. Gender and LoC were selected as moderator variables due to their consistent presence in the literature that focus on entrepreneurial intention and their known influence on the outcome variable.

Study Objective and Hypotheses

This study's primary goal was to determine how well resilience skill training and entrepreneurial self-efficacy training could foster entrepreneurial intention among University of Ibadan undergraduate students. The following hypotheses were raised and answered:

$H_0^{(1)}$. There is no statistically significant main effect of training (ESE and RST) on EI of undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan;

$H_0^{(2)}$. There is no statistically significant main effect of gender on EI of

undergraduates among the study population;

$H_0^{(3)}$. There is no statistically significant main effect of LoC on EI of undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan.

Methodology

Design, Population, Sample, Sampling Procedure and Data Administration

The study assessed the effectiveness of ESE and resilience skill training in fostering entrepreneurial intention. The study utilized the experimental research design, adopting a pre-test, post-test and control group experimental design. The location of the study was the University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria. The population comprises all undergraduate students enrolled in the University of Ibadan, irrespective of discipline or course of study. The study used a multistage sampling approach to select participants. From the 17 faculties that were identified, three were randomly chosen for the study. Within each faculty, the simple random approach was utilized to select one (1) department. Permission was obtained from the students and their departments before the commencement of the study. In each department, purposive sampling was used to recruit participants who scored low on the screening instrument adopted. In all, 56 participants were selected across the various department. Finally, participants were randomized into the experimental and the control groups. The Experimental Group - I was subjected to ESET that was divided into eight lessons over a period of eight weeks spanning sixty minutes per week. The Experimental Group – II, was subjected to RST and followed the same schedule as group 1 and ran concurrently. Before the commencement of the training, participants across the groups were given the pre-test instrument to fill (Individual Entrepreneurial Intention Scale (IEIS) and

the Locus of Control Scale). The control group was given placebo training that could not affect the dependent variable. At the end of the training, all the groups were subjected to post-test using the IEIS to collect data.

Instrumentation

Individual Entrepreneurial Intention Scale (IEIS)

Thompson (2009) created the Individual Entrepreneurial Intention Scale (IEIS). The scale was designed to assess entrepreneurial intent in a way that minimises respondent fatigue and maximises sample sizes while maintaining the highest level of reliability. The scale consists of ten (10) items measuring entrepreneurial intention with six substantive items out of which three items were reversed and four distracter non-entrepreneurial related items were incorporated into the questionnaire. The Likert scale used for the items has six points. The scale includes points like "spend time learning about starting a firm" and "intend to set up a company in the future." The scale was internally consistent in past studies with a Cronbach Alpha of .89). The scale uses a 6-point likert scale from "Very Untrue (coded 1)" to "Very True" (coded 6). The scale analysis did not include the distracter items. After revalidating the tool, the researchers were able to acquire a Cronbach alpha of.70.

Locus of Control Scale (LCS)

The purpose of Rotter (1966)'s Internal-External Locus of Control questionnaire was to measure people's belief that they, rather than other factors (beyond their influence), have control over the course of events in their life. The Internal-External Locus of Control questionnaire by Rotter is useful in determining the varying effects that significant events have on individuals in our society. The approved questionnaire

has 29 questions, each of which has two possibilities, denoted by the letters A and B. From each set of statements, the participants must choose one that they either strongly agree with or can personally identify with. The possibilities for "a" include items 2, 6, 7, 9, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, and 29 while possibilities for "b" include items 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 22, 26, and 28. External Locus of Control = high score Internal Locus of Control = poor score. Rotter (1966) stated that the test-retest reliability of the scale varied based on the era and specific population, ranging from 0.49 to 0.83. After revalidating the instrument, the researcher received a Cronbach alpha of.70.

Data Analysis

Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to examine the differences between the study participants in the experimental and control groups at the 0.05 significance level.

Results

Hypothesis One: There will be no statistically significant main effect of training on the entrepreneurial intentions of undergraduate students.

In order to test this hypothesis, Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to determine if the post-experimental changes are statistically significant by analysing the participants' EI post-test scores using the pre-test results as a covariate. The analysis summary is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Summary of EI post-test scores using the pre-test results as a covariate

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	n^2
Corrected Model	14113.900[a]	13	1085.685	217.107	.000	.985
Intercept	14.947	1	14.947	2.989	.091	.066
Pretest Entrepreneurial intention	80.227	1	80.227	16.043	.000	.276
Treatment	9487.726	2	4743.863	948.642	.000	.978
Gender	56.336	1	56.336	11.266	.002	.211
Locus of control	271.397	2	135.699	27.136	.000	.564
Treatment * gender	119.619	2	59.810	11.960	.000	.363
Treatment * LOC * Locus of control	134.357	3	44.786	8.956	.000	.390
Gender * Locus of control	253.387	1	253.387	50.670	.000	.547
Treatment * Gender * Locus of control	13.153	1	13.153	2.630	.112	.059
Error	210.029	42	5.001			
Total	110936.000	56				
Corrected Total	14323.929	55				

R^2= .985 (Adjusted R^2 = .981).

Table 1 shows that among University of Ibadan undergraduate students, the main effect of treatment on entrepreneurial intention; $F(2,42) = 948.64$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = .98$ was significant. We, therefore, reject the null hypothesis. Consequently, there was a

notable impact of treatment on EI. The treatment changed entrepreneurial intention by 97.8% ($\eta^2 = 0.98$), according to the size of effect.

Hypothesis Two: There will be no statistically significant main effect of gender on entrepreneurial intentions among undergraduate students.

Findings of this study indicate that gender has a statistically significant main effect on EI; $F(1,42)= 11.27$, $p<0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.21$. We, therefore, reject the null hypothesis. This suggests that the entrepreneurial intentions of individuals who are male and female vary significantly. It also shows that participants' gender explained 20.9% of the variance in their EI, indicating that gender had a statistically significant impact on the range of their entrepreneurial intention score. Bonferonni was used to calculate a pairwise comparison in order to better elucidate the differences. The table below displays the outcome.

Table 2: Bonferonni Pair-wise Comparison

(I) Gender	(J) Gender	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[d]
Male participants (mean= 40.088)	female participant	-1.513	.724	.043
Female participants (mean=41.601)	male participant	1.513	.724	.043

Table 2 indicates that after the effect of pretest EI has been controlled for, participants with female ($M = 41.60$) displayed higher intention than those with male ($M = 40.09$).

By implication, female participants have a higher tendency to display entrepreneurial intention than male participants.

Hypothesis Three: There will be no statistically significant main effect of locus of control on entrepreneurial intentions among undergraduate students.

The findings indicate that the LoC main effect on EI for business ownership was significant ($F(2,42)=27.14$, $p<0.01$, $\eta^2= 0.56$). The null hypothesis is, therefore, disproved. This suggests that their LoC influences their desire to become entrepreneurs. It also shows that their LoC explains 56.4% of the variation in undergraduate students' EI. Table 3 displays the outcome of a pair-wise comparison that was performed using Bonferonni to further elucidate the differences.

Table 3: Bonferonni Pair-wise Comparison demonstrating the significant variations in LoC levels

(I) locus of control	(J) locus of control	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Low locus of control (mean=40.258)	Moderate locus of control	-1.019	.762	.565
	High locus of control	.253	1.122	1.000
Moderate locus of control (mean= 41.277)	Low locus of control	1019	.762	.565
	High locus of control	1.272	1.053	.701

(I) locus of control	(J) locus of control	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
High locus of control (mean=42.005)	Low locus of control	-.253	1.122	1.000
	Moderate mathematics-efficacy	-1.272	1.053	.701

Table 3 shows that individuals with high locus of control ($M = 42.01$) exhibited greater EI than those with low locus of control ($M = 40.26$) and intermediate locus of control ($M = 41.28$) after controlling for the effect of pretest entrepreneurial intention. Here, higher locus of control implicitly increases the probability of EI.

Discussion

Explored the efficacy of entrepreneurial self-efficacy and resilience skill training in promoting entrepreneurial intentions among university students, analyses revealed significant main effects across all hypotheses, and all null hypotheses were rejected. After participants were exposed to the respective trainings, our findings revealed a significant effect of the treatment package on EI. LoC impacted EI and a significant difference in EI was found between male and female participants. Evidence from prior research reinforces the findings of this study. For example, Adewuyi (2021) & Choo and Wong (2009) recorded that thought process and mental commitment are important elements of entrepreneurial intention, and these have been the focus of the ESET and RST. This indicates that ESET and RST are pertinent to fostering the thought process and commitment required to bolster entrepreneurial intention and

snowball into actionable entrepreneurial decisions and outcomes.

This experiment demonstrates and affirms the potency of the ESE and RS skills in driving improved entrepreneurial behavior and intention (Caines et al., 2019; Steinbrink & Ströhle, 2023; Wei et al., 2020). Bandura's (1991) theory that an individual's self-cognition of personal skills influences personal choice, effort, and behaviours may lend credence to this premise. Therefore, entrepreneurial choices, efforts, and bevahiors can be said to be influenced by self cognition of individual abilities, which is the focus of ESET. Likewise, resilience could arm individuals with required traits necessary to boost entrepreneurial intention (Keqiang et al., 2023; Onyemah & Omoponle, 2022).

This study found a significant difference between male and female participants, consistent with Ward et al.'s (2019) finding revealing that entrepreneurial intention is higher among males than females. Past studies have highlighted women's difficulty with accessing resources and networks required for business as one of the reasons females are less motivated towards entrepreneurial behaviors compared to male entrepreneurs. Goyal & Yadav (2014) also associated the gender differences in entrepreneurial involvement with difficulty with finance, low self-esteem, socio-cultural biases against females, lack of entrepreneurial education and skills. The disparity in the EI of male and female participants is statistically significant, although it is not extremely large. This suggests that the gender gap in entrepreneurship is closing up.

The results indicate that locus of control significantly influences the entrepreneurial intention of young undergraduate students. Arkorful and Hilton's (2021) study corroborates this finding, as it discovered a positive association between

entrepreneurial intention and locus of control (both internal and external). In contrast to internal locus of control, the impact of external locus of control on entrepreneurial intention is found to be larger. Molino et al. (2018) provide more evidence for the idea that locus control is one of the internal elements influencing entrepreneurial ambition. Ayanwale et al. (2023) & Tseng et al. (2022) discovered that adolescents' entrepreneurial intention is increased by internal locus of control, which supports subjective standards, attitudes, and perceived behavioural control. This study also found a positive relationship of internal locus of control. Nonetheless, some studies yielded varied results (Kristiansen & Indarti, 2004; Nasip et al., 2017; Omoponle & Dwarika, 2023).

According to Nasip et al. (2017), locus of control had no discernible impact on entrepreneurial intention among university students in North Borneo, Malaysia, even though other psychological variables significantly influenced it. The report goes on to say that, in contrast to highly individualistic nations like the USA, UK, and Australia, students in North Borneo, Malaysia are likely impacted by national cultural postings that promote more collaborative concepts. This might account for the study's seemingly small conclusion. Malaysians may be described as Easterners who usually see themselves as belonging to a group that is associated with a different civilization. This is discovered to be consistent with Dinis et al. (2013), who found no discernible relationship between entrepreneurial ambition and locus of control. Additionally, locus of control has been shown to positively correlate with both entrepreneurial self-efficacy (ESE) and entrepreneurial intention among Yemeni students (Afolashade et al., 2023; Al-Qadasi et al., 2023).

Even though locus of control influences entrepreneurial intention, gender has

no discernible effect on the relationship between the two (Arkorful and Hilton, 2021). According to Silvia and Dwi's (2023) research, Yogyakarta College students' intentions to pursue entrepreneurship are significantly influenced by their locus of control and training. The findings of this study on entrepreneurial training are corroborated by research of Astiana et al. (2021), which demonstrates that such training significantly and favourably influences students' aspirations to pursue entrepreneurship. Furthermore, Costin et al. (2022) argue that entrepreneurship training has a crucial role in creating the desire, spirit, and entrepreneurial behavior among the younger generation, since education is a source of general attitudes and intentions to become entrepreneurs.

The findings of a recent research by Ratnamiasih and Rohmah (2023) indicated that, when it came to student interest in entrepreneurship, the locus of control was 55.5% and the impact of entrepreneurial knowledge had an effect of 23%. Nonetheless, 78.5% of entrepreneurial desire is influenced overall by entrepreneurial expertise and locus of control. Gender has been shown to have a significant influence on college students' entrepreneurial intention, although studies by Nowiński et al. (2019) and Kong & Choo (2022) have consistently found a difference in entrepreneurial intention between the male and female genders. In reaction to this gender gap, the relatively low entrepreneurial intention of women was attributed to social and cultural contextual disadvantages, lack of entrepreneurial intention, and challenges in obtaining financing (Vodă and Florea, 2019; Adelana et al., 2023) rather than their innate characteristics.

Conclusion

This research looked at the extent to which resilience skills and ESE training foster EI among University of Ibadan undergraduate students. In terms of the ESET and RST

intervention's capacity to encourage entrepreneurial intention among undergraduates, the IEIS revealed a statistically significant difference in the post-test scores between the intervention groups and the control group. Thus, it was recommended that the ESET and RST's ideology and practice be accepted and institutionalized, especially among undergraduates, in light of the program's efficacy in fostering entrepreneurial intentions. Moreover, training has also been found to have a strong influence on EI. This shows that just like other syllabuses, entrepreneurial training could develop entrepreneurial aspirations in individual. As we navigate through the increased unemployment rate, and its resultant effects such as crime and mental health challenges, policymakers, stakeholders and government should further prioritise inclusive and tailored training that empower students irrespective of their gender and locus of contol to enhance their entrepreneurial intentions and potentials which will contribute massively to economic growth.

Entrepreneurship has been regarded to have a high impact on economic growth of any society especially in countries like Nigeria. Entrepreneurship brings about the creation of new jobs, innovation and increased competition. Thus, it is essential to shed light on different factors that influence and affect the entrepreneurial intention of undergraduates. The findings underscore the significant role that training, gender, and LoC play in the development of EI among undergraduates who are majorly adolescents and young adults. The findings found that while gender has no specific effect on EI, training, and LoC especially, internal LoC has a strong effect on EI. In addition, undergraduate students with internal LoC have a stronger inclination towards entrepreneurship showing the importance of self-belief and confidence towards entrepreneurial aspirations.

Recommendations

The findings of this study led to the formulation of the following recommendations:

- There is a need for universities to adopt a comprehensive training program on entrepreneurial intention. This program will enhance the university students' self-assurance in their EI, by providing them with the essential skills and adequate understanding to start and oversee a commercial endeavor.
- The incorporation of resilience skill training is crucial in the educational system. This course will empower students to skillfully negotiate the difficulties and obstacles that are inherent in business, therefore fostering mental well-being and flexibility.
- The need for policymakers to endorse the creation and execution of projects that especially focus on improving entrepreneurial skills and resilience among university students.
- University-Industry Partnerships: Creating alliances between academic institutions and the entrepreneurial industry may offer students practical exposure, mentorship, and real-world insights, enhancing their learning experience.
- Beyond formal instruction, institutions should try to develop an overall culture of entrepreneurship. This culture may be developed through extracurricular activities, entrepreneurial groups, conferences, and seminars that motivate and encourage undergraduates to perceive entrepreneurship as a realistic and appealing route.

Limitations of the Study

i. The study focuses exclusively on undergraduate students at the University of Ibadan. Therefore, its findings may not be generalizable to students in other universities, regions, or countries with different educational systems and cultural contexts.

ii. The study's results may not be as comprehensive due to the limited sample size and the selection of participants from a narrow range of departments across three faculties. A more extensive and varied sample size could provide a more thorough comprehension of the training programmes and their effects.

iii. While the study considers gender and locus of control as moderating variables, other potential moderators like socioeconomic background, prior entrepreneurial exposure, and personal motivations were not explored.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Similar studies should be carried out in other locale with bigger sample sizes. Subsequent examinations can make comparisons based on age group and study locale. Future studies should consider mixed methods incorporating QUAL and QUAN to provide a more robust overview of the construct under research in greater depth. Further studies may focus on other variables that could influence or mar entrepreneurial intention. Longitudinal studies should be explored to evaluate the impact of training on the continued EI and the passion of individuals.

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FILM REVIEW:

"In places there's a bare, blue sky": [1]

An Cailín Ciúin (*The Quiet Girl*)—Colm Bairéad

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It is the small things. It is the advances, as in the case of *The Quiet Girl—An Cailín Ciúin*—(2022) became the first Irish-language movie to be nominated for an Oscar for Best International Feature Film a few months after becoming the highest grossing Irish-language film. More than 10 years after the Irish government launched the *20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030*, it seems that cinema, along with the other arts, might play a key role in revitalizing the language and making it attractive even beyond the borders of the Emerald Isle.

1. From Claire Keegan's *Foster* (2010), p. 8.

The Quiet Girl, the first feature film of Colm Bairéad,[2] is part of an initiative by TG4 (a public-service Irish-language television network), the Irish Film Board and the former Broadcasting Authority of Ireland (now Coimisiún na Meán), its goal to develop movies in Irish that emphasize both the visual and the storytelling. Two film projects are chosen each year, and six feature films have been released so far (Cine 4), with *The Quiet Girl* making the biggest impact yet.

An adaptation in Irish of the novella *Foster* by Claire Keegan (2010), the movie tells the story of a young, neglected girl who is sent to live with her mother's relative for the summer while her mother gives birth. As in the book, the movie takes the perspective of the girl, portraying a succession of moments that could be childhood memories that, if not fully understood, are still felt. Whereas the girl is not named in *Foster* (the narrator only ever refers to her as "girl" or "petal"), the movie opens with birdsong, an empty screen, a slightly out-of-focus shot of an empty field, and an off-camera voice shouting "Cáit." The camera then makes a slow downward movement, almost a tracking shot, to reveal Cáit, (Catherine Clinch) half-hidden in a cradle of unharvested hay. This hay, uncut, hints at the state of the farm of Cáit's parents and their living conditions, which will be a recurrent topic. Small things, such as the names given to the characters and the settings of the movie, which focus on *Gaeltacht*, Irish-speaking areas in Ireland, make Cine4's engagement with Irish culture explicit. In *Foster,* the little girl is sent to a farm in Wexford; in the movie Cáit goes to her relatives' farm in Waterford County's *Gaeltacht*.[3] Its location is revealed

2. Colm Bairéad was born in Dublin and directed several short films and documentary films (including *Lorg na gCos: Súil Siar ar Mise Éire* [2012] and *Frank O'Connor: Idir Dhá Shruth* [2016]) before writing and directing *The Quiet Girl*.

3. The movie was shot in County Meath, but the story is set in An Rinn, one of the two villages of Gaeltacht

in a dialogue between Cáit and her father (Michael Patric), who gambled on the Waterford team winning a hurling game because it is where he is taking Cáit.

The title *The Quiet Girl* is a reference to *The Quiet Man* (1952) by John Ford—the movie that invented Hollywoodian Irishness—and whose commercial success did not prevent a lukewarm reaction in Ireland, due to the concerns about a caricatured representation of the country, during a period in which national identity was being reconstructed. These concerns are still understandable today (see the infamous *Wild Mountain Thyme* by John Patrick Shanley, 2020), but the current reception of *The Quiet Man* seems to be more positive in hindsight, as a reflection on John Ford's own perception of Ireland. As Isabelle Le Corff argues, just as Ford, "the protagonist has Irish origins, and the island was told to him by his mother to the point of becoming a mythical place. The gap between the imagined Ireland and the real Ireland is therefore immense" (47, my trans.). The movie is also unapologetically Hollywoodian, evidenced in its use of the rear projection, in "a colorful imitation of the real world" (Berthomieu 210, my trans.). The influence of *The Quiet Man* on Irish film production was subsequent and can still be perceived today. But as a title, *The Quiet Girl* also refers to Cáit's manner and her perception of the environment, which infuses the very essence of the cinematography throughout the movie. In her family's house, among her three sisters and the baby, Cáit is portrayed as withdrawn and isolated. Until she arrives at her relative's house, we only hear her speak three times, one of which occurs in class when the teacher asks her to read aloud. In a long, static

na nDéise, the only Irish speaking area of County Waterford and of Southeast Ireland more broadly. Out of the six movies produced by Cine4, five were set in *gaeltachtaí*, and four were shot on location, in Counties Galway Waterford, Meath and Kerry.

frontal shot, her struggle to read is enhanced by a slow tracking shot on her hanging head when she finishes.

In the prologue, Cáit's mother (Kate Nic Chonaonaigh) appears busy and less present on-screen, while her father seems to wander aimlessly; his purpose becomes clear only when he drives Cáit in his car. He is an oppressive presence—all the girls refrain from talking when he enters the dark kitchen—and he is the only recurring character who does not speak Irish. While the girls in the family seem, at best, indifferent to or disapproving of Cáit, her father is a gambling, unfaithful man whose meanness is fully revealed when he takes Cáit to her foster parents, Eibhlín (Carrie Crowley) and Seán (Andrew Bennett), in Waterford County. The contrast between the two houses and their occupants—Cáit's foster parents' house is a much less oppressive place—is not only obvious on-screen or to Cáit, but evident enough for her father to perceive it. Trying to regain some control, he belittles his child, but he is met with no approval from Eibhlín and Seán. It is, again, the little things that make Eibhlín's distaste of Cáit's father palpable: she greets Cáit by crouching down to make her feel safer, but she refuses to bend to pick up the rhubarb she gave Cáit's father, which he let fall on the floor. In his haste to leave behind what he undoubtedly perceived as an affront, the father forgets to give Cáit her suitcase, leaving no reminder of the girl's life at her parents' house.

During her stay in Waterford County, Cáit's obvious quietness does not disappear, but instead of appearing dejected, she is calm and comfortable in this new environment. She is more talkative, as Eibhlín, from their first meeting, and (progressively) Seán addresses her directly and seeks her conversation. This transformation does not

completely subvert the cinematography; the colors are not altered, and neither are the camera movements, which remain almost quiet. However, like its inhabitants, the farm of Cáit's foster parents is welcoming. The paint on both the inside and the outside seems to be fresh, and the house is bathed in light and far less cluttered than Cáit's family's home. No doors are closed, echoing a line of dialog between Eibhlín and Cáit: "There is no secret in this house." It is not only sunlight that enters the house; birdsong can be heard from the inside, adding to the peaceful impression. There were no sounds of birds in Cáit's parents' house or in her classroom. In the prologue, Cáit seems as if she is attempting to escape these oppressive environments more than merely seeking the outside, and her burdens appear lessened when she is alone in nature.

Cáit might not convey her emotion in a conspicuous manner, because her parents' household never allowed the expression of her feelings. However, the film from her child's perspective implies that she was affected by the events given to the viewer, since "emotion consistently enhances recognition memory" (Stenson et al., 14). The recalled memories had enough impact to be remembered. Her soft, sometimes almost muted reactions, allow us to project our own experience derived from memories and our own feelings. This projection might occur involuntarily, since haptic memory is one of the six types of sensory memories, "considered automatic and outside of cognitive control" (Sugiyama et al., 4893). Cáit is portrayed as sensitive. She interacts with her environment, observing, and touching, transmitting her comprehension of her surroundings in her numerous close-ups that enhance the haptic visuality, "the way we are in some carnal modality able to touch and be touched by the substance of

images, to feel a visual atmosphere envelop us" (Sobchak 2000).

Small attentions make Cáit ostensibly livelier—a biscuit hastily left for her on the table, someone holding her hand—and the silences become tranquil and unrestraining. Cáit, quiet even in her measured movements, is encouraged to channel her energy into morning runs to the letterbox. These scenes are in slow motion to emphasize feelings of levity. She is no longer simply running away but instead back and forth between a destination and someone waiting for her. Like memories which are better remembered when associated with strong emotions, mainstream cinema is a selection of events important enough to be represented. Memory and cinema, as projections, have images that "lack true presence, but retain an existence in the mind's eye" (Tulenko 2020), but, memories unlike cinema, refer to something that once was present in a physical way, even if in our past. Haptic and sensory memories can emphasize a cinematic experience, through memories we project and feel our own experience of something that once was.

The more personal details that immersed me in the movie helped me relate to Cáit on a different level, not so much with the situation she found herself in, but with the way she apprehended her environment. These specific details reminded me that haptic and synesthesia can be "individual rather than cultural like Proust's madeleine the synesthetic power of which derives from Swan's personal history of tasting the cake" (László 4) and deepen your own relationship to movies in an emotional rather than a rational manner. While Cáit was creating happy memories, some elements within shots that were not highlighted by close-ups resonated deeply with my own childhood and teenage memories of both Ireland and growing up on a

farm, which I thought deeply buried. It was, again, the small things: a slice of brown bread for breakfast, feeding a calf, the swipe of the push broom on the floor, a tree-lined driveway leading home. I was also reminded, when Cáit is interrogated by an ill-intentioned neighbor, that for every peaceful environment and idealistic locale, a small town comes with gossip. Although there were no secrets in Eibhlín and Seán's house, some painful things were left untold. *The Quiet Girl* is a sensitive movie that quietly builds, closing, just as it opens, with birdsong. Cáit is in a cradle of hay at the beginning, but in the last shot, she is being held by Seán—no longer alone, no longer silenced.

Although the film comprises small, almost delicate moments and gestures, the great advances the commercial and critical successes of both *The Quiet Girl* and *The Banshees of Inisherin* (Martin McDonagh, 2022) represent present a hopeful prospect for Irish cinema. The 14 Oscar nominations Irish cinema received in 2023 suggest that these achievements might be celebrated, even though the ceremony confirmed the Academy's choice, through its host, to cling to the use of the outdated, almost obsessive Irish stereotypes that Hollywood helped create. This, however, does not negate that the future is bright for Irish cinema, and it reinforces the strength of self-representation. Unlike *The Quiet Man,* a representation of Ireland through the eyes of an American born of Irish immigrants' parents, *The Quiet Girl* was met with critical approval in Ireland and claimed as an Irish story. The strength of *The Quiet Girl* lies in its ability to represent an individual story and a personal experience in the Irish language, while still being universally relatable in its representation of childhood.

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FILM REVIEW:

Spring in a Small Town, the Best Chinese Postwar Film[1]

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Considered the precursor of modern Chinese cinema, Fei Mu's 1948 film *Spring in a Small Town* has been crowned as China's equivalent of Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* in Chinese academic circles (Li),[2] after being disregarded by Chinese academia for more than thirty years, rediscovered in the 1980s, and rarely noticed by mainstream Western critics. Lately, Western scholars have increasingly shown interest in *Spring in a Small Town* and postwar Chinese cinema, moving this otherwise-unique production from the margin to the center of modern Chinese film studies in the last two decades, via discussions of Chinese poetry, aesthetics, and feminism.[3] Instead of focusing on

1. I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Bruno Guaraná and my friend Ursula Munoz-Schaefer. I benefited a lot from their revision suggestions on this review.

2. Fei Mu (1906-51) is one of the most famous Chinese wartime and postwar directors; he is considered as the "poet director" for his poetic cinematic expression of Chinese national aesthetics. His famous film works include *Blood on Wolf Mountain* (1936) and *Confucius* (1940).

3. The discussions on this film have a large span from desolation poems (FitzGerald) and the director's aesthetics

the film's merit of showcasing Chinese national aesthetics, this review demonstrates how this masterpiece addresses the issue of postwar trauma,resonating with other postwar films across the globe,like those of the Italian Neorealism movement.

Spring in a Small Town tells a simple story about a love triangle between a melancholic wife, Zhou Yuwen (Wei Wei), her sick husband, Dai Liyan (Shi Yu), and her former lover, doctor Zhang Zhichen (Li Wei), who is also Liyan's old friend. In a small, war-torn town, everyone leads a repetitive but sorrowful lives shaped by their own impasses: Liyan is troubled by his lung disease and the demise of the Dai family; Yuwen is trapped in a loveless marriage while nurturing a longing for her lover Zhichen, that has gradually desensitized her to the surrounding world; Lao Huang (Cui Chaoming), the only remaining old servant in Dai family, works hard for them but cannot help them out of their emotional turmoil. The only exception to this rule is Dai Xiu (Zhang Hongmei), Liyan's 16-year-old sister, a vigorous character in a decaying family, whose subtle and fragile equilibrium is broken by Zhichen's unexpected visit. Like a stone thrown in a stagnant pond, Zhichen's appearance stirs ripples in everyone's hearts, including his own. However, his arrival also imposes another impasseon the former lovers, and the question of whether they should leave together (or not) pulls the whole family into a further dilemma. After discovering the unspoken love between Yuwen and Zhichen, Liyan attempts suicide but is saved by Zhichen. In the end, Zhichen leaves town alone without Yuwen.

Fei Mu, literate in traditional Chinese Confucianism since childhood (Li), approached this classic, sometimes seemingly clichéd plot with an oriental aesthetic.

(Fan), to the repressed woman (Chow).

Instead of focusing on the love affair or searching for a way out of it, this director painstakingly spent most of *Spring in a Small Town* "describing" the characters' situations, further implying those unredeemable, ever-reinforcing impasses caused by the collision between passion (*qing*, 情) and ritual propriety (*li*, 礼) (McGrath 135). Notably, these moral impasses are manifested not in the dialogues, but in cinematic features, such as blocking, eye contact and body gestures, which characterize Mu's filming style as a "descriptive" one. An exemplary instance of this is fiund in the scene of Dai Xu's singing performance on the first evening of Zhichen's arrival. Instead of using close-ups and editing, the director creatively catches the hidden undercurrents with one continuous shot. Moving along with Yuwen, a panning shot shows how Liyan and Zhichen's eyes are fixed on the woman. The latter chooses to focus on trivialities, such as preparing Liyan's medicine or making the bed to avoid direct responses to the loving gaze projected on her.

Setting this situation in a ruined town, Fei Mu shifts our attention from the film's cultural specificity to its historical context, directing us to the direct cause of his characters' impasses. Here, Italian Neorealism's mandate to shoot on location rather than sound stages is highly instructive. In Italian Neorealist images of bombed buildings, deserted streets and ruined houses, there is always an unreconciled trauma haunting characters' minds and destroying their emotional thresholds. As Gilles Deleuze points out, "a new race of characters was stirring, kind of mutant: they saw rather than acted, they were seers" (xi). Because China experienced a similar, but longer and arguably more strenuous, period of recovery after the eight-year Second Sino-Japanese War than Italy after the Second World War, the' impasses of characters

in *Spring in a Small Town*—especially Yuwen's—are analogous to the mental state in Italian Neorealism which is the product of its environment. After several shots of the town, *Spring in a Small Town* begins with the woman's aimless wandering by the ruined city wall and her monologue: "I'm living in a small town, living a life where nothing ever changes . . . Walking on the city wall, it's just like I'm floating out of the world." As she turns aside to look into the distance, the scene dissolves into Dai's house, guided by her voiceover. Yuwen's clairvoyance makes her omnipresent: her voiceover continues to narrate the past, calmly commenting about the characters onscreen from a god-like, distant position. She is not merely a character who is constantly tortured by the postwar trauma, but a Deleuzian seer. The power of her consciousness. dominates the flow of this film and creates what is a new continuity. Its irrational flow recalls previous experiences of trauma encountered in Italian Neorealist films—with the maid and her morning routine in Vittorio De Sica's *Umberto D* (1952), the little boy in Roberto Rossellini's *Germany, Year Zero* (1948) and the bourgeois woman's tour in Rossellini's *Europe 51* (1952).

Fei Mu's masterpiece then offers a twofold significance in its presentation of Chinese aesthetics and faithful depiction of collective trauma, which resonates profoundly with other postwar cinemas. We should watch this film nowadays not only out of a feeling of nostalgia or the need to explore Chinese national aesthetics; we can learn from Mu's work how to use cinema to present social issues and the influence this director has exerted over contemporary Chinese filmmakers such as Tian Zhuangzhuang and Jia Zhangke.

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FILM REVIEW:

Tár: Conducting Interpretation

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In Todd Field's *Tár* (2022),[1] Lydia Tár (Cate Blanchett) is sitting in front of an audience. Answering questions posed by Adam Gopnick (played by himself) at The New Yorker Festival, she seems confident, in control and aloof. Underneath this façade of calm, we are led to believe that she is feeling nervous as, before the interview, she is visibly anxious. The insecurity of the world-renowned conductor is surprising considering that throughout the rest of the film, until the uneasy second act, of course, Tár is in complete control of every interaction she engages in. She is a master at conducting not only an orchestra but her daily environment, particularly the people around her. So, again, why is she nervous? The answer may lie in the battle for interpretation taking place between Tár and Gopnick. Gopnick has just introduced Tár and her

1. Todd Field is a longtime actor and director. He appeared in Stanley Kubrick's *Eyes Wide Shut* and Jan de Bont's *The Haunting*. In his last two directorial film efforts, *In the Bedroom* (2001) and *Little Children* (2006), Field used an empathetic eye to view relationships and tragedy.

career in a grand, deeply reverent way. Nevertheless, he has interpreted her career for the audience, leaving the conductor somewhat at his mercy. The fact that he chooses the questions that she will answer, the context in which she will represent herself, does not make it any easier for her to adjust to the lack of control she seemingly feels. The power dynamics in this scene introduce an important conceptual movement of the film: interpretation and the means of controlling it.

After the interview, viewers better understand Tár's authority. At a masterclass at Juilliard, she engages with a student about her philosophy of art. When the student suggests that Bach is a misogynist and that he is uncomfortable working with his material, Tár dresses him down about the need to abolish the self in art, explicitly criticizing the student's emphasis on identity politics. Tár is resurrecting a common argument: she echoes T.S. Eliot's position that art is "a continual extinction of personality" (55). Eliot's argument in favor of "tradition" over "personality" finds itself in Tár's belief not only in tradition but the receptacle of tradition. Do we buy her insistence on the elimination of the individual? Or is she merely saying this so that she becomes the individual receptacle of tradition, and, therefore, the authority on her specific discipline? The conductor's insistence on tradition also functions to give her power over her colleagues, her orchestra and her students. She is using a specific, old form of interpretation in order to maintain control.

We see Tár's control outside of her work as a conductor: she conducts her colleague Eliot Kaplan (Mark Strong) at a restaurant, moving her hands to the rhythm of her syntax while Kaplan watches on in awe, surrendering his power at every second. She dances with her distressed wife, Sharon (Nina Hoss), at their home, performing

a healthy relationship in the wake of her continual gaslighting and the considerable amount of work Tár leaves her with. Her assistant, Francesca (Noémie Merlant), genuflects to every one of her needs, while asking for very little—specifically a hug after her friend, and Tár's previous pupil, commits suicide. The protagonist is reluctant to give in to any of Francesca's needs, but, when she sees that it could affect their relationship, master/slave, she gives in before dismissing her once again. Tár's clear domination over every aspect of her life is showcased throughout the first part of the film. Her fall is hinted, but it fully transpires after the powers of interpretation move out of her hands.

A video of her appears, edited out of her Juilliard masterclass reprimands, explicitly orchestrated to make her appear evil. The video itself is a composition, a conducting masterclass of how to manipulate interpretation to serve a certain need. Tár's blind spot has always been technology. In fact, digital technology will ultimately prove her downfall. Social media and email will provide evidence enough to bring disgrace. This video, however, shows how the protagonist loses stability. It is a work of art dedicated to the overthrow of the tyrant Tár's power. Is Field suggesting that "cancel culture" itself is a new artform, carrying its own agenda just like the classic art works before, no matter how implicit, carried their own? If he believes this, he still provides no opinion on the movement. In fact, one of the director's great strengths is presenting the information without chastisement. Tár is a reprehensible figure, even if the claims of grooming are not explicitly verified. Emails involving Tár and Krista Taylor (Sylvia Flote) also prove destructive for the former's career. The conductor deletes the correspondence with Krista's prospective orchestras where she denounces

the pupil. She encourages, with a stare that looks more like a command, Francesca to delete emails with Krista, but the shift in power has already taken place.

Most critics of the film, while keenly evaluating Tár's journey, fail to highlight the power shift taking place at the center of the film. *Slant Magazine*'s Keith Uhlich criticizes the production for not deciding whether "Tár's comeuppance is a grand tragedy or a comic joke." Such a criticism continues to foreground the protagonist's downfall as the main component of the film while sending to the background the specific cultural forces overtaking her. The idea of Tár being chastised or wept over by the audience as the essential effect of the film undermines Field's intent to show the cultural battleground taking place between Tár, the individual containing tradition, and her victims, those seeking to orchestrate her downfall. Similarly, *The Guardian*'s Peter Bradshaw fails to foreground the powers overtaking the protagonist. More specifically, he fails, in his review (to his defense, a short review), to magnify the means of Tár's downfall—where is the mention of the video beautifully orchestrated to show Tár's tyranny; where is the analysis of the emails Tár tells her assistant to delete? If this film is a takedown of the protagonist and the potential authoritarian nature of an individual in power, then is not only highlighting Tár in the review missing the point? Indeed, the title is ironic, and Field's decision to show the cast and crew before the first scene is telling.

Tár is about "cancel culture," but it is more about the shifting of power that takes place and the means through which this shift is accomplished. The untouchable individual figure embedded with knowledge of tradition and organization has been overthrown by what could be called the "democratization" of digital technology and

the internet. While the term “democratization” can and should be criticized, the film is interested in illustrating how major cultural shifts take place, how they are enacted, and the results. Field’s last image might be even more provocative than it seems. Now that popular culture is usurping the tradition of art, specifically cinema, is it surprising that a once-renowned orchestra leader like Tár moves from the peak of orchestra to the depths of gamer-dude aesthetics?

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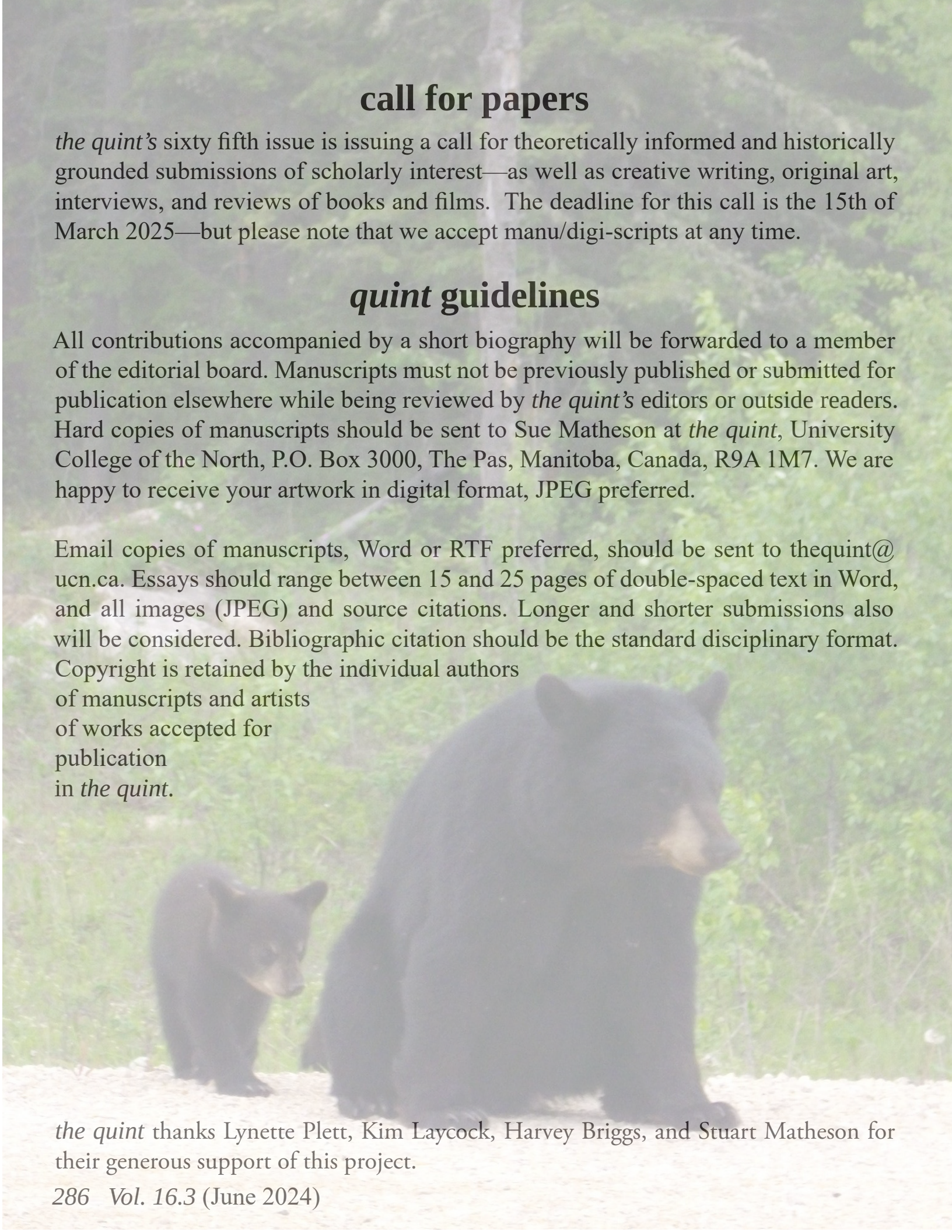

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