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Barclays Foubiri Ayakoroma

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THE TERROR OF IMAGES: INTERROGATING SELECTED FACEBOOK POSTINGS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

New media makes it possible to connect people who share interests and activities across political, economic and geographical borders through instant messaging. The widespread adaptation of Facebook may be attributed to the fact that it offers some unique features and modifications compared to other platforms and social networking sites. Facebook is said to have about 1.65 billion users as at 2017, totalling to almost a quarter of the world's population. Nigeria has the highest users of Facebook in Africa. People of course use Facebook for different purposes. Unfortunately there are ample evidence that terrorists or terrorists' groups are using this tool to communicate and encourage their followers and supporters to carry out acts of terror. And terrorism is one of the biggest threats to peace and stability of Nigeria, especially national security and socio-economic developments. This paper is however concerned with another kind of terrorism, which is the terror of images posted on Facebook by particularly some users in Nigeria. Stories of violence and graphic images are often posted on individual pages containing uncensored and unedited horrific detail. Watching these images and feeling the anguish of those directly affected has a way of creating stress and anxiety for other Facebook users. In fact, there are studies that have established that constant exposure to gory images can cause post-traumatic stress disorder. As a result, Facebook has started placing warnings for graphic videos and images that have been flagged as offensive or inappropriate. However, most of these violent images still appear on trends and newsfeeds. But why are some Nigerians fascinated with sharing violent images without warning their friends about what they are about to see? Content analysis and questionnaire is applied to interrogate selected graphic images posted on Facebook by Nigeria users.

Introduction

Facebook has not only changed the way users socialise and communicate, it has also redefined the idea of friendship, community and learning. The widespread adaptation of Facebook is mainly as a result of the dramatic increases in the presence and use of Social Media, which is defined as a "group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, turning communication into interactive dialogue by allowing the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein 53). Social Media has indeed allowed people to express themselves

through blogs, websites, social networking sites (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, Flickr, YouTube, 2Go, Badoo, LinkedIn, and so on). According to Burnett and Merchant,

The recent and rapid dissemination of new forms of digital technology has had a noticeable impact on the social and cultural lives of large sectors of the global population. Along the infusion and availability of more interactive and user-friendly interfaces and software designs, and the increasing sophistication of affordable mobile devices, we are witnessing the emergence of ever-newer forms of popular communication (Burnett and Merchant 41).

Furthermore, web-based Social Media makes it possible to connect people who share interest and activities, across political, economic and geographical borders through instant messaging. However, scholars have strongly presented their argument concerning the several negative effects that social networking sites such as Facebook have on knowledge, opinion, attitudes and the levels of violence among people in the society. Social Media, they say, is responsible for aggressive tendencies among children and young people due to the amount of excessive violent images that can be found in some pictures or videos that are posted on social networking sites such as Facebook. Theories like the “hypodermic needle or bullet” theory give further support to these media effect behaviour. There are also several privacy and safety concerns on Facebook that have not yet been addressed. The most frequently raised issue is with the materials posted on Facebook that are deemed inappropriate such as violent, horrific images and videos. Horrific images have been defined as strongly aversive intrusive thoughts such as images of dismembered bodies or disgusting scenes. Indeed, the posting of these types of materials appears to be frequent.

However, the frequency of postings of these pictures and videos does not account for the different responses individuals may have to the same pictures or videos. Thus it is necessary to investigate the perception of users and how they reaction and feel about horrific images and videos on Facebook.

The Birth of a Medium with a Face

One site that has gained a significant advantage in numbers of users seems to be Facebook. Facebook started in a Harvard dorm room in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg who was a student at the time. The main purpose of the site at its inception was said to “connect fellow Harvard students through an online network that allowed students to post a photo and personal information, such as where they lived on campus and the campus organizations to which they belonged. By the following day, more than 1000 students had signed up; by month-end, that number reached approximately 75% of Harvard students” (Cassidy 23).

As the site’s popularity grew, the network of colleges expanded, and by the end of the year it had reached one million users. In September 2006, Facebook executives made the decision to open up the site to everyone, rather than those in specific networks, and membership soared from “12 million active users at the end of 2006 to 845 million

active users by February 2012” (Cassidy 23). The site currently ranks as the number one most-trafficked Web site in the world (Internetstats.com).

Facebook offers some unique features and modifications from other social networking sites. As with all SNSs, members create an online profile and control the amount of information they choose to reveal to other users. This information can include simple information as their hometown, college name and birthday, to as specific as relationship information, favourite movies, individual hates, likes and dislikes, and so on. Users can communicate with friends and other users through private or public messages and a chat feature. A status bar allows users to update their status at any time with what they are doing, how they are currently feeling, or any other information they want to include. This status is typically viewable by all of the users’ friends or general public, depending on individual page setting.

The Wall is one of the features of Facebook that allows friends to post comments, links, and images on a user’s profile page. Depending on the privacy setting, anyone who can see a user’s profile can also view that user’s Wall. In 2007, Facebook began “allowing users to post attachments to the Wall, whereas the Wall was previously limited to textual content only” (Boyd, and Ellison 17). Photo tagging involves associating pictures of an individual with his name and his profile. Users can create or join groups that may interest them. For instance, a group called “Stars from the Well” is made up of both past and present students of the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. This group was formed in 2010 and students both current and old can join the group to discuss past and current events taking place at the Ahmadu Bello University Studio Theatre, called, Drama Village. Members also pass out information about graduation, deaths, marriages, illnesses of their members and non-members alike.

The Facebook platform also allows for the creation and growth of applications, which allow users to interact, to bring members to the site more often and to encourage non-users to join the site. The Scrabulous application, for example, allows friends to play Scrabble online, with no time limit. Taken together, these features add up to a website to which members frequently return. “On average, two-thirds of users log in at least once every 24 hours, and users spend about 20 minutes on the site each day” (Cassidy 24). Facebook is said to have also managed to win the trust of its users by prioritising their privacy with detailed account and privacy settings. Unlike sites such as MySpace, which allow members to search for and view the profiles of any registered user, Facebook limits searches to only those within that user’s networks, unless specifically approved by that user.

Cassidy quotes Facebook founder, Mark Zuckerberg as saying,

these restrictions encourage users to reveal more personal information about themselves than they would had anyone been able to see their profile... giving people control over who sees what helps to increase over-all information flow (25).

Another privacy aspect in Facebook is in the area of identity verification. Although a potential Facebook user does not need to belong to a specific network to join, she or he must verify a relevant email address before joining the network. Donath and Boyd discuss the importance of such verification processes, especially in relation to the connections between users, as a way of ensuring honest self-presentation online.

Facebook is currently being described as the fastest growing “country” because it is said to be the leading Social Networking Site, having surpassed 900million users as at the end of 2012 (checkfacebook.com); while Facebook announced that it passed the one billion users mark in September 2013. According to PEW Research, two-third of online American adults (67%) are Facebook users, making Facebook the dominant social networking site in the United States. Statistics show that while both Internet penetration and Facebook use is over 60% in the United States, Nigeria has less than 3.5% of both. This of course is not too surprising going by the high disparity in broadband availability and access. Ironically, Internet and Facebook usage Statistics put Nigeria as having the highest Internet and Facebook users in Africa (Internetworldstats.com).

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and Horrific Image

The nature of contemporary news and social media, such as, Facebook can turn local disasters into international events within minutes, transmitting the impact of a disaster far beyond those who are directly exposed. Indeed, while thousands of people directly experience terrorist attacks such as Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria, tens of thousands more view the attacks and their aftermath via mediums such as television and Facebook, turning the attacks into what researchers call a collective trauma. Traumatic stress, according to Cohen, is a normal reaction to a traumatic event such as a natural disaster, motor vehicle accident, plane crash, violent crime, or terrorist attack. Such events are extraordinarily stressful – not just for survivors, but also witnesses and even those repeatedly exposed to the horrific images of the traumatic event circulated on social media and news sources.

Roxane Cohen of the University of California, in an article published in *Psychological Science*, “Mental and physical health effects of acute exposure to media images of the 9/11 attacks and the Iraq War” by hypothesised that repeated exposure to vivid traumatic images from the media could lead to long-lasting negative consequences, not just for mental health but also for physical health. They speculated that such media exposure could result in a stress response that triggers various physiologic processes associated with increased health problems over time.

To test this hypothesis, Silver and colleagues embarked on a three-year study examining the relationship between trauma-related media exposure such as the 9/11 terrorist attack and the mental and physical health outcomes in a nationally representative sample of U.S. adults. Collecting data from an Internet-based survey of 1322 participants, the researchers were able to obtain assessments of participants’ mental and physical health before the 9/11 attacks, collect information about their media exposure and acute stress responses immediately after the attacks and after the initiation of the Iraq War, and conduct annual follow-up assessments in the three years after 9/11. The results were

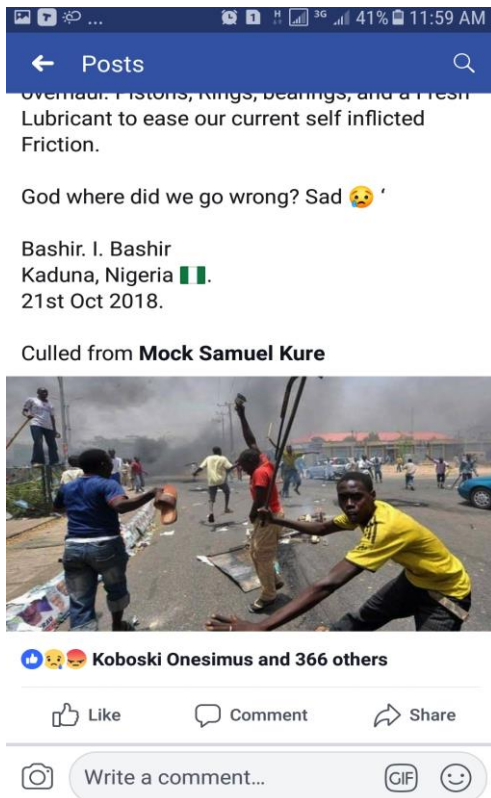
striking. Almost 12% of the participants reported high levels of acute stress related to 9/11 and about 7% reported high levels of acute stress related to the Iraq War.

After taking pre-9/11 mental health, demographic characteristics, and lifetime trauma exposure into account, people who watched four or more hours of 9/11 – or Iraq War-related television per day following each event were more likely to experience symptoms of acute stress. Furthermore, the effects of trauma-related media exposure lasted over time – frequent early exposure to 9/11-related television predicted posttraumatic stress symptoms and physical health problems two to three years later. Taken together, these findings provide persuasive evidence that widespread media coverage of terrorism and war may have harmful effects on mental and physical health over time. The results suggest that exposure to graphic media images may be an important mechanism through which the impact of collective trauma is dispersed widely. Cohen adds that,

The emotional toll from a traumatic event can cause intense, confusing, and frightening emotions. And these emotions aren't limited to the people who experienced the event. Round-the-clock news coverage means that we're all bombarded with horrific images from natural disasters, violent crimes, and terrorist attacks almost the instant they occur anywhere in the world. Repeated exposure can trigger traumatic stress and leave you feeling hopeless and helpless (7).

It is important to note in this paper that while some survivors or witnesses of a traumatic event can regain a sense of control by watching media coverage of the event or by observing the recovery effort, others find the reminders can be further traumatising. Excessive exposure to images of a disturbing event – such as repeatedly viewing video clips on social media or news sites – can even create traumatic stress in people not directly affected by the event. Below are some selected images from Facebook. The researcher got permission to use the images from the various Facebook page owners with the assurance of editing their names from the post. The images also served as part of the materials given to respondents during the data gathering.

Selected Images on Facebook



Methodology

This paper utilises a mixed research approach to collect data. According to Lenartz, “a population is the complete set of individuals, objects, or scores that the investigator is interested in studying” (52). The target population for this paper are staff and students of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Nigeria. It is often not feasible to study an entire population, thus the researcher made use of the simple random sampling to gather data. In using the Simple Random Sample (SRS), the sample population is given an equal probability chance.

The accuracy of the data collected using simple random sampling can easily be checked through the variance in the overall population. “The objective is to take a sample from the population, measure some characteristics on each of the sampled units, and use this information to estimate (infer) the characteristics in the entire population” (Bryman 4).

The Questionnaire and Content Analysis Methods

According to Bryman, questionnaire is used to acquire information by asking questions and tabulating the responses. Questionnaires are “used to report the perspective of one group of people at a particular period of time” (Bryman 5). This makes questionnaire, which is a quantitative approach ideal for this study, where the intention is to obtain the perspective of a large population. Moreover, questionnaire is a means of collecting information from a wider sample that cannot be reached by individual or focus group discussion.

Content analysis, on the other hand, is the intellectual process of categorising qualitative data into clusters of similar entities in order to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variable. It is a commonly used method of analysing a wide range of textual data, including interview transcripts, recorded observations, narratives, responses and media data such as drawings, photographs, and video. Some selected Facebook postings are presented as samples of images that the researcher view as horrific. These images are also presented to the respondents alongside the questionnaire.

One hundred (100) copies of the questionnaire were administered randomly to both students and staff in 10 faculties of the Ahmadu Bello University Main Campus. A total number of 89 copies were retrieved and analysed. Descriptive statistics is used to analyse and summarise the data and responses are described using graphical formats and tables. In terms of ensuring reliability and validity of the data gathered, the researcher employed external validity. External validity refers to the generalisation of the results of a study across populations, settings and time. Bryman identified three procedures that can be used to increase external validity of a research:

1. Random sampling that are representative of the population under study;
2. Heterogeneous sampling; and
3. Replication of study (Bryman 8).

In line with Cook and Campbell’s guideline, the researcher adopted the recommended principle in this paper to ensure external validity.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The questionnaire was divided into four sections. A basic demographic section, which collected information about respondents’ age, gender, department, among other things; a section, which asked questions related to respondents’ use of Facebook, including the time spent for variety of purposes; a third section included questions related to respondents’ perceived reasons for having a Facebook account. The fourth section focuses on horrific images and video posted on Facebook and users perception of such images.

Table 1 Demographics of Facebook users in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

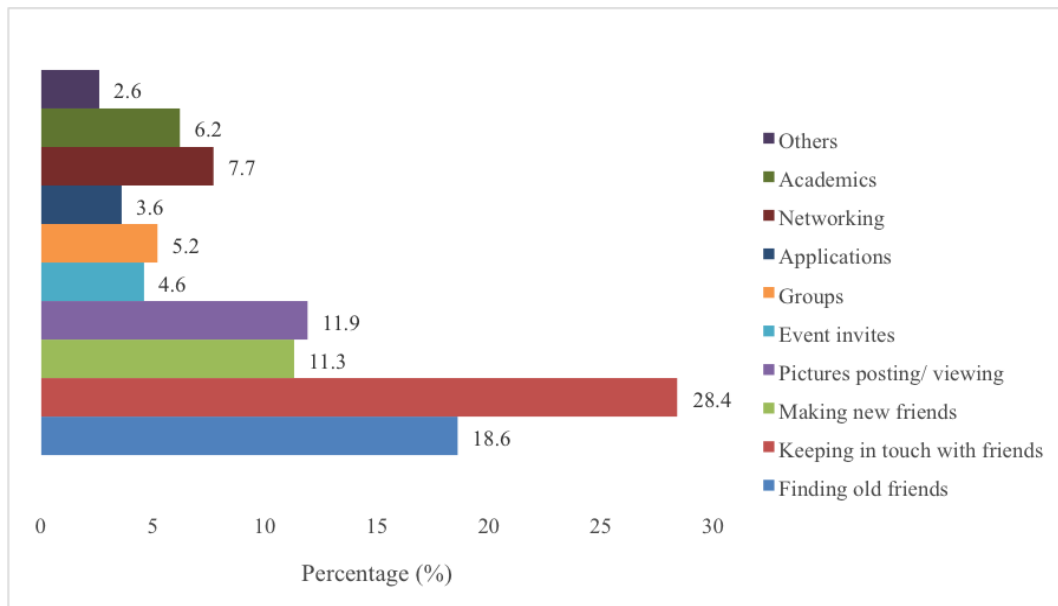
Variables		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Age			
	16-25	63	70.0
	26 -35	14	15.6
	36-45	8	8.9
	46 and above	5	5.6
Gender			
	Male	43	47.8
	Female	47	52.2
Faculty			
	Administration	3	3.3
	Agriculture	2	2.2
	Arts	27	39.0
	Education	14	15.6
	Engineering	9	10.0
	Environmental design	5	5.6
	Medicine	4	4.4
	Life science	3	3.3
	Physical science	5	5.6
	Social science	18	20.0
Designation			
	Academic staff	18	20.0
	Non academic	0	0.0
	Students	72	80.0
Have Facebook account			
	Yes	89	98.9
	No	1	1.1
How long			
	1-3 years	30	33.7
	4-8 years	43	48.3
	9-15 years	16	18.0
Frequency of logins			
	Multiple times a day	37	41.6
	Once a day	10	11.2
	A few times a week	14	15.7
	A few times a month	18	20.2
	Very rarely ever	10	11.2
Average time spent			
	10- 30 minutes	47	52.8

1-2 hours	27	30.3
Above 2 hours	15	16.8

Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The distribution above shows that the age of respondents range from 16 years to 46 years and above. The highest respondent age was 16-25 years with 63 (70%) and the lowest were the age range of 46 years and above which represents 5(5.6%). The table shows that 47(52.2%) of respondents were female students while 43(47.8%) were male students. From the distribution, Faculty of Arts, Social Science and Science have the highest number of respondents with Arts: 27 (39.0%); followed by Faculty of Social Science: 18(20%); and Education has 14(15.6%). 18 (20%) of the respondents are academic staff, while 72 (80%) are students. The total number of respondents with a Facebook account were 89 (98.9%), while 1 (1.1%) have no Facebook account. The highest percentage of the number of years respondents have had their accounts is between 4 to 8 years (48.3%). Frequency of login ins looks multiple times in a day having the highest of 37 (41.6%) and the lowest is very rarely with 10 (11.2%). Average time spent on Facebook indicates 10-30 minutes having the highest respondents with 47 (52.8%) while the lowest is above 2 hours with 15 (16.8%).

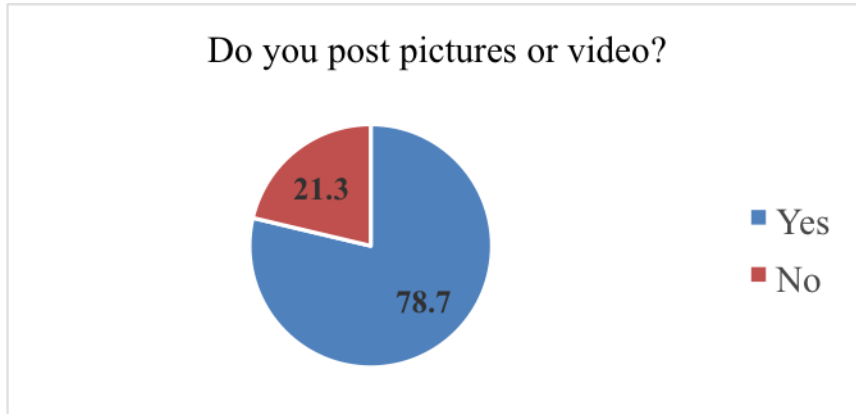
Chart 1



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

As indicated by the above chart, the most common uses of Facebook is “keeping in touch with friends”, “finding old friends” was indicated with the second highest number, while “picture posting and viewing” came in third.

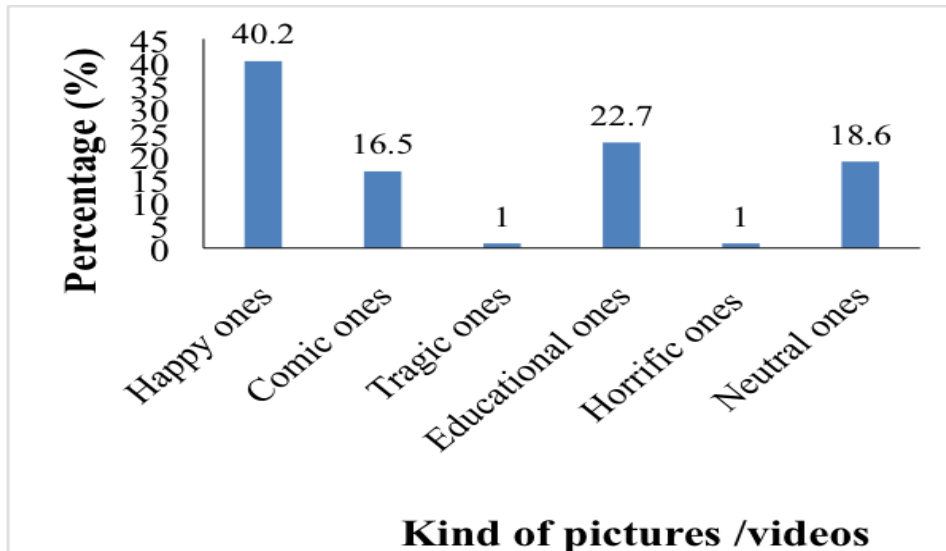
Chart 2



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The above chart indicates that 78.7% of respondents post pictures and videos on Facebook while 21.3% said they do not post.

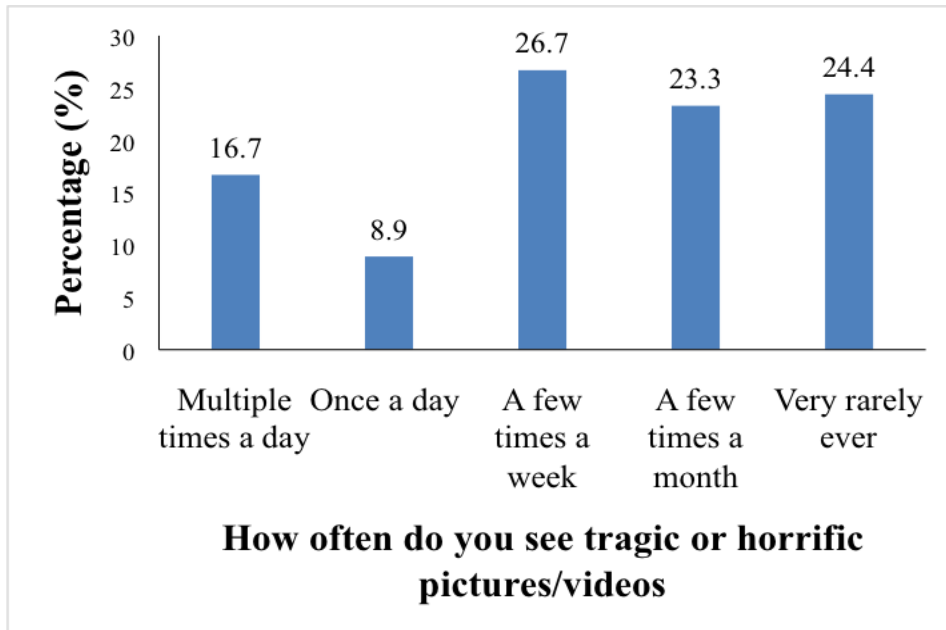
Chart 3



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

When asked concerning the kinds of images that they post on Facebook, 40.2% of the respondents said happy ones while only 1% admitted to posting tragic and horrific images.

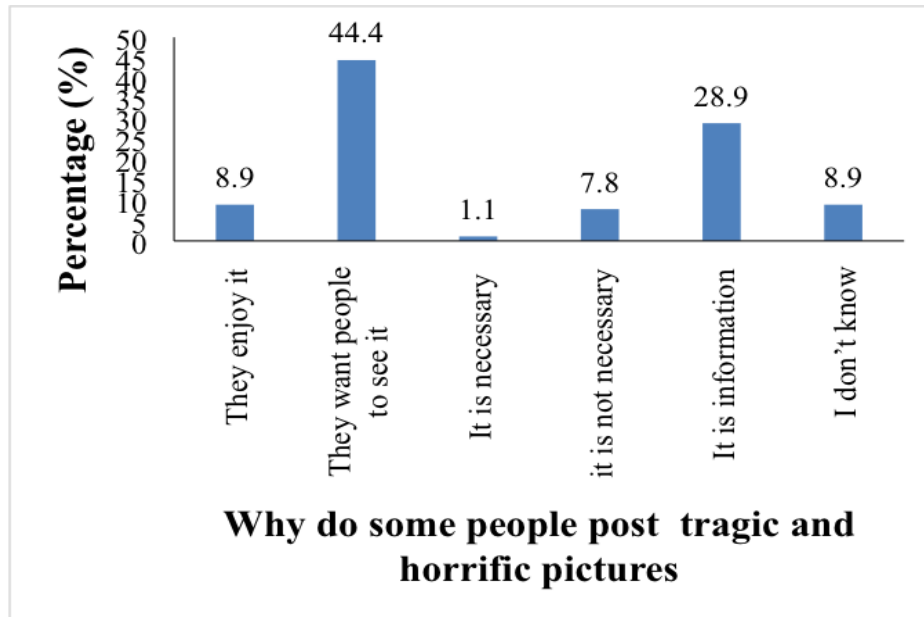
Chart 4



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

Chart 4 shows that 26.7% of the respondents said they see horrific pictures or videos few times a week. 24.4% said very rarely ever; 23.3% said few times a month; 16.7% said multiple times a day; and 8.90% said once a day. 3(0.3%) of the respondents declined to answer this question. This implied that a large majority of the respondents see horrific pictures and videos weekly and monthly.

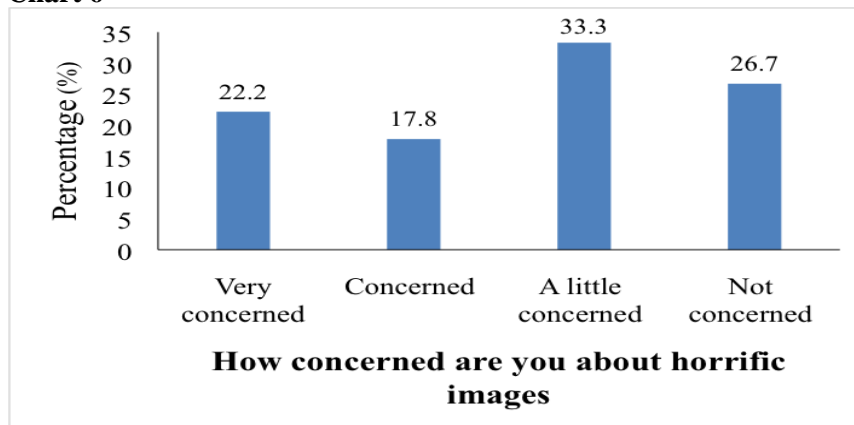
Chart 5



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The distribution of the chart above shows that 44.4% said the reason some people post such pictures is because they want people to see it. 28.9% said it is for information, 8.9% said it is because they enjoy it, 7.8% said it is not necessary to post such pictures or videos, 1.1% said it is necessary while 8.9% said they do not know. This implied that majority of the respondents believe that posting of horrific images is for people to see it and it also serves as form of information.

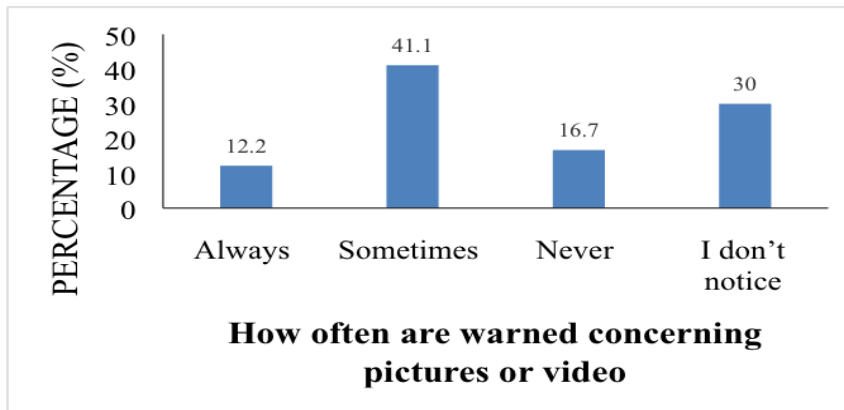
Chart 6



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The table shows that 33.3% said a little concerned; 26.7% said not concerned, 22.2% said very concerned while 17.8% said concerned. This implied that majority of the respondents are concerned about the horrific image people post on Facebook.

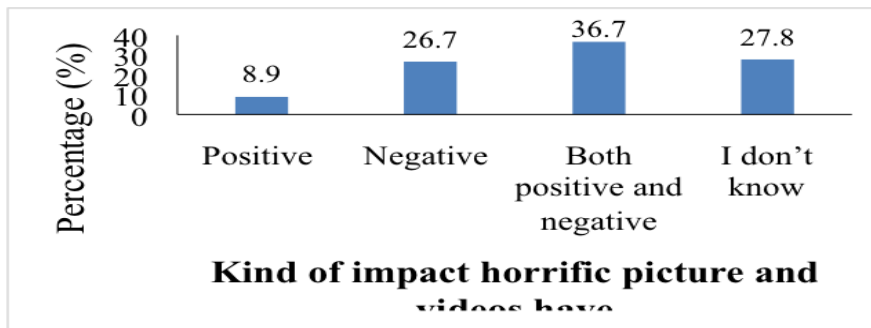
Chart 8



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The above chart shows that 41.1% of the respondents said they are sometimes concerned about the horrific images posted on Facebook. 30% said they do not notice, 16.7% said they are never concerned while 12.2% of the respondents said they are always concerned.

Chart 9



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

When asked about the their perceived impact of these images, 36.7% said the impact is both negative and positive. 27.8% said they do not know, 26.7% said the impact is negative while 8.9% of the respondents said the impact is positive.

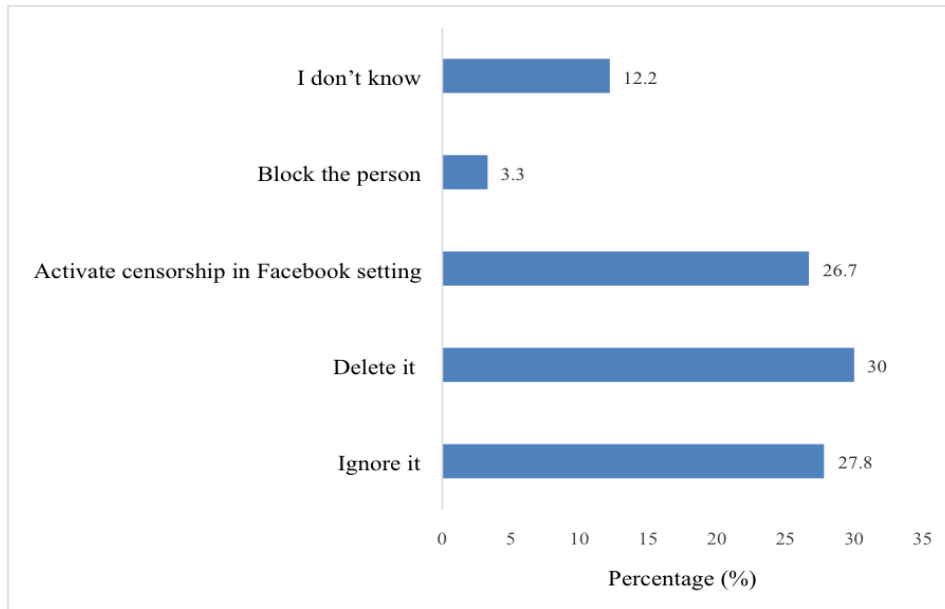
Table 2: Impact of horrific pictures or videos on those who watch it

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Do you think posting horrific images have impact		
Yes	64	71.1
No	26	28.9
What kind of impact		
Positive	8	8.9
Negative	24	26.7
Both positive and negative	33	36.7
I don't know	25	27.8
Do you believe that such horrific pictures can cause traumatic stress disorder		
Yes	71	78.9
No	5	5.6
I don't know	14	15.6
Do you think authorities school restrict		
Yes	68	75.6
No	6	6.7
I don't know	16	17.8
What should Facebook users do about horrific pictures and videos		
Ignore it	25	27.8
Delete it	27	30.0
Activate censorship in Facebook setting	24	26.7
Block the person	3	3.3
I don't know	11	12.2

Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

The table above show that 71.1% of the respondents agree that posting horrific images on Facebook has impact on the users while 26% disagree. 36.7% said the impact is both positive and negative, 27.8% said they have no idea, 26.7% said the impact is negative while 8.9% of the respondents said the impact is positive.

Chart 10



Source: Data from 2018 questionnaire processed through SPSS

Findings

1. Respondents believe that horrific images have both negative and positive effect.
2. Repeated exposure to horrific images on Facebook can trigger traumatic stress.
3. Delete horrific pictures.
4. Ignore it.
5. Activate censorship in Facebook setting.
6. People react differently to images.
7. The effects and symptoms may not appear until years after the exposure.
8. People of all ages can have post-traumatic stress disorder.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that researches have linked the viewing of horrific images to post traumatic stress, graphic images of individuals, happenings and events are still posted on Facebook repeatedly. It is therefore important for media outlets, policymakers, parents, psychologists and researchers to come on board in order to create awareness about the serious short and long-lasting consequences of this situation.

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HARMFUL CULTURAL PRACTICES AS TERROR INDICATORS: A READING OF SELECT NOLLYWOOD VIDEO FILMS

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Abstract

Harmful Cultural Practices are unjustifiable acts of violence meted out mostly on women and children. These violate the human rights of the victims and reinforce their lower status. Harmful cultural practices can be seen as acts of terror, because not only are their victims filled with dread and fear, but also their ripple effects can be likened to the effects of any other act of terror. The Nigerian video film industry has been employed in fighting various acts of terror through the portrayal of these dastardly acts in films, but how effective has this been? This study examines the portrayal of harmful cultural practices in selected Nollywood films. It is approached through a critical content analysis of Desmond Elliot's *Edikan* and Stephanie Linus' *Dry* in order to determine their efficacy in handling the subject matter. The qualitative approach of research is employed for data sourcing and analysis. Focus group discussions in two cities, Uyo and Owerri are also utilised. Findings of the study show that some Nigerian video films are effectively indicating issues of harmful cultural practices for purposes of encouraging critical thought and possible redirection while others handle the matter with levity and carelessness, thereby passing the wrong message and unknowingly encouraging these practices. The study concludes that there is need for film makers to reconsider their approaches to the making of such films for purposes of creating awareness and generating interest in culturally oppressive practices capable of triggering off terrorist tendencies in the young.

Introduction

Film could serve as a tool for socialisation, education and national development in general. Film is a significant means of mass communication. It qualifies as mass communication as one or more "machines are used to produce and transmit public messages that are directed at large heterogeneous and scattered audiences" (Dominick

13). The medium is a platform to persuasively engage the people to accept a new idea for change and, to develop a new opinion, attitude or to take a specific course of action on issues. There is no gain saying the tremendous influence that film wields, as film clearly has an advantage over other media as it combines primarily, both audio and video and is thus very appealing to the audience. The audience also has moral, emotional and cultural involvement in the course of events and the roles of various characters, their language and style of speaking inevitably leave an impression on the audience.

Culture is a terminology or concept that plays a significant role in the overall development as well as the transformation process of every society within the globe. Culture is said to be that “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other abilities acquired by man. Culture, accordingly, encompasses those conventional understandings and practices which give a people their uniqueness and thus render such a people distinct from all others” (Biobaku 76). Culture is based on the unique human capacity to classify experiences, encode such clarifications symbolically and teach such abstractions to the others. It is usually acquired through enculturation, the process through which an older generation induces and compels a younger generation to reproduce the established lifestyle.

Culture refers to the holistic way of life of a people that can be used as a pointer to the indices of development or civilisation. This also implies that every culture is subject to the process of change and transformation. In the long process of change and transformation of a community or a nation, there is bound to be cultural confrontations or contacts which could also result in what is called mutual cultural influences. The latter, according to Unoh, could “in turn, result in the assimilation, adaptation and accommodation of aspects of other peoples’ cultures. The end product could be cultural refinement, advancement or development” (3).

In whatever way, there must be a change of attitude through cultural contact because culture is influential. Ciroma corroborates this assertion by noting that “contact between communities of different cultural backgrounds has always been perhaps, the most active agent of change. The change can be peaceful or gradual or upsetting with long term ramifications depending largely on the nature of the contact and the reaction to it” (5). However, cultural contact is necessary for development. History has revealed that changes arising from cultural contacts are not in any way new phenomena as several ancient civilisations influenced and impacted greatly on one another. Ciroma posits that, “Egypt left her mark on Greece, Greece on Rome and Rome on Northern Europe. Similarly, the contact between Europe and African Cultures in more recent times has brought about many changes within Africa” (6).

Nigerian culture is as multi-ethnic as the people in Nigeria. Three major ethnic groups exist in Nigeria, namely; Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. However, there are many other ethnic groups as well, two hundred and fifty (250), precisely. These ethnic groups have cultures that have in one way or another rubbed off on each other, influencing each other positively or negatively. These negative influences stick and are enculturated as they turn out generally to be harmful cultural practices.

Throughout the world, there are many different types of harmful cultural practices that violate the human rights of citizens (mostly women and children). Some

practices are restricted to a particular area of the world, while some others are more widespread. Harmful cultures sometimes seem impossible to change as they are powerful and only careful efforts will alter or eliminate them. Efforts to change harmful cultures are most effective when they originate within the culture that practises them. Neither culture and tradition, nor religion and superstition can be used to justify harmful practices, which constitute rights violations and violence. Harmful cultural practices prevent their victims from enjoying their basic human rights including: the right to life and health, the right to non-discrimination on the basis of sex, the right to liberty and security of the person, which includes the right not to be subjected to violence and recognises the need for children to receive special protection and the right to freedom from inhuman or degrading treatment and recognition of the inherent dignity of the person. Harmful cultural practices cause their victims physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual pain. There are prevailing cultural practices in Nigeria, which can be termed as acts of terror. This is because its victims are filled with intense dread, fear, trauma and pain and may eventually lose their lives.

In this circumstance, need has arisen for these practices to be altered or eradicated. Many media are being employed for this cause, ranging from; documented works, radio, television and films (film, being one of the very effective media). This research is therefore set to study how films are used to handle diverse cultural practices that are an abuse of fundamental human rights of individuals. Two films, *Edikan* and *Dry*, are critically analysed for purposes of interrogating the harmful cultural practices that are exposed in them. This is done to present the view point of these directors and their contribution towards the modification or eradication of these practices. It is on this premise, that this research work is built.

It is pertinent to assess a suitable theory on which this paper is hinged. The theory most befitting for this work is the theory of “*objective reality*,” propounded by André Bazin, a film realism theorist. In his publication, *What is Cinema?*, he insists that,

The guiding myth, then, inspiring the invention of cinema, is the accomplishment of that which dominated in a more or less vague fashion all the techniques of the mechanical reproduction of reality in the nineteenth century from photography to the phonograph, namely and integral realism, on recreation of the world in its own image, unburdened by the freedom of interpretation of the artist or the irreversibility of time.... Every new development added to the cinema must paradoxically, take it nearer and nearer to its origins (21).

This implies that film should be made to express the image of the society which bore it without unnecessary alterations from the director or producer.

The Nigerian video film industry constantly faces accusations of using negative themes that do not send out the right messages about Nigeria, thereby endorsing the freedom of the director to make necessary alterations, as far as it does not pollute the mind of the audience. This topic has brought about debates among scholars who have drawn various lines of thoughts. According to Ekeanyanwu:

...three lines of argument are clearly distinguished.... The first line of argument sees Nollywood as bastardising Nigerian local cultural values, thus impacting negatively on the Nigerian indigenous culture. The argument here is that the Nigerian cultural values are not adequately portrayed in themes of Nollywood movies.... The display of witchcraft, ritual killing, crass immorality, etc. as major and prevailing themes in Nollywood movies is argued as not being representative of the Nigerian indigenous society.... They see the Nigerian society as rich in cultural ethos, hospitable, and have a rich traditional heritage of respect, high moral standards and respect for family values. So overplaying the minority incidences... is not acceptable (76).

He goes ahead to insist that the second major concern of those in this argument is that Nollywood has impacted negatively on Nigerian indigenous cultures in the area of language, which they consider a core component of culture. The third line of argument is that Nollywood has impacted both negatively and positively on the Nigerian indigenous culture.

Other scholars have agreed that negative themes are not ideal for the progress of the industry and nation. Eno Akpabio has listed other “controversial” themes to include, “prostitution, sibling rivalry, wife or husband snatching, philandering, problem of in-laws, house helps, bonding and oath taking, including cultural issues such as, Osu Caste System and incest” (150). Akpabio notes that the negative themes are not only portrayed but celebrated and glorified. To support this postulation, Femi Osofisan posits that film wields tremendous ability to represent a people and their culture and that:

films also have significant influence on the way others see us, hence, on the way they relate to us. We cannot but be concerned therefore about what they are saying, what attitude they are promoting and what image of us they are projecting. Precisely because they have deservedly won ovation everywhere, the Nollywood films have come to assume authority over our values and our lives, such that what people see in them comes to be taken not just as fictional projection of one’s imaginative consciousness, but as the truth, authentic mirror of what we really are, as a veritable market of what our society represents and much worse, of the ideal that we aspire, or must aspire toward (53).

He is concerned that the images projected in film could affect how others see us and relate to us, and suggests that positive images be projected through films. Ojukwu and Ezenandu x-ray “the industry’s poor manner of exposing some African negative traditions and its inability to use some core shared values and norms to enhance, transform and consolidate the emerging African democracy” (25).

Some other scholars believe that this perceived problem is as a result of the make-money-quick syndrome enveloping Nigerian film producers. This syndrome compels them to produce substandard movies, without relevant content or with negative themes. Onuzulike notes that, “the popular quick and cheap productions are likely to lend Nollywood movie makers and stakeholders to distort and romanticise African cultures

and environments, as well as presenting them negatively” (289). In essence, the content of the movies is compromised because the video film might be misconstrued.

While scholars are opining that Nigerian video films promote negativity, which is unhealthy and a betrayal of cultural trust, others, however, agree with André Bazin, emphasising that films are the society’s mirrors. One among them is Onubuogu, who posits that,

an artist must be honest. An artist should not go and tell the story the way it is not.... We are sometimes uncivilised and backward. Our movies show these things.... To begin to paint ourselves in colours that don’t belong to us would not do us any good (30).

In all these, film should not be falsified in a bid to promote a culture that is not at its best. Should this be done, there would have been no progress made at all. It is necessary, therefore, that any film should be true to its time, mirroring the society, with the hope of improvement and subsequent development of such a society. The purpose of adopting Bazin’s theory in this study is to align his assertions with the critical analysis of the selected films in line with the thematic contents of harmful cultural practices.

Harmful Cultural Practices in the Nigerian Society

Traditional/cultural practices reflect values and beliefs held by members of a community or social groupings for periods often spanning generations. The roots of harmful cultural practices are often found in particular cultures and social norms and beliefs, and particular interpretations of religion. Harmful cultural practices against women are manifestations of the historically unequal power relation between men and women which have continued to erode the essence of the society and have led to men’s domination and discrimination against women. Fagbolu noted that, “...women were thought to be mentally, socially and psychologically inferior to men, therefore they had little or nothing to contribute when it came to decision making” (29). To buttress this point, Akubue posits that, “...women subordination knows no boundaries” (3). Although harmful cultural practices can be imposed on both men and women, there is no gainsaying the fact that many of the harmful cultural practices in existence in Nigeria, are directed at women and children. Some of such practices are witch-hunting and child marriage. Witch-hunting is a disturbing harmful cultural practice which is directed mostly at women and children. Studies show that many people in Africa and some other parts of the world often attribute unexplained illness, death and misfortune to witchcraft. Evidence shows that women and children are disproportionately suspected and accused of the practice.

UN ESCAP, has reported that, “...in Nepal, elderly women and women who belong to lower social classes, have been accused of being witches and suffered violence as a result” (21). Nigerians believe that a witch was any person who behaves abnormally outside the expected patterns of societal behaviour. In the same vein, Bastian identifies these distinctions thus:

Among abnormal behaviours likely to earn one the stigma of being a witch were manifestations of antisocial behaviour such as: adultery, exactly too much for sales of anything, committing incest, walking about in the night, crying at night (in the cases of children), not showing adequate “show” at the death of a relative, not taking proper care of one’s parents, children, wife or wives, hard-heartedness... (72).

Similarly, Mgbako asserts that, “...witches were mean-looking, mean-acting or otherwise socially disruptive people whose behaviour deviates significantly from cultural or community norms” (36). In this light, the misfortune of one’s looks, anti-social behaviour or stubbornness is attributed to witchcraft and the victims suffer excruciating hardship and pain as a result. Witch hunting is still on-going in some African countries. Many unions and organisations have made effort at advocating for these victims. They make reports on places where they are practiced and create rules to stop them. In spite of all these meetings and reinforcements of rights, this practice still continues.

In Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria, for instance, a child was reportedly found in February 2016 by a Danish aid worker, who had been accused of witchcraft. The two year old boy, who the Danish worker, Anja Ringgren Loven, now calls, Hope, was reportedly living on the streets and survived on scraps from passer-by when she found him. “Thousands of children are being accused of being witches and we’ve both seen torture of children, dead children and frightened children”, she wrote on Facebook, as she appealed for funds to pay for food, medical bills and schooling. Below are pictures of Hope when he was first rescued and a few months after he was properly taken care of.



PLATE 1: *When Hope was first rescued; and a few months after he was properly taken care of*
Source: [www.facebook.com/Din Noedhjaelp/posts/933521763406203?_rdar](https://www.facebook.com/DinNoedhjaelp/posts/933521763406203?_rdar)

These stories recur in various parts of Nigeria and are reported on daily basis and a lot more are not made public. The victims of this practice are abandoned and allowed to slowly die of hunger and pain.

Child marriage is another ill treatment of children which is oftentimes given cultural or religious backing. Based on social etiquette, it is assumed that marriage should be between two consenting adults, “a man and a woman”, not a man and a child or two children. These two adults have to be aware of the need to unite and procreate, and motivated by this need, they come together of their own free will.

Unfortunately, this is not the case in some cultures. In some cultures, marriage is contracted with or without the consent of the female. Child marriage can be seen as marriage contracted before the full or average development of the economic, social, educational or political potential of any of the parties involved. In other words, couples who engage in such marriages are not groomed in knowledge and are not physically, socially and psychologically mature to assume full responsibilities of maintaining a family that may also be due to prior lack of knowledge about each other. Child marriage is regarded as a violation of human rights.

In spite of Human Rights Laws made against early child marriage, this practice is still on the high side. Parents who practice this act always have reasons to encourage their daughters to go into such marriage. Some of the reasons are so that they can earn respect in the community and also be grandparents early. It could also be because they are poor. Ladman opines that, “parents who are instrumental to the early marriage of their daughters may be to alleviate the economic hardship in their family” (51). Accordingly, Nasara observes that,

in some societies in Africa, early marriage of a girl is encouraged by parents so that their daughter would remain a virgin until marriage to ensure the parents’ dignity and earn respect for parents who would wish to see their children married before old age and also to prevent girls from getting pregnant outside wedlock (24).

These reasons to them seem legitimate enough, regardless of the fact that the girls are meant to be in school instead of being hurried into marriage.

Early marriages are not in any way desirable because, as Davies observes, “teenagers are barely young people who are not physically, mentally and psychologically mature to take responsibilities of marriage and so should never be hurried into it” (149). Child marriage is a common practice in Nigeria among both Christians and Muslims, but notably with higher prevalence among the Hausa Muslims of Northern Nigeria. Among certain ethnic groups in Asia and America, the practice of giving away teenage girls for marriage at the age of 11-13 is very common. In most cases the girls in question are married before they attain puberty: as early as 10 years.

The dangers of early child marriage are insurmountable and innumerable. It is likely that such marriages may end abruptly by the death of the man and as speculated by Boema, “there will be increased likelihood of a woman becoming a widow at a very tender age with nobody to take responsibility of her welfare” (28). Early marriage is associated with early involvement in sexual relationship and the health consequences of early sexual relationship includes; painful intercourse, lacerated hymen, profuse bleeding and severe infection which may delay to heal. Early sexual relationship invariably leads to early motherhood of a girl-child who is not physiologically mature to get married, get pregnant or go into labour. In this wise, Obianyo observes that,

... because of the undeveloped pelvic bones there is usually an obstruction and delay in the descent of the baby through the birth canal leading to prolonged

labour; with excessive pressure of the baby on the mother's bladder which is anatomically in front of the uterus. Prolonged pressure exercised on the bladder, vagina and rectum of the mother may lead to paralysis of the muscles, thus provoking unhealthy conditions such as vesico-vaginal or recto-vaginal fistulae, especially when an untrained traditional birth attendant is conducting the delivery (94).

Vesico-vaginal fistula or recto-vaginal fistula is obstetrical condition where a woman is incontinent of urine or faeces or both. Urine or faeces incontinence is dehumanising because the victim is left with the scar for life. Even where V.V.F. patients have been successfully treated, they often have problems of reproduction later. Other problems that could arise include wound breakdown, recurrent infection and delayed healing wounds. The harmful cultural practices listed are mentioned but a few and saddening so, are still very prevalent in some communities in Nigeria.

Nollywood Video Films as Indicators of Harmful Cultural Practices

Nollywood is the name of Nigeria's film industry. Its existence was heralded by the successful production of Kenneth Nnebue's *Living in Bondage*, a NEK Video Links production. Since its birth, there has been no going back. Nollywood has found its way to the top in ratings. Anunike assert that,

the industry is... rated as the largest home video industry in the world... and rated the third largest film industry in the world after Hollywood... and Bollywood in terms of its mass production of films. About 53 films are released every fourth night in the industry (cited in Umezina 14).

Nollywood has revealed the uniqueness of video films as popular culture, which has impacted Nigerian and other African cultures, the viewers and the content. Video film's advantage over other media is that it is more accessible and affordable that any group, individual or society can use it to tell their story. This advantage has been utilised as a tool for indicating harmful cultural practices and portraying them as acts of terror, the films, *Dry* and *Edikan*, being proofs to this. *Dry* and *Edikan* bring to the fore, the terror of Child Marriage and Witch Hunting respectively and the effects they had on their victims.

Synopsis and Analysis of *Dry*

Zara (Stephanie Okereke) is a successful Nigerian doctor living in Wales, United Kingdom. She is tormented with memories of her past. This threatens her commitment to marry Alex (Darwin Shaw) – a man she loves. This torment also threatens the whole of her being. Her mother, a missionary to Nigeria, has repeatedly failed in her attempt to convince Zara to join her in one of her medical aid trips to Nigeria. Her mother is about to embark on her regular trip to Nigeria but she falls seriously ill. She is unable to make this very crucial trip to Nigeria. This trip inevitably falls on Zara who also discovers that

there is a strong possibility that her long lost daughter might still be alive. She is steered in a new direction to face and conquer her darkest fears. Her trip to Nigeria becomes mandatory as she is also trying to avoid Alex who just proposed.

Back in Nigeria, thirteen year old Halima (Zubaida Ibrahim) is forced by her parents to marry a sixty (60) year old man, against her wish. She is welcome by her mother-in-law and her other three co-wives (two of which do not like her). With no idea of sex and its intricacies, she goes through the dreadful ordeal as her husband repeatedly rapes her. She is pregnant and has trouble with delivery. She eventually delivers the child, who dies. She develops complications thereafter. Young Halima suffers a condition, known as, Vesico-Vaginal Fistula (VVF). A health nightmare suffered by over 800,000 other women (just like her), she is ostracised and abandoned by her husband, his family and community. It is a period of rejection, isolation and despair for Halima.

Zara is in Nigeria. She is constantly faced with challenges and turmoil. The people of the community are resistant to positive change and they do everything to frustrate her and her hospital. She is also faced with emotional turmoil resulting from the horrors of her childhood, and her experiences and heartaches while working with these suffering women. She is, notwithstanding, undaunted by these challenges and goes out announcing free treatment for all VVF patients. Zara is also seriously looking for her daughter, who she believes may still be alive. She retraces her steps to where her life began but is still unsuccessful even though she meets with the parents who adopted her daughter.

Halima gets wind of these free treatment of VVF and is rushed down there in spite of her initial resistance when her condition gets critical. Finally, Zara meets Halima and marvels at the tie that binds them together. Halima meets her real mother, Zara, as she arrives at the hospital in her critical state, but succumbs to her pains in death. Zara, who is pained and torn by the death of the child she just only met is moved to sensitise and inform as many people as she could reach out to, on the dangers of early child marriage and VVF, to the point that she has a chance at the senate and she talks about her past, as well as the fate of her daughter and urges everybody to join the fight to discourage early child marriage and how to cure VVF.

The film shows that the dream of every child is to be allowed to be a child and grow at his or her God given pace to maturity, rather than being rushed into things meant for adults – like marriage, sex and child bearing. Halima retorts when asked to eat...

Halima: I want my childhood back. I want to be a girl again. Play in my father's compound with other children, laughing, clapping, staying by my mother, helping out in the kitchen, listening to folklore under the moon. Can you get that for me? Can you?

Halima's character wears the face of the pain that every child bride wears and her fate in the film is the fate of these brides. Zara's speech after Halima's death is everything...

Zara: I'm standing in front of you today not just because I am a woman, but first, I am a human being and as such, my fundamental human rights

need to be protected. The African woman can be described as the most endangered species of our world. Culture conditions have encradled her to a life of submission and subservience against her natural inclination for freedom and self-determination. She is at birth, a child to be loved and cared for, but as she gains age and consciousness of her environment, archaic traditions discard and discount her social value to a mere object to be used and given away to almost anything, to almost anybody.... Today, I stand before you to speak for the rights and welfare of the daughters of Africa, to speak against their abuse and reduction to the status of material gifts, especially at a tender age. The practice of underage marriage, female circumcision, lack of access to medical care and education is a gross abuse of a woman. I insist that a final and more decisive anti-fistula effort should commence now. Time has come for us to put a stop to this menace. Time has come for us to save ourselves from this crippling scourge. We need to enforce the child rights acts. We need to pass the national health bill. Create an agency for the eradication of fistula in order to achieve our Millennium Development Goals. And in all, I beg you, please, let these young girls have their childhood, because when it is taken away from them, you can never get it back.

This speech summarises the message the makers of the film intend to pass across – every woman irrespective of where they are from should be allowed a chance to live to their fullest without unnecessary infringement on their rights. *Dry* has made these points very clearly. These points have also gone a long way to change some parts of the world. The film, *Dry*, was premiered in Gambia and resultantly, the Gambian government has officially banned early marriages. Report from focus group discussions which were organized by the researchers also have had their participants speak strongly against early marriage as a result of watching the film, *Dry*.

Synopsis and Analysis of *Edikan*

Etebom (Moses Armstrong) is fond of molesting Ime (Sophiana Jones), who is his stepdaughter (though he is unaware of this). Ime repeatedly reports this abuse to her mother (Ini Ikpe) who totally disbelieves her, calling her a witch who wants to destroy her marriage. On a certain day, Ime takes a decision and keeps a knife by her bed, awaiting doom. As her step father approaches, she cuts his hand with a knife. He reports this incident to his wife, turning the story in his favour of course and accusing the girl of witchcraft, as that would be the most likely motivating force for such an attack; an accusation his wife takes very seriously. She punishes Ime and asks Cynthia (Nse Ikpe Etim) to be her custodian. Cynthia rejects this request, telling her that her job as an actress is too tedious, leaving her with little or no time to take care of a child. She constantly patronises a prayer house, run by Pastor Zachariah (Ime Bishop Umoh). This prayer house she takes seriously, because, “it gave her the husband she is married to”. Ime’s mother is certain that Ime is a witch who is hell bent on ruining her marriage and promises to take her to Pastor Zachariah for “diagnosis and possible cure” of witchcraft.

She makes good her promise and takes Ime to the Pastor who instantly pronounces her a witch and takes her inside for further diagnosis. There he forces her to admit that she is a witch and for fear of her life, she admits it. She is flogged severely to exorcise her. When she returns home, her mother still finds “traces of witchcraft” in her and drives her out of the house. Here, she is picked by men who run an NGO and help abandoned children. They contact her aunt who picks her and takes custody of her. Cynthia also reports the case of Ime’s molestation to the men who first found her and they reported this to the police and Etebom is arrested as well as Pastor Zachariah who is discovered to be a fraud.

Just when everyone is dealing with Ime’s case, another case is reported as parents abandon a little child accused of witchcraft. She is helped by Cynthia and taken to the hospital as she has bouts of blackouts resulting from what she went through. Her parents are contacted but they refuse to have anything to do with her, claiming her witchcraft killed their only son. She is officially adopted by Cynthia, who sends her to school. In school, she does very well and is to be sent abroad along with her guardian (Cynthia). Her parents hear the news and come for her. Cynthia returns Idara to them, only for them to continue the maltreatment from where they had stopped. Idara runs away with Ime’s help and when they are found, they report her abuse to the police who arrest her parents. Finally, Pastor Zachariah is released, a changed person. He and Cynthia join hands in a bid to eradicate the child witchcraft stigma in the state.

The brutal theme of witch hunting in the film is judiciously dealt with. The film carefully dissuades its audience from this practice, by exposing the dangers associated with it in the characters of Ime and Idara. It also achieves poetic justice with the characters of Cynthia and Pastor Zachariah. Pastor Zachariah learns from his misdeeds and not only promises to be a changed person, but also promises to join in the fight against witch hunting thus:

Pastor Zachariah: I want you and I to join hands with the government and fight this witchcraft thing to a standstill. Beating children and claiming they are witches is not right...

The participants in the focused group discussion at Uyo had very personal experiences on this issue. They not only appreciated the input made by the film, but pleaded that more films with such themes, be produced.

Conclusion

Nollywood has been a significant contributor in the fight against Harmful Cultural Practices in the country. The films analysed in this study, *Edikan*, and *Dry*, bear testimony to this fact, as do the discussions from the focus group discussions. The discussants, while saluting the makers of the films studied here, assert that more still needs to be done in the fight to ensure speedy eradication of such practices. The study therefore recommends that more researches be carried out by Nollywood film makers into harmful cultural practices for purpose of giving them exposition. This is important to avoid misrepresentation of the people and presentation of falsehood.

Production of films with such important themes as harmful cultural practices should also be in the languages of the various ethnic groups of the country to avoid the linguistic impediments that may limit the films from reaching all ethnic and language groups in the country. More development communication strategies should likewise be adopted to help take the message to the people. The various NGOs working against harmful cultural practices should consider the options presented by the Theatre for Development (TfD) approach and free film screenings.

This research work, therefore, provides a model, for students of Theatre and Film Studies who are likely to become future film makers, reminding them of the things left undone, the fight left unfinished and the need and plea of the average African woman and child for the freedom to life in safety.

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TERRORS AND HORRORS OF STRUGGLE FOR RESOURCE CONTROL IN THE NIGER DELTA: A STUDY OF HIBBERT'S *BLOOD AND OIL* AND AMATA'S *BLACK NOVEMBER*

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Abstract

Insecurity and terrorism have been one of the cogent factors leading to underdevelopment and overt poverty within the Nigerian space. Since the country gained independence in 1st October, 1960, with exportation and sales of crude oil found mostly in the Niger Delta areas, as one of its major source of generating income, neglecting many other sources and focusing more on exporting the oil at the detriment of the inhabitants of the soil. Despite the amount of wealth generated from the region, its despicable state in terms of physical and economic development has turned it to a theatre of war, terrorism and unrest. Writers, directors and dramatists, through their works, have continued to speak against the terror and injustice created in this region. Many times, they charge the Nigerian government to find a lasting solution to the insurgency and terrorist attacks. Therefore, in an attempt to further give voice to the above call, this study situates itself in the scenario of the region, giving a clearer understanding of the conflict situation through a sociological analysis of Guy Hibbert's *Blood and Oil* and Jeta Amata's *Black November*. It considers how Nigerian filmmakers are as responsive to national and historic issues like their counterparts in other artistic endeavours and examines the portrayal of Nigeria's oil-producing region's crisis in video films, *Blood and Oil* and *Black November* as a case study.

Introduction

The concept of terrorism infringes on African behavioural pattern based on 'battle of supremacy'. Terrorism began as a form of human struggle for and defence of their empires; the same struggle led to the act of slavery. The battle of the Benin Empire, Oyo Empire, Sokoto Caliphate and others in the struggle of supremacy led to merciless shedding of blood and capturing of slaves. Terrorism debased when Africans began to sacrifice their neighbours to 'appease' the gods. Community leaders became terrorists

during colonial era as Kings and other traditional rulers exchange their residents for mirror, sweets, alcohol and other items that freak Africans.

Around the world today, understanding the past has more or less become a universal need that people require to forge ahead in every sphere of human engagement. The foregoing is a manifest of the imperatives thrown up by the connection of the present and the past, and how specific realities of the past have shaped people's sensibilities and a sense of possibility in the overall quest to obtain a peaceable existence and ensure that certain events, such as, the struggle for supremacy do not re-occur to demean and influence actions and relationships considered counter-productive to both individual and collective socio-political and economic development. As no one can tell history the way it happened, since the days of Thespis and his chorus actors, who participated in the festival of Dionysus, during the classical Greek period; to the medieval presentation of religious play, down to the theatre of the gods and goddesses as proposed by Wole Soyinka in *Myth, Literature and the African World*, the theatrical stage has been a place where all human activities are examined and history, no matter how distorted, is given voice to. Through the use of scenic enhancements such as costumes, lights, sounds, props, and so on, the stage recreates the world and presents to the audience the opportunity to analyse and reflect on the impact of their actions on fellow humans and the larger environment.

In particular, following the definitions by the United Nations (UN) and the US Department of Defence, terrorism has been defined as "the unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives" (Enders and Sandler 5). From the definition, it is evident that for any activity to be so tagged as terrorism, it must have:

- a) Violence;
- b) Political, ideological, or religious motifs;
- c) Presence of perpetrator(s);
- d) Effect on victim(s); and
- e) Target audience(s).

The above five components seem to be present in almost all the violent activities witnessed in Nigeria since independence. Terrorism, one of the activities is being examined around the globe has, over the years become a subject of concern globally as the increasing number of terrorist groups has become one of the major impediments to world development, global peace and security. In the fifties and sixties, terrorism was a prominent instrument used by both government and the populace in revolutionary or liberation struggles across the globe, be they in Asia, Africa, Middle East or Latin America. For example, the Global Market Institute's (GMI) Poll conducted in 2006 among 8,001 respondents in US, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, UK, Russia, Japan, showed that the fear of terrorism is the preeminent issues in all G8 countries (Onuoha 296). Terrorism is spreading like wildfire in every part of the world, especially in Nigeria, and its effect beats beyond the actual place of execution. It has become a

fundamental security concern to various countries all over the world and continues (to) remain a serious and on-going threat the mass peace and security.

No region in the world has been spared of terrorist attacks, and Africa has been described as one of the hardest hit, reasons partly due to various developmental issues, which have continued to help foster and intensify the consequences of terrorism (Ogada 283). Although the concept of terrorism is generally considered a recent development in West Africa, however, the 1989 Bilma bomb blast, according to Ogada, involving UTA Flight 779 over Niger, showed the existence of terrorism in a region accustomed to varied forms of threats and insecurities. For Ogada, in 1994, a journalist, Robert Kaplan, wrote an article warning that West Africa's ungoverned spaces, weak borders and impoverished masses had the potential to breed threat not only to individual states, but the African continent as a whole. Kaplan in *The Coming Anarchy* declared that Africans have ignored the dying regions at their own risk (57). Just ten years later, two other writers, Douglas Farah and Richard Shultz, supported Kaplan's argument, and submitted that the West African countries had become terrorist's sanctuary. Three years later, after the 9/11 attacks, these authors, Farah and Shultz, asserted thus:

... weak and corrupt governments, vast, virtually stateless stretches awash in weapons and impoverished, largely Muslim population make the region an ideal sanctuary. The now identifiable presence of Al-Qaeda in other countries show that these once marginal wars and regions matter. We ignore the warnings at our own peril (cited in Ogada 282).

The idea of terrorism had been a virus predominating from hereditarily perspectives in Nigeria through greed. This concept of greed led to divers of corrupt and egocentric leadership that has been in existence before and during slavery.

The Nigerian state, through the perversion of its leadership style, has continued to neglect its responsibilities to the people, vis-a-vis corruption, poor governance, weak and compromised institutions. Although the fire of the militant (terrorist groups) of the Niger Delta, a region covers an area of over 70,000km² of the sea borders of the country and constitutes the largest river delta in Africa, seem to be burning low, the effect of the terror created within the area has shown that the realisation of the Nigeria's industrial development will be difficult as long as its economic resource site remains vulnerable to terrorist attacks, recruitment, radicalisation, and penetration. All these threaten not only the nation's political stability and its investment prospects with other countries; they also cast a spectral shroud on government's efforts to respond to the calls for rapid industrialisation and economic growth. Due to the natural endowments of the Niger Delta region, the inhabitants engage more in occupations such as farming, fishing, and have accounted for a large percentage of Nigeria's commercial fisheries industry. The landmass, amazing network of creeks, and an aquatic splendour comprising marine, brackish and freshwater ecosystems, have culminated in the Niger Delta crisis making the area a hot bed of violence, insurgency, kidnapping, hostage-taking, oil pipeline sabotage, crude oil theft, gang wars, internecine struggles and so much else by way of anarchy and chaos.

Therefore, it is on this background that, through a sociological analysis of Guy Hibbert's movie, *Blood and Oil* and Jeta Amata's *Black November*, this paper evaluates and analyses how the Nigerian movie industry (Nollywood) has contributed to the discourse of terrorism, bringing its horror to both local and international limelight. It observes that playwrights and directors are now more cautious in their movies on violence and terrorism, understanding the infectious effect they have on their society. The paper considers how Nigerian film makers are as responsive to national and historic issues as are their counterparts in other artistic endeavours by examining their portrayals of Nigeria's oil producing Niger Delta crises in video films, *Blood and Oil* and *Black November* as a case study. To support the submissions of the scriptwriter, this research work concludes that until political motifs are removed from every form of agitation, such will continue to be tagged terrorism. Hence, this paper focuses on bringing, once more, to our consciousness, the gloomy and horrible circumstances in which Nigeria, and most especially, Niger-Delta region, sadly, continues to wallow.

Conflicts, Terrorism and Ethnicity as Factors for Under-Development

A sociological analysis of the Nigerian society pinpoints it as the largest petroleum producer in Africa and the seventh largest producer of crude oil among OPEC member countries (Amata's *Black November*). It is the most populated African country and its diversity exists among its several ethnic groups (over 450 ethnic groups) (Amata's *Black November*). While the Southern parts of the country are mostly Christians, the Northerners are majorly, Muslims. Lack of religious tolerance in some parts of the country and its government's neglect of the Niger Delta region have been attributed to be causes of many insurgencies in the country in recent past. Failure to provide basic social and infrastructural amenities such as roads, electricity, potable water, health-care and quality education while which provides for the 90% of its wealth, presented new conflicts in itself. According to the assertions of MEND, the most saddening of the happenings within the country is that while the people of the Niger Delta region continue to wallow in abject poverty, the wealth gotten from their land is constantly used to provide such necessities for other regions of the country. All an aggrieved youth from the Niger Delta region needs, to form themselves into insurgency groups, is a trip to Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory.

Conflict in the Niger Delta began in the early 1990s due to tensions between the foreign oil corporations and a number of the Niger Delta's minority ethnic groups who felt they were being exploited, particularly the Ogoni and the Ijaw in the late 1990s. Since then, ethnic and political unrest has continued and still persists, although, not as elaborate as it used to be. Competition for the control of oil wealth has fuelled violence between innumerable ethnic groups, causing the militarisation of nearly the entire region by ethnic militia groups as well as Nigerian military and police forces (notably the Nigeria Mobile Police), and growing into terrorism in the region. The regional and ethnic conflicts are so numerous that fully detailing each is impossible and impractical. However, there have been a number of major confrontations that deserve elaboration. As stated in Augustine Ikelegbe, the table below gives an insight to some of the kidnapping exercises in the Niger Delta Region as reported in *Police Record* (208-234).

S/N	Action/date	MNC/OIL Servicing Co.	Youth Group/ Ethnic Group state	Ascertained purpose	Outcome
1	Hostage taking of 10 workers/ April 2002	Shell	Militant Youth Gang, Ekeremor LGA, Ijaw/ Bayelsa State	Ransom demand for N3.1m	Resulted from failure to yield to alleged frivolous demands
2	Kidnap of staff/ June 29-July 2003	Oil servicing Co. working for shell	Ijaw youth militants in Bomadi/ Burutu LGAs/Delta State	Demand for N25.4m	State Govt Intervention/ Negotiated release after 14 days
3	Kidnap of 9 crew and 4 military escorts of oil barges/ 11-13Nov. 2003		Ijaw militants	Ransom/other demands	Released 2 days later after threats by state Govt/ Security Agencies.
4	Kidnap of 14 workers/ November 2003	Chevron Texaco	Militant Ijaw Youths/Bayelsa	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government
5	Kidnap of 19 oil workers	Nobel Drilling/ Prospecting	Ijaw Militias/Delta State	Ransom demands	Intervention of State Government
6	Kidnap of 7 workers 28Nov.-Dec. 2003	Bredero Shaw Oil servicing Co. (Shell)	Militant Ijaw Youths Delta State	Ransom demands for \$5m	State government intervention/ negotiation
7	Murder of 7 workers & Military personnel/ April 2004	Chevron Texaco	Militant youths along Benin River Area/Delta State	-	-

Source: Ikelegbe 212

In all the above listed cases of kidnapping and other cases of crises undertaken by various Niger Delta militant groups, oil companies usually describe such as purely criminal in purpose, aimed at extorting benefits to which they are not entitled from the oil industry. These same incidents are described by the youths involved as a fight for their rights. Furthermore, Chevron states thus:

In some cases, the youths simply try to extort money from personnel working on barges and drilling rigs without reason or based on some fabricated excuse.... Because of the level of poverty in most of the remote areas, there are... many cases of unscrupulous claims for compensation for damages that cannot be substantiated (cited in HRW 139).

While Chevron identifies the disproportion between the wealth of the oil company and the poverty of the oil producing areas as an important contributor to conflict, it sees the protests that result as criminal only. The youths who make what Chevron describes as ‘unscrupulous’ claims put it differently:

We have committed ourselves to the fight against environmental degradation, social and economic injustice in our land. Chevron pays soldiers to kill us and has bribed the police to keep us away; when we demand our rights, they just send the Mobile Police (cited in HRW 139).

Although the characteristics of terrorism have been changing in recent times, the primary objective is still to impose sufficient political and economic pressure on government so that it can agree to the demands of the terrorists (Enders and Sandler 99). Terrorism, which had been viewed by some publics in the country as a predominantly Western narrative, and supposedly a Western conundrum, had become a Nigerian issue created by some aggrieved Nigerians, as a medium of expression. So fierce was the prosecution of their terror agenda, by the government, that fighting terrorism went straight to the top of the political agenda in the country far ahead poverty, crime, underdevelopment, poor provision of health facilities, lack of power supply, power relations and resource distributions, corruption, ethnicity, and many more, even though these factors have been fingered as partly responsible for the emergence of terrorism itself.

Ethnic agitation in Nigeria’s political history dates as far back as the period before the country’s independence. However, this chapter focuses on the agitation of the people of the Niger Delta, with a particular interest on the Ijaw ethnic grouping. Ethnic nationalism among the Ijaw can be conveniently situated within the context of Joireman’s thesis of a “coincidence of ethnicity and a lack of economic prosperity”:

A history of unequal development in a country in which the regional inequalities coincide with ethnicity can establish the precipitating factors for ethnic conflict. It can give a group of people a legitimate grievance that over time can escalate into ethnic conflict (12).

The above submission by Joireman essentially captures the basis of the conflict in the Niger Delta against the Nigerian state. Successive governments have acquired the oil wealth which the oil companies have helped to unlock, salting it away in foreign bank accounts rather than investing in education, health, and other social sectors, and mismanaging the national economy to the point of collapse. At the community level, the companies are faced with increasing protests directed at their activities and the lack of development in the delta; these have included incidents of hostage taking, closures of flow stations, sabotage, and intimidation of staff. All of these troubles and increasing crises have been used as raw materials for film production by Nigeria’s Nollywood.

Nollywood and the Niger Delta Crises

Reflecting on the horrors and terrors within the region and the despicable state of the Niger Delta region, from a shift in thematic preoccupation of the people being the casualties of the constant struggle for wealth control, between the Nigerian government and the different movements established by the people of the region, to woman analogy; the Nigerian movie industry (Nollywood) over the years has tried to speak against the terror and injustice created in this region. Through various movies produced, such as, *Niger Delta Avengers*, *Liquid Black Gold*, *Black Gold*, and later reappears as *Black November* in 2013; and *Blood and Oil*, as popular expressions of art, film makers have revealed their fears and angers against the crises and also try to re-imagine the politics of oil exploration as it influences the Nigerian society (Niger Delta, especially).

Aggrieved youths of the Niger Delta region have realised that their lacks are not only just as a result of neglect from government, but, also, self-inflicting by their corrupt leaders. These leaders are supposed to be the mouth-piece of the people, but, they rather would work to be in favour of both parties, not conveying the grievances of their people to the government, and blackmailing their people before the government. As the world is developing and globalisation taking proper shape in various parts of the universe, the heightening levels of political and social consciousness have resulted in higher expectations by the people, and consequently, states and societies are coming under pressure from the populace.

As earlier said, Nollywood's involvement in the Niger Delta crises has been a subtle one, as no one wants to have to "bell the cat". While everyone wants to let the world know what is happening in his/her society, individually, we are all conscious of the dangers involved in telling such stories. These dangers are one of the major reasons why writers tend to use fictional elements and producers/directors disclaim resemblances to realities in their movies. *Liquid Black Gold*, produced in 2009, and written and directed by Ikenna Emma Aniekwe, chronicles the activities of some supposed overzealous youths, who decide to fight defensively over the neglect of their community (Niger Delta). The fight soon grew chaotic as it was against the decision maker of their community and before long, the terrors and horrors of the violence are felt on the women, children, sick and old, constantly and daily scream for help as a result of the high rate of death. Both parties (the youth and the decision makers) turned deafening ears to their call for help. The underlining factor, of the terror, is beyond just deprivation but suppression; rather it is a fight for the even distribution of the wealth being made through the sales of the crude oil on their lands. That the land has crude oil, making the environment extremely hot for its inhabitants isn't bad enough, the drilling and exploration of the oil still causes great damage, even to the waters from the land.

Synopsis of *Blood and Oil*

Guy Hibbert's movie, *Blood and Oil*, bears a striking resemblance to the events between the shell employees, militants and the Nigerian Joint Task force of 2006; under the former President Olusegun Obasanjo's led administration. Produced by Mat Chaplin and Susie Liggat, and directed by David Attwood, as the movie chronicles the events surrounding one of the darkest activities carried out under this government. It is woven

round unravelling the mystery behind the death of Mark Unwin (Tom Fairfoot), one of the four employees of Krielsen International Oil Company captured by militant group, MEND, whilst they are working in Nigeria. For the efforts of his wife, Claire who flies out with Alice Onuko, a Nigerian-born but British-raised Public Relations Manager for the same oil company, the dead would have been celebrated as a hero and not “the greedy coward” he was. As is the norm for every kidnapping case carried out by MEND, on arrival, the women were told that a ransom had been agreed and MEND had decided to release the men captured.

However, when civil rights’ worker, Keme, acting as go-between, escorts the women to witness the handover as Claire had become anxious to see her husband; they find only the corpses of Mark and his co-workers. Although the death of her husband unsettles her, Claire’s greatest shock came from her knowledge of the fact that her husband had been cheating on her and was planning on bombing his oil company, in order to frame MEND for it. For the Journalist and the events that unfold during the case, Alice would never have doubted the integrity of her father, who happened, as she later discovered, to be just as the same as Ahmed Yerima’s Papa (Don) in *Hard Ground*.

Synopsis of *Black November*

Black November depicts the devastating effects of corruption in oil-rich region of the Nigeria. The story revolves round corruption and political dysfunction plaguing oil-rich Nigeria. The aggrieved Niger Delta youths, based in Los Angeles, have decided to kidnap Hudson (Mickey Rourke), the CEO of a U.S. oil company, along with several other Americans, in order to secure the release of a young Nigerian woman Ebieri (Mbong Amata), who had been jailed and sentenced to death for her part in leading a local uprising. The movie, according to Amata, in an interview with Africa Report, is based on facts and named after the month when activist Ken Saro-Wiwa was executed in 1995. It is a swift, enraging, exciting and adventure story about greed, brutality and injustice being melted out to the youths and inhabitants of the Niger Delta region.

The movie starts, after a brief introduction to the pathetic situation in the Niger Delta and Nigeria. The Warri Prison, next to reveal actions, introduces the audience to a serious tale of self-sacrifice, as the prison gets ready for an execution. As an ambitious lady, Ebieri (Mbong Amata), gets a scholarship to study abroad, and realises how marginalised her people have been. She never wanted to be part of the struggle, but her yearn for a normal and comfortable life forces her to defend the exploited villagers she grew up with against the same oil company she now works for, after having witnessed the massacre, in form of a gas line explosion, of her entire family by the government officials. She in turn takes to speaking against the government and for her people. Not long, she became the hero the people had long waited and this led to her arrest and further jailing.

Conflict and Terrorism in *Blood and Oil* and *Black November*

Depicting a people in their geographical location and how the struggle for survival has given birth to man’s inhumanity to man, these movies project, as their main focus the Niger Delta, their daily occupation, cultural values, beliefs, deprivations and

disillusionment. In these plays, the fearsomeness, hazard and wealth of the people of the Niger Delta are laid bare. The oil-rich region is depicted as unnatural habitat or locale for poverty, restiveness, militancy and neglect as the environment that is naturally supposed to add vibrancy, enthusiasm and pleasure to life suddenly becomes an abode of criminality and viciousness. Guy Hibbert and Jeta Amata dramatically x-ray the socio-political situation of the Niger Delta to portray its history, cultural values, the sources of disintegration and disunity.

Bearing a striking resemblance to real life events in the Delta, and in particular, one of the darkest chapters of the Nation's former president, President Olusegun Obasanjo's repressive rule over Nigeria, as the scholar and author Ike Okonta writes:

20th August, 2006. On that afternoon, soldiers of the Joint Task Force, a contingent of the Nigerian Army, Navy and Air Force deployed by the government to enforce its authority on the restive oil-bearing Niger Delta, ambushed fifteen members of the MEND militia in the creeks of western delta and murdered them. The dead men had gone to negotiate the release of a Shell Oil worker kidnapped by youth in Letugbene, a neighbouring community. The Shell staff also died in the massacre. Spokesmen of the Nigerian government had sought to represent the fifteen militias as 'irresponsible hostage-takers' in the wake of the slaughter. But those massed at the hospital that morning spoke only of heroes who had fallen in the battle for 'Ijaw liberation' (<https://www.project-syndicate.org>).

Okonta, in an interview with Oboko Bello, an Ijaw civil society leader who traced the event between Shell and the soldiers who murdered a boatful of MEND insurgents, reveals that the Ijaw youths who were ambushed and murdered by the Nigerian military were not even hostage takers but youths who were after the repair of the broken relationship between the community and shell oil company.

Without mixing words, Hibbert unveils cogent and pathetic issue surrounding the conflict of the movie, corruption and unscrupulous egoism, which are the sources of retrogression, displacement and unhealthy restiveness in the Niger Delta region. In this play, the playwright highlights both the psychological and social minds of the poor or less privileged members of the society to underscore the level of disillusionment, deprivation and disunity in their land. According to Keme Tobodo, the human right activities who acts as an intermediary between the Oil Company and MEND, the community is in total shambles:

Keme: ... when corruption becomes so deep in a society, when it is practised by every politician, every government official and every village chief, what then happens to us? (*Blood and Oil*)

This is the root of the violence and terror perpetrated by the youths in this thriller movie. Greed has eaten so deep into the soul of this country so much so, that even a child, like

Alice, who claims to be a Public Relation Officer, expected to communicate with people by reaching into their psychology, does not know her father.

Alice, the naïve girl, believes her father is one of the good Samaritans in the US who has been offering refuge to as many Nigerians as want to be there, simply because he, Justice Onuka (Kole Omotoso) happens to be one of the very few privileged orphans out there. This is revealed by Alice, when she says:

Alice: ... giving other the helping hands that he never had himself. (*Round of applause.*)

Alice: I have an image of him... 11 years old... there he is, On the road side, in ragged clothes, no father and no mother, and he is selling dry fish with the women to look after his brothers and sisters (*Blood and Oil*).

It was a big disappointment for Alice, when she finds out that the then “11 years old”, whom she now calls a father, happen to be one of the oil barons, recruiting people, towards the destruction of the Niger Delta region. This is reflected in her dialogue with Ed Daly (Paterson Joseph), her company’s representative in Nigeria:

Ed Daly: ... all stolen from our pipelines.... This is the real oil bunkering. Tankers filled of it.... All of Nigeria’s business is oil bunkering; someone is stealing it for someone.... The Mr. A in this case is your father.

Alice: My Father?

Ed Daly: It’s a shame it has no meaning. Legitimate or illegitimate, everything is corrupt in this country and therefore, nothing is corrupt (*Blood and Oil*).

Alice tries to defend her father but, at the end, she realises Ed Daly is right. She meets the same man she had found to be responsible for the death of the four staff of her oil company, in the comfort of their home, as a friend of her father.

The causes of violence as depicted in these movies include poverty, exploitation, oppression and injustice. This is stated by Ed Daly, “80 million Nigerians live in abject poverty”. Another cause of violence is the opportunity to have an input into their welfare. Amata’s personal interest in the terror and horrors of the Niger Delta is evident, and well-represented by his major character’s soulful performance as an ordinary girl pushed to extreme bravery by standing against the same company she had worked for, all her life, after much of her village dies in a fuel explosion. Even though they were tagged, “a group of terrorist”, in the words of Tamuno Alaibe (Enyinna Nwigwe), the leader of United People’s Front for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta People of Nigeria, the youths who lay siege and take the CEO of Western Oil, Tom Hudson (Mickey Burke) and Kristy Maine (Kim Basinger) ambush “are not bad people” and “do not want to hurt anybody”. Rather, they believe the only way to get the international attention was only by violence, a way they believed “was the only language the west understands” (Amata’s

Black November). They had to do this to send a message for the release of Ebieri, who, as seen in the movie, was about to be hanged.

They youths in *Black November* question every authority brought against them in a live feed. The bone of contention is that Ebieri had only stood up for the truth before she was arrested and jailed. Now, since the Western Oil and Nigeria Government are the cause of the affliction she spoke against, the western government should therefore seek for her release, having tried all other means. From the binging of the ambush, one after the other, the youths showed their anger:

Opuwei: 50% of our oil comes to the United States.

Timi: One out of every five American uses Nigerian Oil.

Sodi: We export crude oil to you people, only to import refined oil. Why? Because Western Oil and our corrupt Government won't allow our refineries to work...

Tamuno: My people are dying.

Timi: Our lands are devastated.

Opuwei: Our farmlands, livestock (*Black November*).

Just as we have in the anguish and lamentations above, the youths of *Blood and Oil* also complain of the same pain and anguish. The oil is found on their land, they feel the heat, so why can they not be allowed a little compensation for it? From the very beginning of the movie, the militant youths yelled:

We no go gree, wuruwuru.... Na our land be this, you no go fit take my right, na the thing wey I dey say, all of us must leave in peace (*Blood and Oil*).

The above quotation, which transliterate to “we won't allow to be cheated, this is our land, you can't claim our rights. All we ask is for us to live in peace”, depicts the essence of the conflict in these movies. The fear of being cheated off their land has a direct correlation with the violence being carried out. Another cause of violence as depicted in the movie is revenge or vengeance. To the people, revenge is seen as an act of honour. This is depicted in the dialogue between Clair and the Leader of MEND:

Ebi: What are you? A British?

Claire: (*Scared*). Yes.

Ebi: Am very angry with you, very angry. The British, you are wicked people for conniving with our government ... and waging a 50year war against us. And we are fighting you back (*Blood and Oil*).

While Hudson, *Black November*, believes in he doesn't have a control over the Nigerian government, the youths believe since the government is corrupt, then his money will. Despite being begged to let the hostages go, they insist on keeping them because they want the world to also hear their side of the story. To Tamuno, “Ebieri is dying and

the world knows nothing of her". Kristy was able to help tell Ebiere's story and this made the world understand the youths better.

The fact that a white woman was at their doorstep asking questions of them renewed the strength of Hibbert's youths just as Kristy renewed those of *Black November*. In their pessimism lives the optimism that success awaits them. These conflicting thoughts serve as motivational drives that propel them in the struggle. They value every little success and feel fulfilled with every step that moves them closer to their dreams, despite having lost six of their men. This illusion of success can be inferred from this dialogue by one of the Militant:

One Militant: 1). You will localise all control to oil; 2). We will have reparation from the national government for the pollution of our creeks; 3). There will be a total demilitarisation of our land. And no peace for you until these things happen (*Blood and Oil*).

Hibbert made a very clear statement in this scene of the movie. These are the demands of the militants. They did not just take to arms for the fun of killing, according to Ebi: "Why kill the white man if we agreed to return him back?" It pains the militant men that the men had to die after they had taken care of them, fed them and gave them shelter. The only surviving man Lucky, Marks personal bodyguard, who could have told the truth about what happened to the world, was also murdered few minutes out of hideout.

Amidst these conflicts, the real perpetrators, the government, represented by lieutenant commander Tunde Tayo of the Joint Task Force, was busy making all attempts to cover their game up. This was what angered the militants the most. The government perpetrate evil and still blame it on the terrorist group. A reward for terrorism, we must say. According to Ebi, the government killed the White men, blamed the militants for it so that they, the Nigerian government "can get the support of the British and American Government", to come into their lands with their "helicopters, guns, ships, and get plans and every weapon on god's hands". In Hibbert's words, through Ebi, the leader of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, the Nigerian Government has finally resorted to sabotage, having tried everything possible to get the militants off the country's record. Lieutenant Tunde Tayo himself confirms this, after killing Lucky, the survivor of the four hostages, who had escaped the massacre. His only dream was to return safely to Port Harcourt, so he could return to his wife and children, when he says:

Tunde Tayo: Tell the minister that the fourth hostage has been shot in a fire-fight with the militants (*Blood and Oil*).

The dismay written boldly on the faces of both Alice and Keme was from the fact that they were in the scene of the violence and witnessed that the militants, never had the chance of lifting up arms against the bullets of the Joint Task force; there was absolutely no fire-fight, but massacre.

So, amidst rumours of prostitution rings, Russian mafia, mercenary activities and the unorthodox operation of the oil industry in the region, including oil bunkering on a massive scale, with pilfered oil mainly being sold on eventually, which according to Ed Daly, not on local streets corners from drums or litre sized cans "for 50 cents", but in the global market with tankers full of it, things turn from generally sinister to the personal, when Public Relation Officer, Omuka finds out just how close she is to the corruption; and finally finding she has more in common with the Oyelowo's activist character. Alice returns to Nigeria, with a glimpse of hope that the world must know the truth about the activities in the Niger Delta, not through violence, but by making their demands known to the government themselves and coming together to work for the betterment of their land. As stated by Keme in his first appearance in the movie:

Keme: I'm not offering you a gun, am not offering you ammunition.... If you want that, go and join the militants in the creeks. What I offer to you is dignity and pride in yourself as good people. Join with me today, and you will be joining men and women who are strong enough and proud enough to carry respect and to demand respect for the other.... And then we will all change our land together.... And we will win! (*Blood and Oil*)

Conclusion

This research has been able to reveal how Jeta Amata's *Black November* and Guy Hibbert's *Blood and Oil* have contributed to the discourse of terrorism, bringing its horror to both local and international limelight. Using the scenario of these movies, the study observes that playwrights and directors are now more cautious in their movies on violence and terrorism. This they do by trying to make the populace more aware of the truth behind the region's crises and create an understanding of the infectious effect they have on their society. Although the inauguration of amnesty programme for the Niger Delta militant youths by the Federal Government of Nigeria on the 6th August, 2009 is a significant event which has caused a drastic change in the trend of the crises, the programme has not totally resolved the crisis. Despite bringing some relief, as evident in the relative "peace" currently being enjoyed in the Niger Delta region, any breach in contract on the part of the government might be brewing an entirely new pot of terror.

Through their use of language, character, settings, and costume, Guy Hibbert and Jeta Amata in their movies have demonstrated that the Nigerian government and some of the multi-national oil companies operating in the Niger Delta region are to be blame for the incessant violence and terrorism in the region. This, however, is made possible with the collaboration of the sons of the region as represented by Chief Justice Onukwe (Kole Omotoso). Consequently, violence and terrorism in the region are greatly informed by leadership failure, corruption, greed and acquisitive predilection that are rampant in the region and in the nation at large. Hence, through Keme, one concludes that respect, inclusive representation, youth empowerment, sincerity of purpose and good governance are crucial in permanently resolving the Niger Delta crisis for the restoration of peace, unity, stability and progress to the region. Above all, until political motifs are removed from every form of agitation within the country and individuals 'consciencetised', the

country still has a long way to go in its fight and constant struggle against terrorism and violence.

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MISMANAGED NIGER DELTA OIL CONFLICTS AS TERRORISM IN AMATA'S *BLACK NOVEMBER*

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Abstract

The spate of mismanaged conflicts and insurgencies in Nigeria has degenerated to terrorism in various degrees threatening lives and hampering the sustainable economic development and social security of the country. Despite various efforts such as amnesty put in place to check the oil conflicts between the Federal Government of Nigeria and Niger Delta militants, the insurgencies cum terrorism still remain part of the social identities of the region. Since arts reflect and refract life, Nollywood film makers have responded to the imaginative recreation and narration of Niger Delta conflicts, perhaps, with the intention to offer solution to the lingering mismanaged conflicts between the Federal Government of Nigeria and Niger Delta militants. In this regard, Jeta Amata's *Black November* is content-analysed with tenets of post-colonialism for data interpretation and discussion. The findings reveal that Niger Delta oil conflicts remain mismanaged because of the complicity of local and foreign investors in the oil sector with the lack of political will of the government to resolve the conflicts. Besides, some Niger Delta elites, politicians and political class enjoy economic benefits from the lingering oil conflicts and thus, ensure that economic stratification in the region persists. Mismanagement of conflicts often degenerates to terrorism in a state of anomy characterised by inequity and socio-economic stratification.

Introduction

The concept of terrorism is subjective and relative depending on the epistemological and ideological approaches adopted in its description. The relativism and subjectivity of the actions which constitute terrorism and terrorist acts in Nigerian context are informed by the ethno-religious and political diversities of the country. The reason for this is as result of the fact that Nigerians at all levels have been socialised into the culture of hyping ethno-cultural issues to get cheap attention and favour. It is difficult for the country's politicians and the political class to differentiate between terrorism and militancy as well as terrorism and guerrilla warfare. Every action which threatens them, their socio-political and economic interests becomes a terrorist act which needs to be faced with all the security and social apparatuses at their disposal.

In the context of this paper, however, militancy and guerrilla warfare are taken as insurgencies while terrorism or a terrorist act is taken as predetermined and well planned vendetta against the institution(s) of the state. The paper begins with the distinction between insurgency and terrorism. The simple definition of insurgency is the violent attempt by a group of people to antagonise government policies for certain ideological and sociological reasons. In the light of this definition of insurgency, its common synonyms are rebellion, resistance, uprising and revolution. Terrorism, on the other hand, has a larger scope than insurgency. It is a politically and ideologically motivated act of violence to intimidate and subdue the government based on prevailing circumstances of failed diplomacy for intergroup relationships in multiple societies. Despite the difference in the nature of terrorism and insurgence, they have certain things in common: terrorism can be internally motivated and executed, likewise insurgency. The Nigerian political class, perhaps, because of its egocentric attitude usually quickly switches meaning of insurgency or violence with terrorism at the sight of any action which may threaten their security. The recent attack on the National Assembly of Nigeria was described as a terrorist attack by the law makers.

With the above distinction between insurgency and terrorism, this paper does not foreclose the fact that one can precipitate the other if not properly managed. In this instance, a mismanaged insurgency/militancy can degenerate to the act of terrorism as we currently witness in Nigeria. Some of the reported cases of terrorism across the country are direct or indirect consequences of mismanaged insurgencies. The Nigerian nation, just like any other human society, records violence in various forms because of the inability of the rulers and the ruled to manage and resolve conflicts (Ebo 177). The successive governments in Nigeria have not demonstrated strong political will to implement the blueprints of the series of confabs, national conferences and referendums organised to find solutions to myriads of political, sociological and socio-economic problems confronting the country since the time of political independence on 1st October, 1960.

Background History of Niger Delta Oil Conflicts

One of the lingering problems confronting Nigeria since 1960 is resource control, particularly in relation to revenue generated to the federation accounts from oil products that came from Niger Delta region of the country. The problem lingers because the government, foreign investors and other stakeholders in the oil sector are not proactive enough to foresee that the concentration of petroleum resources in Niger Delta region is a blessing in disguise. Besides, the government and the stakeholders in the oil sector do not integrate and internalise the previous lessons from the era of palm oil trade in the region.

NIGERIA -- CORE NIGER DELTA STATES



Source: wwwchannelstv.com

The significant economic contributions of palm oil to Nigeria's economy in the decades before the discovery of petroleum oil are given by G. G. Darah thus:

In the 1920s, palm produce alone employed about four million Nigerians. Nigeria led the world in oil palm production and export of cocoa, groundnuts, hides and skin, and contributed a substantial proportion of the world's trade on timber and rubber products (17-18).

The deduction from Darah's view is that the Niger Delta region of the country has been making significant economic contributions to the growth and development of Nigeria since the agrarian period of Nigeria's history. Palm oil trade, in the colonial history of Niger Delta and Nigeria as a whole generated some economic, political and sociological problems because of the economic and social caste systems that prevailed at the time. The economic caste system which prevailed at the time followed the pattern of feudal and capitalist systems: the chiefs, the lords, the serfs, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The social caste was structured as upper class (the white imperialist), the middle class (educated and social elites from Niger Delta) and the lower class (individuals with no access to means of production and its distribution).

The federation of states that constitutes the modern day Niger Delta region of the country has witnessed one form of resource control problem or the other during the era of palm oil production in the region. What we currently witness as oil crises in the region and the whole of Nigeria as a country is a repeat of all the mismanaged conflicts of the palm oil era. The nature and dimension of these palm oil crises have been re-enacted in J. P. Clark's play, *All for Oil*. The play reveals the height of mistrust, betrayal and gross impunity which characterised trade in palm oil before the discovery of petroleum oil in

the region. The current militancy and insurgency in the Niger Delta region reinforces the inability of the government to tackle the resource control problem head on because of some socio-political and economic problems such as ethnicity and visible lack of political will.

The discovery of oil in 1956 at Oloibiri, in the present day Bayelsa State in the Niger Delta changed the political and economic history of Nigeria. This discovery has diverted attention of Nigerians from the agricultural sector to the petroleum sector. Political historians and sociologists have pointed out that the Niger Delta militancy predated the discovery of oil at Oloibiri in 1956. Since the 1930s, Niger Delta people have been clamouring for autonomy and resource control considering the huge revenues that came from palm oil products. In the light of this view, Darah avers that, “the quest for autonomy and self-determination inspired the founding in the 1930s of nationality groups such as the Urhobo Progress Union (UPU) under the leadership of Chief Mukoro Mowoe (1890-1948) and the Oron Union” (20).

This development reveals that Niger Delta people were proactive enough to foresee the resource control conflicts that were imminent in the country. The demands of the nationalities’ groups for autonomous state/territory at the verge of Nigeria’s political independence was turned down by Sir the Henry Willink’s Commission (1957-1958) with the excuse that such demand would slow down the process of Nigeria’s political independence on 1st October, 1960. Instead, the Commission recommended the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB) in 1960 to cater for the economic and social needs of the Niger Delta people. The establishment of NDDB did not stop the agitations at the region for economic autonomy. This followed the discovery of petroleum oil in 1956 at Oloibiri and the attendant problems of resource control.

The resource control problem and resistance of Niger Delta people to socio-economic marginalisation took a new dimension of insurgency with Major Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro insurgent group, the Niger Delta Volunteers Force (NDVF) in 1966. The concern of this group was to declare “an independent Niger Delta Republic with full sovereignty over natural resources (Darah 21). Adaka Boro’s insurgent group was eventually crushed and the leader (Boro) was arrested. At this stage, the Nigerian government pretended that there was no problem. The government did not set up a commission of inquiry to know the remote and immediate cause(s) of insurgency at the time. Rather, the Nigerian government continued to enjoy the economic proceeds from the oil even when the region was not placated. The problem with Nigeria is not in its formation but rather it is in the quality of leadership which demonstrates expertise in solving problem with another complicated problem. All the solutions that have been offered to stem Niger Delta oil crises are riddled with other covert socio-economic and political problems such as corruption and ethnic sentiments.

The problem of the Niger Delta people attracted global attention in 1990s with the formation of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) under the leadership of late Ken Saro-Wiwa. The Movement, through coordinated, organised and non-violent demonstrations exposed the ecological and environmental problems that Ogoni people and other Niger Delta people suffer from to the global audience. This development did not go down well with the military junta of late General Sanni Abacha

who ordered the arrest and execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other eight Ogoni co-agitators on 10th November, 1995.

The state ‘murder’ of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his Ogoni compatriots sparked series of armed agitations that the country currently witnesses in the Niger Delta region. This is because the source of the problem – resource control has not been faithfully addressed by all the parties involved in the conflict resolution. After the ‘murder’ of Ken Saro-Wiwa by state authority, many militant and insurgent groups emerged in the Niger Delta region. Barclays Ayakoroma’s assessment of the trend of the oil conflicts between the Niger Delta militants and the Federal Government is reproduced as follows:

The Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), which was the brainchild of the late environmental activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa, appeared to blaze the trail in the Niger Delta. The heartless execution of Saro-Wiwa precipitated a chain of reactions that has reverberated to the present day. The Movement for the Survival of the Ijaw Ethnic Nationality of the Niger Delta (MOSIEND), the Ijaw Youths Council (IYC), and the Supreme Egbesu Assembly (SEA), popularly known as the Egbesu Boys of Africa, are some of the youth groups that have been formed to protect the communal interests of the Ijaw (182).

The persistence of the insurgent movements in Nigeria, particularly in the Niger Delta region of the country is as a result of the government’s lack of political will to find sustainable solutions to the oil conflicts in the region. Insurgent groups spring up at will in Niger Delta because of the government’s reckless handling of the situation. In recent times, Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) has become notorious and deadly in the vandalisation of oil installations in the region.

Black November as Postcolonial Metanarrative

Black November, a 2012 film produced by Jeta Amata (a Nigerian from the Niger Delta region of Nigeria) is a postcolonial metanarrative of the oil conflicts between the Niger Delta militants and the Federal Government of Nigeria. The film, which was shot in Nigeria and Los Angeles, narrates the remote and immediate causes of the oil conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Ebierere, a Niger Delta young lady is about to be hanged for the alleged murder of community leaders. The militants from the region feel that the only way to rescue her from the gallows is to take the battle to America (the perceived source of the problem). In America, the Niger Delta militants take some Americans hostage in what seems a terrorist attack. The essence is to coerce America to engage the Nigerian government in a diplomatic discussion for the release of Ebierere in Nigeria. American government refuses on the ground that the country (America) does not negotiate with terrorists. Instead, American government uses media manipulation to secure the release of the American hostages. The Niger Delta terrorists are arrested in America and Ebierere is killed in Nigeria.



Pix: Cover design of Jeta Amata's *Black November*

The synopsis of the film reveals it as a postcolonial metanarrative of oil conflicts between the Federal Government of Nigeria and Niger Delta militants. This paper argues that the film text of *Black November* is a postcolonial metanarrative because the subject matter of the film constitutes postcolonial national narratives since the attainment of political independence in Nigeria. It shows that the country is not settled at any point in time because of the government's ineptitude in managing internal crises and insurgencies. This paper's view that the film text of *Black November* is a metanarrative is premised on the fact that its plot focuses on the complex ideological relationship between the Federal Government of Nigeria and a region, particularly on the fronts of resource presence and allocation. Thus, metanarrative is wrought with some ambiguities and subjective perception of crises points. This paper, therefore, corroborates Spivakovsky's view on ideological differences in metanarrative as follows:

All these examples describe metanarratives as ideological or authoritarian systems which require submission. Such "ideological correctness" is fraught with obvious dangers, but meta-narration itself is noticeably wider than its utilitarian modus. For instance, non-ideological metanarrative (a tragic opposition to the repression of freedom or an unnatural way of life, etc.) is not always associated with authoritarianism or violence. The ambiguity of this phenomenon gives birth to numerous problems (1360).

Among the numerous problems of metanarrative is the interpretive apparatuses that should be deployed in the critical reading of the text. Reading the text of *Black November*, therefore requires a step further beyond formalist theorisation which advocates intentional fallacy (a formalist tenet which emphasises that a critic should not examine the intention of the author). In an interview with a journalist at the premiere of the film in New York, Jeta Amata said that his intention to produce the film is to fight the war of the Niger Delta people as different from the ways Asari Dokubo and other Niger Delta militants have been doing. His own mode of warfare is not guerrilla but intellectual. The choice of the film to advance the course of Niger Delta oil conflicts is because of its universal appeal. This medium will afford the filmmaker the opportunity to advocate for global intervention in the plight of Niger Delta people. The achievement of the film is seen in its ability to draw attention and interest of American lawmakers (Bobby Rush and Jeff Fortenberry) to the socio-economic problems of Niger Delta people. These American lawmakers sponsored a joint resolution pressurising the Nigerian government and Western Oil (an American oil company which explores oil in the Niger Delta Region) to be responsible and responsive to the socio-economic and environmental problems of Niger Delta people.

The title of the film reflects its metanarrative nature as a postcolonial text. The title has some significance in Nigerian history. In the month of November 1995, Ken Saro-Wiwa and other eight Ogoni environmental and human rights activists were killed by the Nigerian government. With a close reading of the film, this paper is of the view that Jeta Amata attempts to reincarnate Ken Saro-Wiwa's spirit in Ebiere, the female protagonist of the film. This view is premised on the fact that Ebiere represents all that Ken Saro-Wiwa stood for in his life time – peaceful demonstration the improved standard of living for all Niger Delta people, probity, accountability and above all, peaceful resolution of the oil conflicts between the Niger Delta people and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Ebiere advocates negotiation, dialogue and peaceful protest to redress the ecological, environmental and economic problems of the region. Besides, Ebiere suffers all that Ken Saro-Wiwa suffered (brutalisation, imprisonment and eventually, death by hanging). All these issues surrounding the characterisation of Ebiere present the film as postcolonial narrative of mismanaged oil conflicts between the Niger Delta people and the Federal Government of Nigeria. *Black November*, in the light of its characterisation, subject matter and scenery, presents the actual experience of a people in fictional mode. This paper aligns its view with Michael Etherton's conception of actuality in dramatic creativity. He posits that actuality:

...is life, viewed by those who would seek to interpret it to their audience through their art. The first step in the process of transforming life into art, into drama or film is to cast it in the form of a story with the history involving particularisation (a time, a place, characters) and causality (one event leading to another). However, the history in itself is not the film. The story which particularises life now needs to be transformed into a scenario. The scenario gives the story filmic impact by its effective

reorganisation of the history's event into scenes which cope with problems of time and space (59-60).



Pix: *Ebiere and other women being brutalised by the Nigerian Army during a peaceful demonstration*

Peel's description of the circumstances of Ken Saro-Wiwa's death is relevant to this paper's argument that Ebiere is presented in the film as Ken Saro-Wiwa's reincarnate. He posits:

The trouble continued and, in 1994, amid factional disputes within Ogoni, a writer and activist named Ken Saro-Wiwa and some of his colleagues were arrested for allegedly murdering four local chiefs. Despite a lack of credible evidence or judicial process, Saro-Wiwa and eight others were convicted and sentenced to be hanged by a special tribunal set up by the country's military dictatorship (7).

In the context of the film, Ebiere is arrested and tried for the murder of some local chiefs who aid and abet the Federal Government and the oil company. Amata's use of a female protagonist as Saro-Wiwa's reincarnate, perhaps, is guided by national interest in order not to re-open the healing wound of Ogoni people and the entire Niger Delta community. Besides, it is so in order not to suffer proscription of the film when it is eventually released. Like in the actual circumstances surrounding the arrest and death of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the military dictator in the film is not sensitive to the plight of the people.

Jeta Amata presents the historical and sociological experiences of the Niger Delta people to the world through the medium of film. The intention is to re-expose the evils and conspiracies of the Nigerian government and the Western world to the global scene. The primary motive is to use the medium of film to seek redress and reparation for years of damage and exploitation of the human and material resources in the Niger Delta region.

The subject matter and the plot of the film indict the Federal Government for lack of commitment to seek peaceful resolution of the oil conflicts with the people of Niger Delta. This is evident in the brutalisation and victimisation of women who embark on series of peaceful demonstrations to ensure that the government considers the plight of the Niger Delta people. During one of these protests to Abuja, Hosanah (one of the women leaders of the community is killed). The women are not only humiliated; some men who embark on peaceful demonstration are also arrested and put behind bars.



Pix: *Dede and other men are imprisoned for embarking on a peaceful demonstration*

The government's irresponsibility and unresponsiveness to the plight of the Niger Delta region and people force the men to take up arms to defend themselves and their land. The dialogue between Dede and Ebiere reveals thus:

Dede: Ebiere, now no more peace.

Ebiere: Dede, you can do something without resorting to violence.

Dede: Violence is the only language they understand. The men are with me. What the government and the oil company want is war and we will give it to them.

Dede's resolution initiates the oil conflicts in the film text. The men form an insurgent group frustrating the efforts of the oil companies through kidnapping of expatriate oil workers and destruction of oil installations. This development affects productivity and revenue of the oil companies and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Judging from Dede's reaction, this paper is of the view that the Federal Government has provoked a war that it may have no political will to put to an end. This is clearly evident in the sociological and political evidences in the country and also in the context of the film text. Dede and other men in the film make a choice of the path of war to liberate their land and at the same time to improve the lots of the people. Reading the film text beyond its context reveals that some militants embraced the path of war with the Federal

Government of Nigeria for their selfish material benefits. The military government's access to security apparatuses makes it more convenient to repress the Niger Delta agitations and struggle for resource control. The security operatives, particularly the Nigerian Army are power drunk and therefore, engage in unprovoked attack on the community.



Pix: *Officers of the Nigerian Army victimising the Niger Delta Community*

As a postcolonial metanarrative, the film text of *Black November* attempts a holistic evaluation of the problems of Niger Delta people and their region. The film looks inwards for the cause of the problems among the Niger Delta indigenes. The region suffers from the sabotage of the local chiefs and some educated elites in its further and persistent exploitation. The Western Oil's proposal to compensate individual victims of the explosion is hijacked by the leaders of the community for their selfish material benefits. The deduction from this is that the reparation and other benefits meant for the masses and the community are diverted by some selfish community leaders and educated elite.

The attitude of the Niger Delta elders with the educated and social elite is best described by Aimé Césaire's idea of *colonisation-thingification*. In his argument, Césaire describes *colonisation-thingification* as:

When a people is colonised and “nationalised,” they become a tool used by the dominant hegemony for the furthering of economic, military, and religious ideologies which, of course, benefit the coloniser and are masked as a positive means to “improve” the lives of those colonised. How confusing is that for an indigenous people? (21)

The Niger Delta elders and elites become tools of sustained exploitation and victimisation of the land and people of Niger Delta communities. The Federal government of Nigeria

and the foreign oil companies mask their intentions of “goodwill” for the betterment of the people. Unfortunately, the violation of the land and people of Niger Delta has reached a point which requires critical and objective interventions by all the stakeholders irrespective of sociological, political, economic, ethno-cultural and social backgrounds of the parties involved.

The Nigeria government needs to re-integrate Niger Delta youths and women into developmental projects and programs of the country. Niger Delta people suffer untold hardships and neglect from the Federal Government of Nigeria and for these reasons the youths are agitating for the self-control of the natural resources coming from the region. Niger Delta people now have double consciousness as regards their relationship with the whole of the country. The present double consciousness found among the Niger Delta people is in consistence with Dubois description of the concept:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; *two souls two thoughts two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder* (Emphasis mine) (38).

The two-ness of Niger Delta people is found in their perception of themselves and their problems against the background of how the Nigerian government has perceived them. The consequence of this, therefore, is that the Niger Delta people first identify themselves with their communities (Niger Delta) before they identify themselves with Nigeria. This, perhaps, accounts for unremorseful destruction and vandalism of oil installations and facilities in the country. In the view of Dede, in the film text of *Black November*, the Federal Government of Nigeria has turned them to militants. The dialogue between him and Ebiere reveals thus:

Ebiere: See what you have turned to, Dede, a mere criminal.

Dede: I became what the government has turned me to.

On the intervention of Ebiere, Dede and other militants are ready to make peace with the Federal Government of Nigeria and the oil company. The peace deal fails because of the inactions of the government. Instead of peace talk, the government team attends the meeting with armed police men. Nobody survived because of the crossfires between Dede’s team and the Federal Government team. This situation explains one of the reasons for the persistence of oil conflicts in Nigeria. There is mutual mistrust between Niger Delta militants and the Federal Government of Nigeria.

In their country which controls the commonwealth of all the citizens, Niger Delta people have the feeling of *unhomeliness*; they feel insecure and marginalised. The government institutions and some other local collaborators sustain the unhomeliness among the youths and women following the pattern of *othering* system of the colonial time. This othering system is complemented by divide and rule system where the few

minority among the Niger Delta people benefit from the commonwealth of the entire people. Substantiating this argument, this paper makes reference to the condemnable actions of the local chiefs in the film. The unhomeliness, in the context of this paper is taken as 'psychological limbo' of individuals who have the feeling of being displaced in the community. In the light of this, the description of unhomeliness here is consistent with Tyson's conceptualisation of term that unhomeliness does not suggest lack of home but rather it means not being at home. In his view, Tyson posits:

Being "unhomed" is not the same as being homeless. To be unhomed is to feel not at home even in your own home because you are not at home in yourself: your cultural identity crisis has made you a psychological refugee, so to speak (421).

The youths, which constitute the larger percentage of the Niger Delta population, are unhomed in Nigeria because of the economic and social marginalisation of the region. The youth's feeling of unhomeliness is informed by years of neglect, poverty and unemployment. This paper, therefore, corroborates Ekpo's view that, "youth restiveness, partly fuelled by unemployment, hunger, ethnic conflict and deep feeling of neglect, is still a serious problem in the Niger Delta, accounting for over 90 percent of Nigeria's petroleum production" (1). With the administrative ineptitude of Nigeria government, the Niger Delta people have become psychological refugees in their own country.

Niger Delta Oil Conflicts and International Conspiracy

The persistence of the oil conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria is partly connected to the conspiracy of the Federal Government of Nigeria and foreign multinational oil companies. This paper, therefore, aligns its argument with Tunji Azeez's view that:

While the government and the multi-national oil companies like Shell Petroleum Development Corporation, Chevron, Mobil, ELF, etc. are smiling to the banks, the people of the Niger Delta are left in abject squalor (199).

The above offers some explanations for the complexity of the oil conflicts and the narrative motif of the film. Its narrative motif consolidates series of sociological and socio-political problems delineating Nigeria's national identities since the attainment of political independence on 1st October, 1960. Nigeria's foreign diplomacy reveals dependence of the country on Europe and America, and in recent time Asia, particularly China for financial and technical assistance on matters that affect the socio-political existence of the country. These foreign countries often render assistance, perhaps, because of the large amount of oil deposits and blocs in the country.

The terrorist attack on American soil in the film is a reflection of the film maker's ideological orientation about the nature and dynamism of international conspiracy between the Federal Government of Nigeria and America, through Western Oil Company. Tamuno and other Niger Delta militants are of the knowledge that Ebiere's

death can be averted if America is put on hold through terrorist attack. After the hostage taking, the following dialogue reveals the nature of international conspiracy in the film:

Tamuno: You must document this

Journalist: You set me up

Tamuno: We are not bad people. We do not want to hurt anybody

Terrorist 1: We export crude oil to you and you export refined oil to us. Why?
Because Western Oil and our corrupt government will not allow our refineries to work.

The film, which was made from the sociological and historical evidences of oil conflicts between Niger Delta militants and the Federal Government of Nigeria, validates Keeley's description of conspiracy theory as follows:

A conspiracy theory is a proposed explanation of some historical event (or events) in terms of the significant causal agency of a relatively small group of persons, the conspirators, acting in secret. [...] It proffers an explanation of the event in question. It proposes reasons why the event occurred (116).

Though the government and the foreign collaborators are of the view that their dealings are still in secret, the film narrative has told the whole world that Europe and America's interest in Nigeria is selfish. The conspiracy is sustained because of the continued exploration of the oil for the material benefits of the conspirators. The awareness of the conspiracy between the Nigeria government and America may have informed the characterisation of the film which involves artistes and professionals drawn from Nigeria and America. This blend of artistes is aimed at achieving some diplomatic relationship to improve on the ethics and aesthetics of the film. The casting of individuals such as Mickey Rourke (an American actor and screenwriter), Kim Basinger (an American actress, singer and fashion model), Akon Opuwei (an American singer and songwriter), Sarah Wayne Callies (an American actress), Anne Heche (an American actress, screenplay writer and director), Wyclef Jean (an American-based singer and actor), Vivica Fox (an American actress, producer and television host), and a host of other American actors and actresses, is to get the permission of American government for the use of human and material resources in America for the shooting of the film. Apart from making the film maker get permission from American government for the shooting of film of that magnitude in America, the inclusion of American actors and actresses is also aimed to make the film have a global appeal to audience of different nationalities.

America and other foreign countries do not have genuine interest in Nigeria. The primary reason for the global interest in Nigeria is the availability of oil as mainstay of the country's economy. Foreign powers and multinational companies enter into a diplomatic relationship with the government based on the understanding of the ingrained corruption in Nigeria's system and lack of political will of the government for sustainable socio-economic transformation of the country. The genesis of this problem is traced to the creation of Nigeria as a country. In one of those curious twists of historical fate, the

creation of Nigeria coincided almost exactly with awakening interest in the country's potential as a source of oil (Peel 41).

In *Black November*, the diplomatic relationship between the Nigeria military government and America prompts the militants to take their struggle to America with the belief that taking some Americans hostage will prompt American government to enter into diplomatic talks with Nigerian government for the release of Ebieri who is due for execution. They (the militants) do not have any other ulterior motive of creating unnecessary confusion and panic in America. Tamuno, while commenting on their terrorist act in America says "we are not bad people. We do not want to hurt anybody".

The international conspiracy contributes to the execution of Ebieri. This argument is given because Western Oil and the international community are no longer comfortable with Ebieri because of her education, exposure and experience in international conspiracy. She is one of the beneficiaries of Western Oil scholarship and yet, she does not allow that to affect her concern for the welfare of her people. On several occasions, she had warned the government and Western Oil that one day, the people will revolt to claim back their land. In one of the meetings to decide the compensation for the people who lost their lives in oil explosion, Ebieri retorts:

Ebieri: You come to benefit from our land. What did you give in return? What you gave in return is sickness. You make us hungry and you feed us. You killed our loved ones and you offer us money. If you do not change your ways, people will rise.

Ebieri's statement puts Western Oil and the American government on their toes. The company makes different offers to Ebieri in order to suspend her struggle for the well-being of her people. Since Ebieri believes in the struggle for the betterment of her people, Western Oil and American government are convinced that the only way to ensure peaceful operation in the region is to eliminate her. For this reason, American government does not show any interest to intervene in Ebieri's execution. American government rather insists that its country will not negotiate with terrorists.

To ensure that the terrorist acts of the Niger Delta militants are put in check, the American government deploys all strategies of crises management for the safety of lives and property. All the security operatives in the country with full arms and ammunition are present at the scene. Besides, the government deploys the use of media to disempower the terrorists. This action shows the significance of media in international diplomacy and conspiracy.



Pix: *Niger Delta Militants jubilating after the fake news of the release of Ebiere by the Nigerian Government*

Ebiere is eventually executed and the Niger Delta militants in America are all arrested. The end of the film still validates the global assumption that America is always on top of every situation that may affect her sovereignty and global integrity. Political history has revealed that America displays uncommon courage in the face of terror as it is seen in the country's reaction to 11th September, 2001 terrorist attack on American soil.

A critical reading of the film reveals that it ends on a note of caution that the Nigerian government and international conspirators should not yet rejoice with the death of Dede, Ebiere and other militants arrested in America. The strugglers have only been dealt with but the struggle is still unattended to. The only thing which can bring this struggle in the Niger Delta region to an end is the government's demonstration of strong political will to address the oil conflicts in the region with a sense of probity, accountability and fairness. Ebiere gives birth to a baby boy while in prison. This is symbolic in the interpretation of the oil conflicts in the film. The birth of the baby boy from Ebiere's pregnancy for Dede metaphorically presents the idea that oil conflicts in Niger Delta region is generational as it is witnessed in the contemporary Nigerian society. Having lost his parents at infancy, the boy becomes a communal child growing with the history and sociology of his people.

Conclusion

The reading of the film, *Black November*, reveals socio-economic and political problems which make the oil conflicts in Niger Delta region of Nigeria linger for some decades. The government has not properly managed the conflicts. The best way to address the problem is to critically evaluate the remote and immediate causes of the conflicts for practicable and sustainable solutions. The casting and aesthetics of the film justify its potential to make strong political and sociological statements about the oil conflicts between the Federal Government of Nigeria and Niger Delta people.

The film maker's choice of the film medium to advance the struggle of Niger Delta people is premised on the fact that the medium of film has universal appeal to audience of different nationalities. A postcolonial theorisation of the film reveals the trajectory of colonial history in the nature and complexity of oil conflicts between Niger Delta militants and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Western Oil and American government in the film influence a lot of decisions of the Federal Government of Nigeria particularly in the welfares of Niger Delta people and the eventual execution of Ebiere. The oil conflicts in Niger Delta region of Nigeria can be properly addressed with government strong political will to evaluate the cause of the conflicts and the extent of the damage following the principles of **3Rs** (reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction), which were adopted at the end of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970).

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Filmography

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COUNTER-TERRORISM AND THE NIGERIAN SPACE: THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF DANDAURA'S *THREE THINGS* AGAINST ORWELL'S REFLECTIONS ON *GANDHI*

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Abstract

Terrorists and terrorism have become popular words on the global scene. The repeated activities of terrorists in several countries across the globe in the ensuing years after their appearance on the scene, has forced the introduction and activation of global response, one of which is *counter-terrorism*. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on 8 September, 2006. The strategy is a unique global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. Counter-terrorism incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism. The Nigerian nation, like several others, has over the years, had to contend for her sanity since she experienced the advent and growth of terrorist organisations like Boko Haram. The 'success' of Boko Haram may have been the door opener for other violent extremist groups such as the Fulani herdsmen to perpetrate their horrific acts within the nation's borders. Such horrific acts must be countered, even though unorthodox counter-terrorism methods like film. This paper seeks to examine the level of destruction caused by herdsmen and methods of counter-terrorism adopted in affected communities upon re-integration, if ever, via the film, *Three Things*, written by Rai Dandaura.

Introduction

Terrorism is the deliberate commission of an act of violence to create an emotional response through the suffering of the victims in the furtherance of a political or social agenda. It can also be a psychological strategy of war for gaining political or religious ends by deliberately creating a climate of fear among the population of a state according to the *Oxford Learners Dictionary*. The use of terrorism to further a political cause has

accelerated in recent years. Modern terrorism largely came into being after the Second World War with the rise of nationalist movements in the old empires of the European powers. These early anti-colonial movements recognised the ability of terrorism to both generate publicity for the cause and influence global policy.

The attacks of 11 September, 2001, known as 9/11 marked a turning point in world history and the beginning of the 'War on Terror'. The attacks are estimated to have killed 3000 people making it the deadliest terrorist incident in human history. The subsequent war on terror led to the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003. National Security Agencies have difficulty looking beyond their own cognitive biases, which can often produce intelligence failures (such as failing to anticipate the rise of the Islamic state in 2014).

Counterterrorism is very hard and it is unrealistic to expect a 100-percent success rate, but combined with learning from our past mistakes and the sharing of best practices among agencies and allies, our ability to track and fight terrorism has been much improved. There has been success in refusing and improving the practices to new contexts. There is an appreciation that community-based policing and trust-building in affected communities are some of our most vital counterterrorism tools. It is with nothing that on the face of gruesome extremist violence, most western societies appear to be largely resilient. In the wake of the October 2014 attacks, Canadians conducted themselves well returning to work and getting on with their lives after the carnage in St Jean-Sur-Richelieu and the other Ottawa. This determination denies terrorists the fear they wish to create.

Terrorism within the Nigerian Space

The Boko Haram insurgency began in 2009 when the jihadist rebel group Boko Haram started an armed rebellion against the government of Nigeria. In 2012, tensions within Boko Haram resulted in gradual split of the group between Salafist conservative faction led by Abu Usmat al-Ansari, and the more dominant, violent faction led by Abubakar Shekau. By 2015, part of the group split into al-Qaeda affiliated Ansaru, and Shekau's faction became ISIL's West African branch (*Wikipedia*).

In 2015, a coalition offensive forced Boko Haram to retreat into the Sambisa forest. The insurgency took place within the context of long-standing issues of religious violence between Nigeria's Muslim and Christian communities. Boko Haram has been called the world largest terrorist group, in terms of the number of people it has killed. Boko Haram conducted its operations more or less peacefully during the first seven years of its existence. That changed in 2009 when the Nigerian government launched an investigation into the group's activities following reports that its members were arming themselves. Prior to that, the government reportedly repeatedly ignored warnings about the organisation, including that of a military officer. When the government came into action, several members of the group were arrested in Bauchi, sparking deadly clashes with Nigerian security forces which led to the death of an estimated 700 people. During the fighting with the security forces Boko Haram fighters reportedly used fuel-laden motorcycles and burst with poison arrows to attack a police station. The group's founder and then leader Mohammed Yusuf was also killed during this time while still in police

custody. After Yusuf's killing Abubakar Shekau became the leader and held this position in January 2015.

The May 2011 northern Nigeria bombings happened in several towns in northern Nigeria on 29 May, 2011. The blasts happened just a few hours after Goodluck Jonathan was sworn in as Nigeria's President, Boko Haram was suspected in the attacks. The first explosion rocked the Zuba international market in Abuja killing the people (including a young girl) and injured 11 others. Three blasts also struck the Mammy market in Bauchi near the headquarters of Nigeria 33rd Artillery Brigade. Then, 13 persons died and 40 others were injured; no soldiers were injured. Two bombs also went off in Zaria, seriously injuring four. Another explosion targeted a military vehicle in Maiduguri.

Prior to 2009, the Boko Haram Islamic Sect was adjudged to be redundant as it focused on withdrawal from society because the group's erstwhile leader, Muhammad Yusuf criticised northern Muslims for participating in what he described as an illegitimate, non-Islamic state as well as establishing small camps and schools in the remote areas of Borno and Yobe states between 2002 and 2005. However, following the confrontation between the Sect and security forces in July 2009 that led to the killing of its former leader Muhammad Yusuf, Boko Haram re-emerged in the aftermath of this offensive against its members and became exceedingly violent, launching attacks at its targets. In an effort to deal with the menace, the Nigerian Government adopted multiple but varied security driven strategies and tactics which included the use of force and stationing of large numbers of military and police officers in the affected states as well as a clarion call on the sect to embrace dialogue. However, these conflict management mechanisms rather than ameliorate, exacerbated the situation thereby shattering the hope for a negotiated settlement and peace (Uchenna 130).

Considering the intransigence of the Boko Haram militants as exemplified in the escalating frequency, magnitude and geographical range of attacks launched by it, President Goodluck Jonathan in the exercise of power conferred on him by Section 305(1) of the 1999 *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* as amended, declared a state of emergency in the three north-eastern States of Adamawa, Borno and Yobe on 14 May, 2013 with a view to curbing the activities of the Islamic sect. Following this declaration, the President ordered the Nigerian armed forces to move to the affected states with the aim of restoring peace and security.

In the wake of the emergency rule, Nigerian armed forces swung into action and commenced comprehensive military campaign against the sect; shelling and killing them as well as arresting a good number of fighters, seizing stockpiles of weapons including rocket-propelled grenades, guns and ammunition, deploying fighter jets and helicopters to launch airstrikes targeted at Boko Haram's strongholds and imposing blockades and curfew on the city of Maiduguri, the group's traditional base (131).

This little progress recorded by the military was however ephemeral as the sect regained momentum in August 2013 after a lull in its activity and as well as civilian targets, including banks, bars, restaurants, religious sites, schools and government buildings in the north with shootings and bombings in Maiduguri, Borno State and the neighbouring countryside occurring on a weekly basis and at times daily basis, resulting in hundreds of deaths ("Nigeria – 7th Infantry Division" para. 2). In response to the

renewed attacks by the Boko Haram militants, the Nigerian Army in August 2013, established the 7th Infantry Division for easy supervision and proper coordination of the troops and their operations. On three different occasions, the General Officer Commanding (GOC), 7th Infantry Division of the Nigerian Army in Maiduguri has been replaced since its establishment amid two instances of mutiny by soldiers of the division is fuelled by allegations of sabotage, corruption and incompetence of the top military brass and the Federal Government (“Nigeria – 7th Infantry Division...”).

Synopsis of the Film, *Three Things*

The film opens in Gollum village, somewhere in north central Nigeria. Father Peter, a Padre in his 30's straight from the seminary returns home to find his parents dead – killed in a herdsmen attack. In anger and a lust for vengeance he approaches a friend (a gang-lord) to take revenge for him. However, through his journey of self-actualisation aided by a vision about his parents who admonish him to dwell on the three things: faith, hope and love, rather than hate and anger, Father Peter has a change of heart. His attempt to do right and stop the vengeance he sets in motion ends with him paying the ultimate price, alas, he dies in the process.

Theoretical Concept

This paper is situated within a theoretical context of the media (film) being extremely important in raising awareness about a given problem. At the same time, acknowledges that social learning and decision-making are not limited to considering media message but watching, listening and exchanging opinions with a number of different sources (Machunga 31). The discussion in this paper was developed based on Uses and Gratification theory that assumes that the media, film in this case largely shape public debate and consequently, political and social interventions and the essence of this is that people are more or less controlled by what they see and hear from the media and this in turn affects their environment. The theory assumes that the audiences are not passive but play an active role in interpreting and integrating film to their own lives. It can be said therefore, that audiences are responsible for choosing the particular media to meet their needs and suggests that people use media (film) to fulfil special gratifications (Machunga 34).

Background on Pastoralist Herdsmen and the Mutation towards Terrorism

On the heels of the military's tussle with Boko Haram came another conflict that would later launch the Nigerian space into a deeper phase of what many may refer to as a mutated form of terrorism – the herdsmen attacks. Attacks which would later see the Fulani herdsmen rank as the fourth deadliest terror group in the world on the Global Terrorism Index (Buchanan 1). Though the discussion on the unrest involving herdsmen did not begin in recent times, as there are records of earlier conflicts which began as clashes between pastoralist herdsmen and sedentary farmers in rural areas dating back many years, there has been an increased frequency in recent times. The migration of the herdsmen into Nigeria and other West African States happened for several reasons such

as economic viability, the availability of environmental and ecological factors, and the social integration that would later ensued according to Abbass (331).

Several scholars have made assertions as to the reasons for the clashes between the pastoralist herdsman and the sedentary farmers. Abbass insists that the major cause of the clashes between the Fulani and the farmers is the issue of land (331-346). He argues that the clashes come as a result of a struggle for control over economically viable lands. Some other authors argue that there is a more political reason for the aggravation that causes clashes and conflicts between herdsman and the communities they encounter. Okello et al. identify social, political and economic marginalisation as a reason for pastoralist's conflicts the world over (2). Furthermore, these authors posit that it is generally perceived amongst the herdsman that global investment into pastoralist development is disproportionate to its potential roles in the national economies.

According to Eniola, the Fulani are the largest suppliers of livestock in Nigeria (3). Their cumulative contribution to the nation's GDP stands at 3.2%, which in Abbass' estimation, will mathematically translate to 1/3 of the nation's agricultural GDP (1). This line of thought infers that the Fulani believe more should be done for them in terms of national investment into pastoralist activities. The more recent clamour has been one for government provided ranches for their private businesses. This may present a major problem because the lands clamoured for belong to private individuals. If the reasons propounded by the later are reasons to go by, it would then suggest that farmers and agrarian communities may not be the primary targets of the herdsman who have launched attacks in Nigeria in recent times. Recent patterns of the attacks will further support this point of view. The attacks then may actually be targeted at the government and by inference, the nation.

The government in response to earlier agitations by pastoralist herdsman sought to find a mid-point at which both the sedentary farmers and the pastoralist herdsman could co-exist and this was one of the factors that led to the creation of the *Nigerian Grazing Reserve Act* of 1964, which Ibrahim rightly identifies as a government effort to improve Fulani access to grazing land, address conflicts, and also improve access to amenities for pastoralist families (7). The promulgation of this *Act* led to the creation of grazing reserves such as the Kachia Grazing Reserve, amongst others. This will have been well and good except for one thing, localising grazing will turn pastoralist herdsman into sedentary cattle breeders. This would fail in the long run and the herdsman will continue moving, hence the continued clashes with the farmers that would later evolve into full scale attacks on communities.

One could ask: Have deaths from attacks remained on the farms and grazing fields? A clear answer would be No! Video and pictorial evidence have shown that attacks in recent times have left bodies right in the homes of victims. Furthermore, entire villages have been sacked and people displaced; thereby creating more internally displaced persons (IDPs) in need of government, individual, and NGO provided shelters and care. These attacks which seem to have increased in frequency and violence, have created fear and terror in the hearts of Nigerian citizens, thereby stunting productivity in the affected communities and environs. This has also made its contribution towards the steady decline in the nation's GDP especially between 2015 and 2018 from 568.5 billion

US Dollars (the highest ever, attained in 2014) to 405.1 billion US Dollars in 2018, according to the World Bank (*Trading Economics* 1).

The fear created, caused ransack of villages, and displacement of citizens, with the view to assume control over the land in dispute are classic hallmarks of formalised terrorism, the sort of which was depicted in the film, *Three Things*.

Assessment of Counterterrorism Methods through Film

It is only natural that responses to certain forms of attack, the likes of which the herdsmen perpetrate, will be reactionary and often tend towards violence of similitude. However, there are many other avenues for responses which could be explored in the hopes of maintaining a society still responsive to law and order. Several of such responses exist in the realm of non-violent methods of combating a violent state recurrent in a system. A major proponent of such methods is film, and in this case, the film, *Three Things*.

Bryan Paul Nykon posits that modern findings through research from the fields of sociology, psychology, neurobiology, and neurophysiology show that humans, of a truth, learn beliefs and attitudes from observation (18). They observe personal role models, or modern society's more prevalent role models generated by the media. In general people learn behaviour through observing those who they respect and aspire to emulate. Nykon further insists that, "if a film's plot is sufficiently engaging, and its characters are believable, likable, and capable of inducing empathy in audiences, the 'modelled behaviour' in the film can cultivate similar beliefs, attitudes and behaviours in audiences through observational learning processes" (20).

Many theorists, critics, psychologists, analysts, and the likes have spoken about the power of film to interfere with, if not regulate the actions and reactions of people within a society. Film then, has taken up a place of importance in the running of societies' right up to some of the major power sectors, even the military. Curtis Morgan minces no words when he posits that there are interesting links between Hollywood and the "so-called military industrial complex" (53). His point of view is not far-fetched for Lacy notes "the history of twentieth-century warfare had an intimate connection with cinema" (611-636). At the time Lacy made this statement he was talking of how the United States Department of Defence (DOD) edits film scripts in order for the producers to make use of military supplies in producing the Hollywood films. This is done by the United States DOD in order to shape the way the American and global audiences perceive warfare and also to justify their point of view as well as launder their image so as to appear blameless for war; one may call that classic mind control. Mind control or not, it works.

The same power of influence and ability to shape not only perception, but opinion, action and reaction which is available to United States' DOD is also available to the Nigerian scholar and film maker to use as a measure in countering the activities within their society which are tantamount to terrorism. Yes, major gleanings from the films of choice will indeed function as viable tools for counterterrorism.

Film theorist, Douglas Kellner, asserts that film and dramatic cinema have massive effect in shaping our world more profoundly than we know: "There is an

aesthetic, philosophical, and anticipatory dimension to films, in which they provide artistic visions of the world that might transcend the social context of the moment and articulate future possibilities, positive and negative..." (10).

The Film, *Three Things*

Three Things attempts to create a fictional scenario based on true-life events within the Nigerian society. The writer carefully picks and crafts characters that express the views of diverse players in a heterogeneous Nigeria; broken down to the local government area level in the fictional village, Gollum. The nature of the film further expresses neutrality to religion as the attacks projected in the film are not solely targeted at Christians, Muslims, or traditional worshippers, which constitute the major faith-based systems in Nigeria; rather they are targeted at the society which functions as part of a larger system.

Seen from the view point of Father Peter, a young catholic priest, whose family is the victim of a horrendous herdsman attack, the film seeks to explore alternative means of conflict resolution, deviating from the idea that violence begets violence. The writer explores the idea of non-violence through themes of faith, hope and love, themes which share ideas with other films of renown; films like *Gandhi*, *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*, and *Selma*. The writer seems to favour Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Mial, as cited by Nykon, who when talking about conflict resolution as a field, opine that, "a core premise of the young field was that there are alternatives to 'zero-sum' conflict outcomes, where one party 'wins' and the other 'loses', or the even more prevalent outcome of violent conflict where both sides lose" (27).

Analysis of Themes in *Three Things* against George Orwell's Reflections on *Gandhi*

One major theme which cuts across films that seek to promote non-violent conflict resolution is non-violence, obviously.

Non-Violence: The question of non-violence as a viable option for conflict resolution, some scholars argue, may be looked at through double lenses in the sense that there are situations where it is impossible to abstain from violence. Lynch in analysing George Orwell's Reflections on *Gandhi*, sheds light on his scepticism in embracing Gandhi's method of non-violence (2). However, she rightly points out the fact that George Orwell's analysis was coming not too long after the Second World War (WW II), and in the early stages of the Cold War. For this reason, his point of view may have been coloured by the recent past and on-going events.

George Orwell's scepticism presents a view point for scholars with an alternative view in non-violence and it is definitely worth considering. However, within the context of this study, it must be noted that George Orwell did keep an open mind towards Gandhi's model of non-violence which also echoed in the film, *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom*, and *Selma*, the film about the march from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery by Martin Luther King Jr., and other civil rights leaders. The film, *Three Things* imbibes this spirit as a viable option for conflict settlement and counterterrorism. One sees the protagonist go through a maturation process in his character arch to come to this belief and ultimately choose non-violence over his need for vengeance in order to gain closure.

Saintliness vs. Humanness: A person who is admired or venerated because of their virtue may be viewed in unofficial quarters as a saint. In *Three Things*, Father Peter pays the ultimate price for his belief when he dies saving the lives of his family's killers. This deepens the show of commitment to peace building through even greater sacrifice. The theme of saintliness is another theme which may cut across the films in study. For many, it may be easy to see Gandhi as a saint because of his ideals, follower-ship and ultimately sacrifice for his belief and the decolonisation of the Indian society. George Orwell, however, is very suspicious of saintliness as a political model. His argument rises from the notion that if Gandhi's models are left for saints alone then the majority of the societal population will be left out because most people are 'mere humans'.

The question then arises: Was Gandhi truly a saint? The same question can be asked about Father Peter of *Three things*. Through the film, *Gandhi*, it becomes clear that Gandhi was as flawed as anyone else. He battled with issues of infidelity and a hot temper which often portrayed him as human, and therefore a more relatable character. Father Peter also battled with issues of rage, a desire for penance in blood and unforgiveness, things which he had to fight and win in order to complete his character arch.

The Ultimate Sacrifice: Leaders who have been renowned for creating movements that live for centuries have many times been martyred in the process of their cause or at least because of it. There are many examples throughout history: Jesus and His apostles, Martin Luther King Jr., Gandhi, and many more. If they did not die for their beliefs, they at least paid dearly for them, see Nelson Mandela and his fight against the apartheid laws which lead to his lengthy imprisonment. The films, *Three Things* and *Gandhi*, suggest that paying the ultimate price for one's belief in non-violent responses and settlements may be the exact bullets needed to kill systems of terrorism and oppression. This may not be most favourably welcomed amongst most people as the idea of dying for any cause at all is outright unpalatable.

Faith, Hope, and Love: Right at the heart of the theme of non-violence in *Three Things* is the theme of faith, hope and love. Father Peter's dying words suggest that there are things which matter beyond tussle for land and control of power. Through this character the writer suggests that tribe, religion, wealth, hate, and rivalry are temporal. The Nigerian society is one which is highly religious and the two major religions in the country patronise the idea that there is life after death. It is from this point of view that the writer of *Three Things* suggests there are things – faith, hope, and love, which persist even after death and any other thing outside these three will end with life on earth. Therefore, all men should have faith, and hope for a better life here and in eternity. Above all the final word of the dying priest was love. The writer emphasises love because he seems to hold the opinion that when everyone loves everyone, no one will want to inflict harm on the other, therefore solutions other than war and bloodshed will be pursued with tenacity.

Conclusion

Systems of terrorism and oppression thrive in societies where extremism and bigotry of any kind, religious and otherwise, go unchecked. This paper puts out a call for the identification of early markers of such traits in the Nigerian society. Terrorism, therefore, can be conquered by doing away with fanatical dispositions, extremism, religious bigotry, industrial and government nepotism which spins dissatisfaction amongst citizens, and creates a need to take matters into their hands, thereby mutating the law-abiding citizen into a terrorist-in-denial.

The Nigerian military has fought the war against the Boko Haram terrorists for many years and flashy tales of victory have been spun in the process. However, these tales of victory have soon been doused with the gasoline of recurrent attacks, and set on fire by the many deaths of soldiers, and citizens at the hands of these terrorists. Perhaps there were other methods of combat unexplored; methods that would have had casualties, but much fewer than the currently recorded number; methods of non-violence; or maybe there was never a better option, maybe it was always meant to be, maybe it was all politically influenced, and carefully orchestrated. But by whom? Whatever the true case may be, an ensuing war faces the Nigerian nation with the unrest arising from the recurrent herdsmen attacks. Perhaps it is time to explore the other options, perhaps it is time to look at, and invest in film and its powerful potential for counterterrorism.

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FILM MAKING AND INSURGENCY IN NORTH-EAST NIGERIA: THE *BORN IN THE EVENING* EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

The art of film making has turned to be a global culture. Its dynamic has continuously leveraged on the indigenous activities of any given place to produce films that are peculiar to such people. The outbreak of Boko Haram insurgency in the Northeast Nigeria since 2009 has affected all human activities including film making. Major towns and cities in the region have been drastically reduced as survivals quickly resort to safe regions of the country for safety. There is mass exodus of crème of the region in other to secure their life. Schools, churches, mosques and other business activities are greatly on the decline as practice and patronage is not encouraging. Poverty, diseases, low interest in education, early marriage, and domestic negligence are paramount in the religion. On the other hand, the climatic conditions of the region are not favourable to film makers unlike the weather conditions in the Southern part of the country. There seems to be total abandonment of the area by film makers as a result of the insecurity that has beclouded the area. It has become difficult to tell their stories not to talk of shooting it within the environment where this terror is being unleashed. In view of these numerous challenges, this paper approaches the problems through experimentation with *Born in the Evening*, a film about the issues of the region and shot in the region. It sees film making as one of the possible solutions to the numerous problems that have bewildered the Northeast. This paper presents film as a tool to reviving their consciousness. It also debunks the overblown notion that there is no reasonable life in the area. Beyond these, it presents practical solution to film makers who may wish to embark on a project in the Northeast.

Introduction

Film making is an audio/visual art that captures human and animal characters through the electromagnetic medium using the story telling techniques. Film has grown to be one of the dynamic popular cultures since it combines other forms of arts like singing, dancing, painting, and so on, to achieve its purpose. As a tool for change, film has been used to educate and re-orientate a people by championing new ideologies. For example, Onookome Okome believes that the Nigerian colonial masters used film as a propaganda tool in transferring their colonial ideologies to their colonies. So, films produced and acted by the British had effects on Nigerians despite the huge difference in cultural practices.

The upsurge of insurgency in the North East, Nigeria has dominated the media space since 2009. The sect known as Boko Haram which literally means “Western education is forbidden” has destroyed lives and properties, displacing people from their ancestral homes and also kidnapping many. Unfortunately, the end of it does not seem to be near as there are reports of attacks by dwellers in that region. Most attacks from the insurgency come in form of bomb blast, gun shots or abduction of their victims. Notable among the attacks are the abduction of Chibok School girls in Borno State in 2014, abduction of Dapchi School girls from Government Girls’ Science and Technical College, Yobe State in 2018, and abduction of University of Maiduguri (UNIMAID) staff that were on an inspection tour to Chad Republic. Some of these are few examples of the numerous havocs the terrorist group has carried out which has engineered fear among the dwellers of the region. The resultant effect of these activities is that businesses are closed down. It could be recalled that mobile telecommunication service provider, MTN’s mast was destroyed by this group; hence, MTN had to shut down operation in Maiduguri.

Also, in Bama, a power transmitting station was shot at by the Boko Haram group which kept the Maiduguri town in darkness for months while commercial activities were at very low pace. The border between Nigeria and Cameroon was closed by the military as a result of too much infiltration of the state by the insurgents. This obviously crippled economic activities in the region like the importation of fish from the Chard Basin which in turn affected the cost of food items in the entire region. Beyond the region, these activities had rippled effects in other states of the federation since goods and farm produce from the Northeast was on very low ebb. It is worthy of mention that before 2015, the insurgents had occupied some local government areas like Konduga, Bama, Chibok in Borno State, forcing the dwellers to move to the capital city where they now reside as internally displaced persons (IDPs). The region experienced mass exodus of foreigners who could not cope with the killings, southerners had to run for safety and even indigenes who could afford a place outside the region relocated with their families.

In the midst of these unfortunate happenings, it becomes extremely difficult to see film producers, actors or even film makers who would shoot film in this volatile region of the country. Beyond insurgency related issues, the climatic conditions in the North East are entirely different and unfriendly as against what is obtainable in the Southern part of Nigeria. It is against this background that this paper seeks to x-ray how to make films in such environment by overcoming the challenges that have confronted film production in the region. The paper equally addresses out of school as a result of insurgency. This research calls for approaches to restore the devastated region.

Theoretical Framework

This study is based on *auteur theory*. The auteur theory of film directing was adopted by Cinephiles in England including Karel Reisz and Lindsay Anderson, who wrote and directed films in freer more personal style of the French "New Wave" film makers. Auteurism has directors, such as, John Cassavetes, Arthur Penn, Mike Nichols, Sidney Lumet, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola and George Lucas, to mention a few, in America. Global trends and technology have contributed to the growing influence of the theory around the world which has made the director to occupy the pinnacle of the film

hierarchy. This theory believes that the director is everything at every stage of film making. In other words, from the conceptualisation, screenplay, directing and producing a director is in charge. Auteur theory presents film as seen through the eye of the director since he is actively spearheading each stage of production.

The auteur theory is being used as the framework for this study because it presents a holistic engagement of the director to be in charge of both practical issues as well as research aspect of film making. If the director is in charge of every stage of production, that means he conducts the research that gives birth to the story. He also goes ahead to screen the film; after which there are reviews which present to the public and scholars critical analyses of the film. Michael Rabiger points out some basic issues concerning the auteur director thus:

Whether you write your own stories, work for someone else's script, or choose something to adapt, you will always face these central questions: how am I going to use my developing skills in the world? What kind of subjects should tackle? What can I be good at? What is my artistic identity? (16).

This presents the film with much task before, during and after a production. This theory will be applied in this paper because it gives a holistic view to study of film from start to finish. Therefore, applying a holistic approach in this paper aligns with the approach film makers should apply in making films in the Northeast. Considering the death of film makers in the region, filmmakers should be able to do many things in the business of film making to achieve such a project.

Statement of the Problem

The story of the killing and destruction in the North East as a result of the activities of insurgency is not totally explored. Beyond the activities of NGOs who help victims of insurgency, there is need for film makers to make films about the Northeast having in mind to tackle terrorism and its effects in the region using the medium of film. Considering the havoc caused by the insurgency in the northeast, Nigerian film makers are highly discouraged to neither tell the story of insurgency nor shoot film in the troubled region. This paper sees this as a big challenge.

Principles of Film Directing

A director whether for stage or screen is meant to follow some basic principles which encourage him/her to arrive at a balanced artistic product. The principles of film directing is not totally a deviation from the principles of stage directing which include composition, rhythm, pasteurisation, movement and pantomimic dramatisation. In film directing, the principles have been tailored to suit the video medium. In *Producing and Directing Films*, Richard Barsam recognises the principles of film directing to include space and time, principles of light and the principles of illusion of movement. These principles will be discussed in relation to the three basic stages in film production – preproduction, production and post-production.

Space and Time

Film is acted in a given space and the action must be under a specified time. Unlike the stage where space is minimised to establish make-belief and drawing an illusion of reality, film space takes place in a real live environment and has the ability to be compressed and expanded. On the other side, every action that happens in a movie takes place in time. Barsam quotes Erwin Panofsky as saying that space and time is the “dynamisation of space and the specialisation of time”, (11). This is captured under the principles of space and time, otherwise known as, the “co-impressibility” (11). The actors in a movie are seen moving within a given space as captured by the camera lens. The space could be more or less than what we see but the director decides how the available space will be put into artistic use. Barsam uses this to illustrate space and time in theatre and movies.

As a spectator in a play in the theatre, your relationship to the stage, the settings, and the actors is fixed. Your perspective of those things is determined by the location of your seat, and everything on stage seems constant because of perspective of the audience member. Settings may change between scenes, but within scenes the set remains, for the most part, in place (34). This, therefore, means that space in film is affected by the type of shot as framed by the film maker. The principles of space and time come to bear when in the composition of any shot used by the director in a film is affected by the available space.

David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson assert that, “framing of the image stations us not only at a certain distance. Framing supplies a sense of being faraway or close to the *mis-en-scene* of the shot” (262). The film director employs this principle of time and space bearing in mind the central idea and image he wants to communicate to his viewers. This means that there are factors which can affect the position of actor to the camera and also the duration of shots as used in the film. Such factors could be genre of the film, production design and the specific element which the director wants to portray. For example, Bordwell and Thompson recognise the on-screen and off-screen space which talk about space beyond what the camera can see (off-screen) while the space made visible by the camera on the four sides of the frames is the onscreen space. Time and space work together to bring the illusion of believability in a film production. Hence, the duration of any shot on screen is determined by what the director wants to showcase.

Light

The principles of light believe that movies are photographic arts because images are captured by camera with the help light. Photography cannot take place effectively without light. Be it natural light or artificial light. So film thrives on the principles of light to illuminate, create mood, change colour, and add textures while creating believability. Barsam maintains that,

Lighting is responsible for the image we see on the screen, whether photographed (shot) on film or video, caught on a disk, created with a computer or, as in animation... is also responsible for significant effects in each shot or scene. It enhances depth, emotions, and mood in a shot (14).

In adhering to the principles of light as an aspect of photography Rea and Irving point out the types of lighting to include two-point lighting and three-point lighting (28). In two point lighting, two lights are used to light the subject; while in the three-point lighting, three lights are involved in lighting the subject. It is also worthy to note here that light could be hard or soft light depending on the source and the amount of shadow cast by the light.

Movement

Film, according to Barsam, is otherwise known as movie because it has to do with movement (8). It could be movement of actors or movement of other filmic elements. The principle of movement believes that movies should move or at least have an illusion of movement. This illusion could be achieved in many ways. It could be through the blinking of one shot to another or through the movement of the camera from one focal point to another. On the other hand, we see an entire movie as an uninterrupted movement in a sequence. The illusion we experience in movies is achieved by persistence of vision and the phenomenon. According to Barsam, phi phenomenon is an illusion of movement created by events that succeed each other rapidly. This is achieved when two adjacent lights flash on and off alternating and we seem to see a single light shifting back and forth (22).

The foregoing, to a large extent, buttresses the effect of movement on the movies we watch. According to Barsam, the effect created by the movement of light in a movie has a lasting impact on the memory of the viewer just as the movement of the images in film. The pace at which these filmic elements move forms another aspect of movement in movies. The increment or reduction of frames which results in either slow motion or fast motion of the images is a vital effect of the principles of movement. Bordwell and Thompson say that to enhance expressive effects film makers can change the speed of motion in the course of a shot often the change of speed helps create special effects (229).

During principal photography, the director initiates movement from both with his actors and the camera as a tool in his hand. This is what Rea and Irving recognise as part of cinematic style. Movement can come from within the frame, the motion of the frame itself, or a combination of the two. The camera can be stationary, with the action in front of the lens choreographed, or stage, to its angle (176). This indicates that the principle of movement is initiated right from the screen play to the post production stage of a movie. It encourages and enhances the viewer's interest in watching the entire movie. Hence, the moving element creates illusion of something enticing and attractive.

Synopsis of *Born in the Evening*

Born in the Evening is the story of Salatu who is born in a poor home but not without aspiration of becoming great in life. Salatu is dear to her mother who believes in her dreams but the outbreak of insurgency in Born State becomes a barrier to her dreams. The insurgents storm her village and demand the life of her father but her mother will not succumb to the threat. They kill Salatu's mother thereby shattering her dreams and aspirations. Salatu escapes from the village with her father and siblings to Maiduguri as

they have no alternative than to settle in an IDP camp. The realities of life begin to unfold as they can only survive with what they benefit from government and other volunteer organisations.

Audu, a young man who is involved in humanitarian service at the IDP camp comes across Salatu and develops interest in her. Before then, an NGO has registered her in school which is what she desire so much. Audu marries her with a promise to keep her in school; obviously the father finds a relief in the coming of Audu as son-in-law. He relieves them of some burdens. The table turns when Audu asks Salatu to suspend her education. Audu employs intimidation and harassment to make sure Salatu quits schooling. Salatu's father – Papa is already convinced that quitting school is a better option than quitting the marriage since he considers the financial relief he enjoys from Audu. Salatu is beaten mercilessly for attempting to sleep outside her matrimonial home. She loses a pregnancy and she does not have enough funds for medical care. She results to self-medication. Consequently, she has complication. Audu's girlfriend, who is coincidentally Salatu's classmate, Chichi, arrives the hospital to help. She pays the bill and calls her boyfriend – Audu to come and pick her friend. Audu appears at the hospital to discover that the girl he is coming to help is his wife.

Thematic Pre-occupation in *Born in the Evening*

The theme and subthemes in this film are intentionally chosen to address the problems caused by insurgency in the North East. Looking at the educational backwardness of the region as heightened by Boko Haram activities, it should be noted that before the outbreak of insurgency, the Northeast is educationally backward but the kidnap of school children from Chibok and Dapchi has increased the fear of the girl child to go to school. It should be recalled that the federal government under President Goodluck Jonathan built Almajiri School in other to have more children educated but the effectiveness of that project is still in question. We see a girl who is willing to be in school but insurgency, early marriage and tradition would not allow her be. Suffice it to say that education in the Northeast is most badly affected institution as a result of the kidnap of the girl child by Boko Haram. Leah Shaibu is a case in point.

Other sub-themes treated in the film include early marriage, drug abuse and domestic violence. Salatu is forced into marriage as a result of the harsh economic conditions the family finds itself. Just as what Zulu Sofola preaches in *Wedlock of the Gods*. Salatu is repeatedly abused that puts her life under threat. Another dominant issue in the Northeast is the issue of drug abuse. Many youths in the area are still indulged in drug abuse. In fact, it is more common to still see drugs being hawked with wheelbarrow on the streets in the North Eastern region. Salatu has more complications as she embarks on drug abuse.

Methodology

The method employed in making the film –*Born in the Evening* will form our basic methodology. The experiences will reveal the challenges of making film in the Northeast and how to overcome them. Also, it will reveal the effort of this paper to tell a story about the effects of insurgency in the Northeast thereby bringing an awareness of the sufferings

experienced by people leaving in the region. The experimental method is employed as used in the short film, *Born in the Evening*.

Story and Screenplay

The story was conceptualised from the effects of terrorism as experienced in the troubled region of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa states. It tries to use screenplay to showcase these problems in bits. Some issues treated in the story have to come as background story. Celtex application for screenplay was used in writing the screenplay, which makes it easier for proper segmentation, analysis and production planning.

Auditions and Casting

Born in the Evening was shot in Maiduguri, Borno State. Audition was conducted in Maiduguri for three days but could not produce the needed cast for the production. The response showed that most experienced actors who are within the age bracket needed for the story have left the region since the insurgency has affected their carrier. But there are many young and promising actors who indicated interest but could not be given the roles due to little or no experience. The audition dates were extended to one week but without success. The director resorted to scanning for interested actors along the streets in order to get the best available cast to play the role. For the crew it was a more difficult job as most people who practise film making as professionals do not reside in Maiduguri. Rather, you have more of documentary film makers than fiction film makers who shoot documentary films for non-governmental organisations.

Rehearsals

There was serious need for rehearsals as most actors are green horns and needed to be acquainted with the techniques of film making. The rehearsal ended with a test shoot where the cast and crew had a test shoot to harmonise the town and gown. The test shoot availed the crew and cast to blend with each other in their various departments.

Principal Photography

The making of *Born in the Evening* exposed the cast and crew to many challenges which are peculiar to the North-eastern region. Panasonic Lumix Gh4 is used. For the sound, zoom H6 recorder with a microphone and a tripod were used. The locations were Baga Road, Bama Road, University of Maiduguri and Polo, all in Maiduguri, Borno State. The principal photography lasted for seven days, excluding other days used for establishment shots.

Challenges of Shooting Film in North-Eastern, Nigeria

Film making in the North East is quite different from Southern Nigeria as a result of some peculiar challenges. Such peculiar problems are outlined with possible solutions. Large cast and crew may cause unnecessary obstruction. As a result of the high sensitive nature of the region, using a large cast/crew will easily attract the attention of security agents. If you must shoot inside the town, it is advised to reduce scenes with large cast so

that such gathering will not constitute security threat. In recruiting crew, it is advised to use crew members who can do more than one thing to reduce the cluster of people on set.

- a) *Harsh Weather Condition.* Unlike the Southern part of Nigeria, the weather condition in the North East is harsh, hot and hazy. Rainfall is experienced between June and August while most of the months are extremely hot. It was observed during shooting that the camera tripped off under constant usage due to excessive heat. The possible solution is to have more than one camera or always get an umbrella when doing exterior shoot. Another aspect of the weather condition that is not friendly is hazy nature of the area. It was discovered that there was always a cluster of dust on the lens after a day shoot. A film maker is advised to have a lens cleaner in order to clean the lens at least after every day's shoot.
- b) *Noise.* Sound is a major filmic element as good picture without good sound will ruin a production. As a result of the military operations in the North East, there are movements of helicopters almost round the clock in Maiduguri town. This will definitely interfere with your film sound while shooting. During the shoot of *Born in the Evening*, there was a report that the shooting had to wait or even retake many shots while avoiding the military aircraft. This environmental noise is a major challenge in shooting in the North East since the combat against terrorism continues. To manage this challenge, this study recommends the use of lavalier microphones, especially for indoor scenes where the noise of the air craft is bearable. Film makers shooting in such zone should consider time waiting for these numerous air craft to pass.
- c) *Challenge of Picture Exposure.* The experience from *Born in the Evening* shows that cinematography in the North East is a bit challenging. The region is predominantly a desert thereby posing a challenge with rising and falling of the sun. The absence of trees in most areas renders the challenge of backlight-a situation where the intensity of light behind the subject is higher than the intensity of light cast on the subject. There is obvious challenge of such pictures, especially when the shoot is done under a tree in order to have control on picture exposure. The solution to this problem is to have a very effective reflector that can increase the intensity of light on the subject. Alternatively, sun gun lights can be used to highlight the faces of the actors for easy contrast.
- d) *Securing locations.* To secure a location for a shot is not very easy. It is not easy it demands financial commitment but because the people are very sceptical about the security of the area. Inasmuch as they will like to release their building or neighbourhood, there is a general atmosphere of fear as they would not know the effects of the project on them. The experience is that even most of the actors and crew members were afraid of the security situation especially as any mistaken identity could lead to arrest of cast and crew. To overcome such challenge, there

should be no stealing of location. Unlike in the South, where an individual can single-handedly release his environment for you, there should be proper information of the entire neighbourhood concerning the activities on ground.

- e) *Religious Issues.* Every film maker approaches his/her shoot as a business. Where you hire people and tell them when and how they will work for you. But in the North East, you need to shift ground for most actors and crew members. The North East is predominantly Muslims and they observe their religious rites of prayer at intervals. You must incorporate the time for some actors and crew members to have their prayers before the shoot continues. Down in the South, film makers do not consider religious differences neither do they consider religious activities when shooting. But if you must shoot in this region, high consideration must be given to religious activities. In shooting *Born in the Evening*, the crew needed to put the shoot on hold for some actors to go for prayers before the shoot continues. What that calls for is additional time when planning your shoot as this consideration would give them a sense of belonging.

Overcoming the Challenges

For the purpose of this work, overcoming the peculiar challenges in filming in the North East should be done out of the willingness to use film as a means of liberating the zone by attracting national and international attention towards developmental assistance. Film making is about creativity and the film maker can overcome these challenges with his creativity. To achieve any film project in that zone, patience is strongly advised as most people might not be acquainted with the process and the region. But one thing is obvious; the young people are very interested in participating in the process but unfortunately they have been cut out by the activities of insurgency in the area.

In terms of content, the residents of the region are very excited when your story has some cultural or social bearing to their life experiences. The story of *Born in the Evening* is a case in point. The story was developed out of the experiences of a girl who ran away from the interior village to settle as an IDP in Maiduguri. They like stories they can relate with. They give you unexpected support when they can see themselves in your story. Problems associated with the girl child have increased in the North East because of the outbreak of insurgency. Hence, it served as the background to *Born in the Evening*. The problems range from illiteracy, girl-child education, to early child marriage, among others. Having more people cluster in the town of Maiduguri has exposed the state of life in the rural areas and the suffering the people are passing through. From the research done, the people are willing to tell their story to the world but they may not have the platform. So, using their issues to tell their story will attract their interest.

Again, to film in the North East, you should do everything possible to cut down the film crew as number of crew will definitely attract unnecessary attention. The better thing to do is to hire crew that can do more than one thing in order to have a movable crew. This is where Theatre for Development (TfD) approach is advocated in film making. This means that with TfD, the film maker is not just making film for his commercial gain but also empowering the people in the area.

Summary

The art of film making anywhere in the world is a challenging one Niyi Akinmolayan says that, “it takes a village to make film”. The case of making film in the North East is more a difficult one as a result of both climatic and security challenges experienced in the area. Therefore, every activity for the ravaged area could be done as an intervention project because life is involved and telling their stories should be a means of bringing succour to them. In comparing the response of film makers to national issues like militancy/oil crisis (that led to the production of that produced *Black November*) in Niger Delta; insecurity in Aba (that led to the production of *Issakaba*); the outbreak of Ebola/HIV (that produced *73 days*); film makers have not done enough to expose the negative effects of Boko Haram activities in the region. If NGOs are able to reorganise and pitch their tent in Maiduguri, Yobe and Adamawa States not minding the volatile nature of the region, film makers should also operate and lend their voice to the effects of the insurgency even if it demands recreating such films outside the North-eastern environment. On the other hand, film as a cultural product stands to paint a better picture about the activities of insurgency. The media can only report about insurgency but they cannot re-enact the actions and effects as the film can do it.

Recommendations

The practice of film making is a strong voice for social change. This paper, therefore, recommends the following:

- a) That film makers embark on serious research of life in the affected region of Northeast just as the NGOs are doing in order to find out the emotional, economic, social and material needs of the people. This is to enable them draft a script that will reflect the needs of the affected people through content creation.
- b) That documentary film as a type of film that can capture realities of the desolations before such structures are rebuilt. The government and other agencies are making efforts to rebuild and rehabilitate villages but while this is going on, film makers can use documentary film genre to capture its realities to the viewing.
- c) That the experience of *Born in the Evening* could be a reference point while creating content of this nature.

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WHEN THEATRE MEETS VICTIMS: THEATRE FOR DEVELOPMENT, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND SOCIAL STABILITY IN NORTH-EAST, NIGERIA

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Abstract

The vain extermination of lives and the loss of property worth billions of Naira in North-East, Nigeria calls to question, the actual motive of the Terrorist group domicile in the area. Apart from the civil war and subsequent submission to peace and unity, Nigeria has not got to grapple with such high profile security challenge like that perpetrated by Boko Haram. This paper examines insecurity and its daunting effects on peaceful co-existence in Nigeria. Among other forms of security threats, militancy, Fulani militia attacks and inter/intra-communal crises, it focuses on terrorism and its threat to social stability in Nigeria. The paper uses qualitative research methodology and in line with the popular axiom, “knowledge is power, he who possesses knowledge, possesses power”, designs drama instances which can be performed in troubled communities and beyond. The essence is to empower and equip citizens with the knowledge on how to cope with life in such monstrous situation and also assist government agencies with useful information which they can use to decimate the terror group. The paper concludes that the dislodgment of Boko Haram is factorial to the existence of peace and development of the affected areas and Nigeria as a whole. The paper encourages all hands to be on deck in order to terminate this savagery in Nigeria.

Introduction

The fight against insurgency across the globe is prioritised today following the emergence of different terrorist groups and their insensitive activities leading to the destruction of lives and property. Nigeria like other affected nations of the world is currently grappling with the cruelty of terrorists on innocent lives and property of citizens and the development of the nation in general. Since the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria, countless of lives and property have been destroyed, economic activities

crumbled, many Nigerians displaced and forced to live between the jig-saw of death and survival. Urim and Imhonopi give a vivid description of the horrendous situation when they decry that:

What started as an insurgency against the state and its institutions, gradually assume political, religious and socio-economic permutations as not only police stations, army barracks, government establishments were targeted but also banks, business, churches, Christians, Christian leaders and later mosques and some Muslim clerics fell to the raging inferno of Boko Haram violence. The alarming dimensions of the Boko Haram's terror acts were particularly their forceful attempt to impose a religious ideology on a constitutionally recognised secular state and their introduction of suicide terrorism on Nigerian soil, a tradition alien to Nigeria and Nigerians (in Doki and Odeh 330).

However, this security breach has not gone unchecked as Nigerian and international governments, other non-governmental organisations as well as concerned individuals have continued to collaborate and share tactical intelligence as part of counter measures. The academia is not left out of these counter-terrorism crusade; as the crucible of society, scholars in different fields of endeavour support keenly by finding out its factorial precursors, its effects on the nation's stability and suggestion of different combative measures. Isabelle in Majekodunmi corroborates that,

although terrorist tactics have been in use for a very long time, terrorists' increasing use of sophisticated weaponry and the consequences in terms of increased potential for mass casualties have led scholars in the Social and Political Sciences to place high priority on understanding the "causes" of terrorism and the means by which it might be prevented (128-129).

The field of arts, with particular reference to the performing arts has also made concerted contributions to the war against insurgency in Nigeria. The artist explores avalanches of theatre genres at his grasp to define and address this dreaded and hideous situation in North-East Nigeria. As an edutainment medium, the performing arts subject human actions to thorough scrutiny while also offering pleasure to its recipients. This paper is specific on the contributions of Theatre for Development (TfD) to counter-terrorism efforts in Nigeria. TfD falls within the landscape of Applied Theatre. According to Taylor, applied theatre is "a useful umbrella term... for finding links and connections for all of us committed to the power of theatre in making a difference in the human life span" (in Prendergast and Saxton 6). Thompson and Jackson corroborate that these forms of performance narratives fall outside mainstream theatre performance and take place "in non-traditional settings and/or with marginalised communities" (Prendergast and Saxton 6).

The pedagogical, dialogical and participatory nature of this theatre genre gives vent to teaching and learning through the instrument of dance, songs/music, painting, game, and drama. It exhibits high proximity to communities because it relies on or

fetches from the potpourri of the artistic reservoir of the people to articulate their challenges. The creation of a continuum between the performance and the performer who in this context also constitutes the audience is essential to the comprehension, assimilation and subsequent practicalisation of knowledge acquired from such theatrical experiences. Most enriching is the decentralised nature of Tfd; theatre is removed from the ivory tower to the people in their communities to service their challenges and spur them to generate solutions to their problems. It is, therefore, evident that Tfd intervention can be made in both troubled and non-troubled communities and internally displaced persons (IDP) camps where victims of this inhuman group would be engaged at different levels, exposed and equip themselves with ideas on how to cope with the situation and also assist government agencies with useful information which they can use to decimate the terror group.

Theatre for Development (Tfd) and Terrorism in Perspectives

The history of extant participatory performative traditions reveals a proclivity or tilt towards the people's sensational, aesthetics and socio-spatial consciousness. That is, theatre evolved and thrived within the people in their communities. However, the conventionalisation of theatrical performances with its movement from the people to the ivory tower and other formal theatre structures and new performance space configuration distanced the performance tradition from the actual owners. With various societal contradictions in rural communities especially in the third world nations of the world, the need aroused for the definition of a theatrical idiom that will engage these groups of people; a form of theatre that will speak the language and challenges of the people in more lucid and comprehensive manner.

An upshot of this search is the applied theatre tradition through which theatrical performances

are played in spaces that are not usually defined as theatre buildings, with participants who may or may not be skilled in theatre arts and to audiences who have a vested interest in the issue taken up by the performance or are members of the community addressed by the performance (Prendergast and Saxton 6).

Prendergast and Saxton further inform that theatre practices that engage people outside mainstream theatre are brandished by diverse nomenclatures such as grassroots theatre, social theatre, political theatre, radical theatre and many other variations. However, over the course of the last decade, "Applied Theatre" is the term that has emerged as the umbrella under which all of these prior terms and practices are embraced (7).

According to Iyorwuese Hagher, Tfd is a "theatrical style which stresses participation, dialogue, critical consciousness, and etcetera. The practitioners of this theatre are committed to social transformation through cultural action using theatre" (Inyanda and Egwu 75). Croyden refers to this two-pronged relationship between the people and the theatre as, "the only theatre reality" (Prendergast and Saxton 9). Similarly, Kershaw conceptualises Tfd as a

theatre of social engagement, a theatre primarily committed to bringing about actual change in specific communities. The companies making this theatre aimed to combine art and action, aesthetics and pragmatics. Often they were dealing with material-stories, documentary, information, images, and so on-inscribed with questions of fundamental importance to their audience. Always their starting point was the nature of their audience and its community (5).

A peculiar aesthetic component of this theatre is that it is designed and targeted at a particular community and societal problem(s). Through the deployment of Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) research tool, major issues and contradictions around the focused society are uncovered and appropriately put in perspectives leading to solutions which usually emanates from the people. TfD engages the people in the process; from community research, through drama formation to rehearsals, performance and post-performance discussions. Through these processes, community members become abreast with the knowledge and skills to tackle their challenges without relying on the government, NGOs or individuals. Oga Steve Abah affirms that TfD “intervenes to motivate, animate or catalyse the people so that they can dialogically question their existing reality, critically determine the roots of their problems and work out strategies for solving them” (121). He expatiates that:

all over the world, where theatre for development (TfD) is practiced, it defines itself as an alternative practice; and the agenda it peruses always is that of change. The notion of ‘amateur’ (other) is quite strong in TfD’s definition of itself and its role. It is also significant that in its practice ‘otherness’ is central to TfD’s discursive strategy, first in its artistic form and secondly, in the issues and participants involved in it. However, the end point of exploration and subjugation is to seek a point of equilibrium or change. It is the conduct of the journey from the point of disjunction to where a resolution, no matter how tenuous, may be achieved that is at the centre of TfD practice (99).

Prentki reacts that the theatre can be the most democratic of art form depending on who controls the means of production:

Not only can anybody do, everybody does it, whether wittingly or not, in their daily lives, as roles are played out in ways that are necessary for the survival of the individual and of the group. The creation of an actual performance space, a theatre, allows the participants the chance to try out roles to which they would normally be denied access. Peasants can be chiefs (and more rarely chiefs can be peasants). Women can be men. All forms of transgression can be explored and all norms of reality subverted. If development is understood as a process in which people’s conditions – material, social, political or cultural – are changed, then theatre with its immense transformative potential seems to be an ideal form through which to explore a community’s development aspirations and possibilities (cited in Umar-Buratai 97).

While the potential of Tfd in community transformation comes highly commendable, it has also been observed to be double-edged in the performance of its function. That is, Theatre for Development can be used benevolently and malevolently. According to Thomas Kidd, Tfd can be

‘Liberation-oriented’, deepening confidence, building group or organisational unity and inspiring collective efforts. But it can also be used to ‘domesticate’ that is to coerce people into accepting their situation or adopting practices contrary to their interests. It can also be a form of ‘sponge Theatre’ providing a means of participation through which people can ‘let off steam’ but failing to channel their grievances into organised action (280).

The intension here is the benevolent deployment of Tfd. Theatre for Development deploys various theatrical elements to articulate its form. These include dance, songs/music and drama. James Alachi, writing on the efficacy of drama in teaching, informs that:

Drama as a tool ... is eclectic because it is not only a two way medium of interaction, but demonstrative and it also has the capacity to embrace dialogue during and at the end of presentation. Drama method as it is being suggested here calls for creativity which is defined by psychologists as a combination of flexibility, originality and sensitivity to ideas which enable the thinker break away from usual sequence of thoughts into different, but satisfying production sequence (in Boh 43).

However, within the web of performance, the trio of dance, songs/music and drama are inevitable. They all assist in propelling the performance; the messages there are replete with are also critical to the empowerment of the people. Mda views Tfd as,

a theatre that contributes to the process of healing, for it confronts the pain rather than deny its existence. Its audience is active participants in the performance and therefore in creating, and distributing their own messages... the audiences are transformed into dramatic actors and the dramatic actors are transformed into social actors (in Boh 108).

Abah amplifies the above thus:

The participatory method has several features which are quite significant for integrated community development. The method removes emphasis from the ‘expert’ and invests it in the collective.... This horizontal approach was based on the realisation that a collective approach which involves both the villagers and the outside amateurs enriches the process. It also means that the process is being true to the people since the problem belong to them (in Boh 111).

Scholars have also validated the potential of TfD in solving human problems. The current terrorists' activities in the country require the exploration of various methods and or ways to combat the security challenge. It is on this premise that TfD is here proposed in the fight against terrorism in Nigeria.

The rising wave of terrorist attacks in North-East Nigeria reveals the risk at which the country is prone to. The resilience of both parties: the Nigerian security force and the insurgent group, to end or continue the dreaded activities leave citizens at the threshold of this crisis. According to the United Nations Security Council, terrorism is a

criminal act, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organisation to do or to abstain from doing any act (<http://hir.harvard.edu>).

The fundamental principle of terrorism in Nigeria as stipulated by The United Nations Security Council is to destroy, kill and intimidate civilians, government and other organisations. This explains why upon abducting citizens, no ransom is demanded as in the case of the abducted Chibok and Dapchi schools girls. Often times, such hostages are used as insurances and or leverage for government to release Boko Haram prisoners among other things. Similarly, the United States Department of Defence defines terrorism as, "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological" (<http://usaid.gov>). Furthermore, the African Union (AU) sees terrorism as,

any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a state party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any member or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage" (in Omotola 43).

Drawing from these definitions, terrorism is a lawless act that requires urgent decimation for peace and tranquillity to rain. While these attacks and counter attacks go on in the North-East, many residents in the affected areas live in perpetual fear and might therefore, lack basic knowledge to deal with these challenges. Therefore, anchoring on the Chinese axiom: "Tell me, I will forget. Show me, I may remember. But involve me, and I will remember" (in Boh 177), this paper designs TfD drama-model aimed at educating and informing victims of these attacks on how to contribute to counter-terrorism efforts and how to cope in such situation.

Terrorism and Social Stability in Nigeria

Nigeria is ranked one of the most peaceful nations of the world, until the emergence of militancy in the Niger Delta region, Boko Haram in the North East and Fulani crisis with its strong hold in the Middle belt. With an unprecedented high ratio of death and loss of property recorded on daily basis, it is ocular that the once cherished peace the nation once enjoyed is no more. Several implications of this state or situation on the individual and nation at large are deducible: (1) psychological; (2) physical; (3) economical; and (4) political implications. The psychological implication of terrorism on victims is enormous. Frustration, disillusionment, depression and traumatising are easily discernible. The absurdity of life as members of affected communities watch their loved ones being killed and abducted for no justifiable reason is a pointer to this fact.

The uncertainty of what tomorrow would be and the lack of guaranteed security of lives and property as well as poor living condition also lead to this state of mind. Physical implications range from the destruction of the physical landscape including buildings and roads, all of which render the affected areas uninhabitable. Also, commercial activities such as trading and farming are affected. Investors are deterred from investing in the Nigerian economy, tourists and other economic developers are scared of coming into the country. The political climate is dented because some politicians take advantage of the situation to fight their opponents using innocent citizens as bait. The implication of this is that the country is unstable and lacks the capacity to develop. The development of the nation is therefore, premised on its stability and one way of ensuring peace and tranquillity of the nation is to appropriately combat security challenges the nation is faced with. It is on this premise that, the contributory role of Theatre for Development (TfD) is proposed. Below are drama instances which can be performed for victims in troubled areas, IDPs camps and beyond. It is expected that the dramatic performance will avail victims with the knowledge of how to survive, secure and or defend their land and also provide useful information to relevant authorities in order to be able to decimate the terror group.

TfD Drama Instance One

Skit One

A scene of bomb blast: People shout and scream as they run to and fro the scene of bomb blast. Some call for help; others lay helplessly. The dead and injured are seen lying on the ground; survivors are seen in shock. A reporter, who doubles as the narrator, is seen covering the aftermath of the blast. She asks why they were all running up and down. While some say they were running away from the scene, others say they were running to catch a glimpse of what had happened. She then educates them on the danger of the act because there may be another bomb planted around that may be detonated. She further tells the people to always call on relevant authorities to do the job of taking care of victims of terrorist attacks and that they must in such circumstance stay a few metres away from the scene.

Skit Two

A farmer runs home with information that terrorists were planning to attack their community, kill and abduct some members. On hearing this information, the entire community is alerted and they horridly take a few belongings and run away before the terrorists would attack. The narrator intercepts them on the way and asks why they were deserting their ancestral land. They say they were living their community for fear of terrorists attack. She further asks if they had reported the alleged attack plan to the relevant authorities. They say there was no use for that. She, therefore, advises them to always report suspicious behaviours and movements around their community to security agencies in order for them to prevent such attacks from occurring.

Skit Three

A female suicide bomber walks into a market looking uneasy and shaky. One of the traders spots her; the trader wonders why the lady wears an oversized cloth, looking scared and crying profusely. The trader rushes to the market chairman and notifies him. The chairman informs the security operatives in the market and the lady is apprehended. She is subjected to intensive interrogation and she confesses that she was coerced to further the course of the terrorist group. The narrator steps in and advises community people on the danger of letting their children wander about in the face of security challenges for they can be abducted by terrorists.

Skit Four

At a military base: All military officers go about their normal duties. One of the officers goes to ease himself. Knowing that he is alone, he makes a call informing the terrorist group to strike at that time because they will have minimal resistance from the military base. A few minutes after the call, a terrorist group attack the base, killing many soldiers. The narrator engages the audience on how to handle issues of traitors and prevent such situation from occurring.

Skit Five

The people organise themselves and take to the streets to protest bearing placards, appealing government to arrest both immediate and remote sponsors of the terrorist group. As they march through the streets, the narrator comes in, emphasising that power resides with the people; and once they are able to organise themselves, the battle against insurgency in the land is already won.

TfD Drama Instance Two

Skit One

IDPs camp: Two women engage in an intense quarrel over a bucket of water, due to scarcity of water in the camp. At the height of their quarrel, a soldier intervenes. He asked why they are quarrelling and after series of explanations amidst attempts to fight each other. The soldier tells them to cooperate and share everything they have with each other rather than fight over little things.

Skit Two

As soon as the case with these women is settled, another woman brings up yet another incident that occurred between her and another woman. She alleges that the woman's child stole her child's food. On hearing the accusation, a quarrel ensues again – theirs progressed into a huge fight. They fight from one end of the stage to another as the soldier and other members of the camp try to separate them. They are finally separated and once again put to questioning. After explanations are made, everyone boos them. The soldier again advises them on the need to be accommodating each other rather than being a source of trouble within the camp.

Skit Three

An elderly man cries out in a horrified voice accusing the camp chairman of embezzling food and other donations meant for the camp. He maintains that people like him should not talk of peace and collectiveness in the camp because he does not have any good intention towards the people. The chairman asks him to provide proof that he had diverted donations made to the camp. The elderly man lists diversion of money meant for the supply of water to the camp; and food stuffs worth millions of naira for personal use. He also lists constant power outages due to his diversion of money meant for purchase of diesel for the stand-by generating set in the camp. This angers the chairman and he insists on beating the old man. Everybody begins to call him a thief. Then, the soldier intervenes again. He asks the chairman if the allegations levelled against him were true. But he drops his head down in silence. Everybody begins to call him, thief, again. The soldier asks them to stop and they all adhere. He advises government and other donor agencies to always monitor how these donations are utilised.

Skit Four

A young boy raises alarm on the harsh treatment they get from the security operatives in the camp. He is immediately supported by everybody in the camp. The soldier tries to explain that it was for their own good and safety but no one would listen. An elderly woman then says it seems all of them were guilty of the lack of peace and togetherness in this camp and they all agree. He then asks what they could collectively do to bring peace and tranquillity to the camp. They all respond one after the other suggesting possible ways like being your brother's keeper, helping each other, sharing, and consoling each other, among others.

Combating Terrorism through Theatre for Development

To perform these drama skits in troubled communities, the catalyst must be aware that they are not rigid dramatic skits that must be strictly adhered to. The drama pieces presented hereof should only serve as a template and/or guide because as the catalyst engages the people about their own challenges, they may not totally agree with all the situations crafted. This is because they have first-hand experience and are therefore in a better position to shape and reshape the skits to suit their experiences. When this is the case, the flexibility of the catalyst must come to play in order to reflect what the people think and say of their problems. The point being made here is that these short dramas

may be accepted, recreated or improved upon by community members. Fundamentally, community members must be allowed to contribute enormously to the production process, which is in three phases: pre-production, production and post-production.

Pre-production Stage: The pre-production stage include pre-visitation notice and subsequent visitation, engaging the people for familiarisation sake, unveiling the stories or story as the case may be, subjecting the story(ies) to scrutiny by the people, responding to all questions and modifications raised, making the cast, casting roles and begin rehearsals (which must be discursive and interactive to create more clarity and understanding).

Production Stage: Conversely, the production stage involves gathering the people to watch the performance carried out by them; turning the performance arena to a classroom where interjections, questions and answers will be given on the causes, effects and solutions to the problem raised in each drama skit and general aesthetic pleasure derived from the performance.

Post-production Stage: The post-production stage involves subjecting all issues raised in the performance to thorough discussion between the community people and the facilitator and or the catalyst. Through this discussion, community members become much more clarified on issues raised in the performance and thus become empowered with the knowledge of how to deal with the situation in their domain.

Conclusion

This paper examined the contribution of Theatre for Development (TfD) to sustainable peace in North-East, Nigeria. Currently, the nation is under serious attack by different groups whose motive is unknown and activities have led to the loss of many lives and property. The relative peace the country enjoys before is no more as citizens no longer go about their lawful duties without fear and intimidation. In the face of these crises, TfD can be deployed in affected communities to educate members on diverse ways of combating this security challenge. It is a mode of performance that utilises existing artistic elements such as songs, dances, language of the people. It does not restrict itself to the cultural milieus of the people, rather it appreciates, accommodates and utilises the cultural practices of the people which may be purely indigenous or modern and or the combination of the two. In this context therefore, it is more appropriate to state that TfD uses all the familiar artistic elements of the people in addressing their challenges. The drama scenarios created are very essential to the fight against terrorism because they provide cogent information on how to live and cope with the murderous situation in the North-East. Through such dramatic performances members of the affected communities will be stimulated and encouraged to device counter measures to safe-guard their communities and be able to provide useful information to relevant authorities usable to combat this menace.

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THEATRE FOR DEVELOPMENT AS TOOL FOR COUNTERING RURAL BANDITRY: THE MAGANDA WORKSHOP EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

This paper examines the deployment of Theatre for Development (TfD) as a tool for countering rural banditry in northern Nigeria. The premise of our argument is anchored on the fact that the TfD has the potentials of addressing divergent issues of community concerns however these potentials have not been tested enough in a terrorised domain or community. The paper uses the Maganda TfD Experience, one of the five TfD workshops, which took place in Birnin Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State to contend for new approaches in gaining entrance into communities in siege, addressing issues of development concerns and ultimately creating safe spaces for community facilitation. This paper uses Oga Steve Abah's *Methodological Conversation* to argue for an expansion of methods and approaches stemming from TfD workshops in the face of incursions and terror. The paper found out that some of the existing TfD tools may not apply to communities under terrorist siege. The paper also discovered that the inaccessibility or paucity of TfD workshops or reports conducted in incursive spaces affect pedagogy in terms of the adaptive processes of using TfD, especially when confronted by terror.

Introduction

In the last decade, Nigeria has witnessed increased insecurity, especially in rural areas in Northern Nigeria, including widespread armed conflicts. Security agencies in the affected areas have been unable to curb the violence, and this promoted rural banditry. The rising insecurity led to formation of vigilante groups to aid in the control and prevention of banditry and cattle rustling in the affected areas.

The vigilante groups that emerged proved ineffective in preventing crimes, but rather, led to alleged excesses by the vigilante groups, whose members are accused of collusion (such as cover ups for criminals), harassments of citizens, unlawful killings of “suspects” even without any tangible evidence and confiscation of properties such as motorcycles, cattle, goats and other livestock especially those owned by pastoralists (Egwu 13). In some areas, particularly in Birnin Gwari, Kaduna State, pastoralists and farmers have also alleged that some vigilante groups are aiding rural banditry.

Furthermore, the low level of education, the isolated nature of the affected settlements and the weak representation of the affected farmers/pastoralists and other rural people in governance resulted in poor institutional and security response to the challenges, thus the on-going acts of violence against community members (such as, rape and abduction of young girls and women) continued unabated. The consequences of rural insecurity identified in the study of Oluyemi-Kusa and Salihu were very alarming, the most visible being the high level of frustration and abuse of people’s fundamental rights (113). As Women Connect Initiative note, the violence has been particularly directed against women and children, who suffer sexual abuse, abduction and other cruelty leading to their death (3). Young men and family heads were repeatedly killed by cattle rustlers in the local government, which has led to reprisal attacks on various communities and/or households. Many heads of households affected by rural banditry have abandoned their families, leaving women to engage in excessive labour to cater for the families.

It is also worth noting that farming activities have been seriously affected due to reduction in number of animals used for traction and decrease in quantity of manure, which has led to reduced crop yields. Farming communities in various parts of the local government like Maganda, Gwaska, Sabon Layi/Tudun Wada, Dakwaro, Mashigi, Janruwa, Dogon Dawar and Tsohuwar Gwari have lost substantial parts of their crop yields to conflicts that were triggered by cattle rustling. Worse, members of the armed forces, including soldiers, police and mobile police officers have been kidnapped and killed in Birnin Gwari, the latest being the brutal death of eleven men of the Nigerian Army. The situation in Birnin Gwari, especially Maganda is bleak and appears to defy conventional military bombardment.

The security concerns in Birnin Gwari led Women Connect Initiative (WCI), a Kaduna based non-government organisation to embark on a pilot study on “Save our Women Project” in Birnin Gwari communities of Maganda, Gwaska, Sabon Layi and Tsohuwar Gwari. The life-span of the project was six months beginning from May 2017 to November 2017. TfD tools were largely used to facilitate Maganda community. This study examines the outcomes of the TfD workshop in Maganda vis-à-vis the inherent problems associated with deploying the existing TfD tools in terrorised communities.

Conceptual Clarifications: Theatre for Development and Rural Banditry

The premise of theatre for development (TfD) is identifying needs and meeting them. Asante and Yirenkyi note that it is a way of using theatre to enhance development in the real world (595). For Austin Asagba, it is a practice in which community theatre is used as a tool for community mobilisation, education, awareness, sensitisation and facilitation with the purposes of effecting change in communities (321). According to Abah, theatre

for development is a medium of communication which employs other literary elements like songs, mimes, dances and dialogue to cause a change in behaviour (27). It is the deployment of methods to enhance participation which in turn brings about development. Theatre for development thus becomes an interactive process utilising reality and fiction to create experience of performance in the framework of community development. It entertains as well as educates (Abah 13). Through entertainment, issues in development are teased out and possible solutions are suggested. Tfd uses the language and idiolects indigenous to the community under engagement. The idea is to raise the level of inclusiveness among most community members who most often feel a sense of ownership of the development process (Okwori 94). Theatre for development promotes a true democratic and participatory approach to development which augurs well for smaller and rural communities (Asante 28).

Theatre for development is capable of integrating indigenous and popular systems of communication that exist already in communities through which engaging the community at any level and time becomes less cumbersome than other community engagements approaches. Daniel and Bappa see theatre for development as, “an avenue where community members get the opportunity to identify their own problems and issues that concern them and through discussions and consultations lay down strategies to overcome them” (56). As a generic term, Eskamp describes Tfd as:

a range of theatrical practices and participatory methods [used] to engage marginalised members of communities in a dialogical process aimed at enhancing awareness of political and social issues, building up social cohesion and stimulating the participation, awareness and organisational strength of groups and communities (cited in Adie 156).

Eskamp’s assertion means that Tfd thrives on community dialogue, sharing and learning. It is a process rather than a finished project (156). Also, Byram and Kidd note that, Tfd has a dual nature where a theatre performance is prepared outside of the community and staged on the community or secondly, the performance is done with and performed by/for the community (23). In describing the dual nature of Tfd, Byram and Kidd opine that:

the first type is that which is created out of researching in the community but performed by the outside artists. The second type is that which is investigated and created with the community and performed jointly by the professional artists (outsiders) and members of the community (insiders). In both cases the presentations take place in the community itself, and the venue does not require any special requirements of the theatre (24).

Theatre for development thrives on music, drama, dance, puppetry and other indigenous forms found within a given community. It dwells on indigenous community materials which are recycled to fit into different forms. According to Chukwu-Okoronkwo, Tfd presents the opportunity for the indigenous art forms of a community to be used for development purposes (9). Because of its democratic and fun nature, it can be

used both to investigate and probe issues within the community as well as to stimulating discussion on issues to find solutions.

As a tool that can easily be adaptable to facilitate diverse community based issues and needs, Tfd lends itself as a ‘thermostat’ of change. As thermostat, it is capable of initiating sustainable change while its methods can be changed themselves in the process of initiating development. It is not like a catalyst that is capable of accelerating or reducing [changing] a process while itself remains unchanged. Like other areas of applied theatre, the potentialities of Tfd have been tested in theatre-in-education, drama-in-education, voters’ education and electioneering, reproductive health, communication, agriculture and extension services, among other safe spaces. Diverse mixed methods have been used to facilitate development with theatre.

From the foregoing, Tfd can be said to be a development practice that uses performance as a participatory tool to help individuals and groups share their experiences with the intent of social transformation. Abah conceptualises the interaction between methods as “methodological conversation” (46). The idea that informed methodological conversation is anchored on the premise that research and investigation in Tfd has experienced a marked shift from other previous experiences and experiments to complementary participatory methods to communicating development. For Abah, methodological conversation means that drama, which in itself is a method, takes on other research and other participatory methodologies (47). In other words, there are other methodologies which will have to link with drama to produce a more effective result. Instead of just drama alone, drama is now cohabiting, collaborating and partnering with Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) or Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), which are a body of tools meant for action research; so that a mixture of both drama and PLA now provides a more comprehensive and more effective provocation of community consciousness. The implication of this concept, therefore, is that while methodological conversation is a research method, analysis of data from the research, rehearsals, play productions and post-production discussions still remain integral to the practice, as well as follow-through, all in the bid for the ultimate realisation of applied theatre goals. Abah says:

The approach that we have evolved, and which has worked quite well, is the combination of approaches which I have called methodological conversations. All of these approaches engaging in the conversations may be put under the homestead label. The array of instruments/approaches has included focused group discussion, participant observation and interviews, transect walks, mapping and storytelling. I have always enjoyed this combination because of the many layers of conversation that goes on and the amount of information it is capable of generating. The next step is for the community, with the input of the animateurs, to prioritise the issues that have emerged. The issues that they consider to be the most critical are the ones that the drama will focus on (47).

Abah’s assertion holds sway for this research. It offers this research a premise to appraise the TFD workshop in Maganda. However, this study diverges from the premise

that all the viable approaches can be put under homestead. The study argues that Abah's *homesteadisation* of methods is a *problematique* since it has not been hitherto tested in troubled waters of siege, terror and a climate of fear. One of the myriad areas where Abah's conceptualisation needs to be tried is the domain of rural banditry.

Banditry is taking property by force or the threat of force, often done by a group of people (Hobsbawm 851). It is a type of predatory, acquisitive, and violent action by groups of men (sometimes including women), in remote, difficult-to-control mountainous or forest areas containing large numbers of semi-mobile and state-resistant pastoralists or farmers (Hart 3). The characterisation of banditry depends upon how it is approached. Banditry can be seen as a legal category, a social category, and as a series of powerful stories and myths. As a legal category, banditry is a pernicious form of crime that subverts the state's monopoly of legitimate violence. From the perspective of the modern nation state, bandits or brigands are criminals who resist the civilising power of the state through violence, brutality, extortion, theft, and protection rackets. Banditry is a symptom of the low level of development in the countryside (Wilson 208). Bandits often terrorised and oppressed vulnerable communities. They prevent and suppress peasant mobility by putting down collective action through terror and by carving out avenues of individual social mobility that weakened collective action.

Rural banditry, within the Nigerian context, is often associated with cattle rustling and planned violence on communities. Samuel Egwu acknowledges that:

rural banditry and cattle rustling intersect with several other important themes in the Nigerian political economy: the problems of human and national security; altered balance in state-society relations; the impact of climate change on agricultural practices and different occupational groups; the emerging challenge of food security and the modernisation of agriculture; and the question of intergroup relations and social harmony in Nigeria's diverse and plural context (14).

The divergent intersections highlighted by Egwu are constructs of post-colonial insurrection. The postcolonial rural banditry is an economically-based form of criminality perpetuated by informal networks (Kwaja 3). It is the practice of stealing cattle and animals from herders, or the raiding of cattle from the ranches. It thrives as a means of 'primitive' accumulation of cowherds in the context of subsistence and commercial pastoralism. In Birnin Gwari, rural banditry is accompanied by rape, kidnapping, organised attacks on villages and communities, and looting.

Rural banditry in Birnin Gwari as well as Nigeria intersects with the incessant conflict between Fulani herdsman and crop farmers. The conflict is connected to the wider context of identity politics and intergroup relations, including the relationships between pastoralist groups on the one hand and the Nigerian state system on the other (Egwu 5). The Fulani pastoralists are mostly perceived as violent and deliberately armed to deal with unsuspecting crop farmers; the farmers allege intentional crop damage by animals. The herders, on the other hand, perceive themselves to be victims of political marginalisation, lacking a voice within the Nigerian state system. This contraption is the

problem that besets the Nigerian State, which in turn finds expression in attacks and reprisal attacks between communities. Maganda community in Birnin Gwari is one of the many communities in the local government area faced with the problem of rural banditry.

Maganda Community in Context

Maganda is a district under Birnin Gwari Local Government Area in Kaduna State. Maganda is about forty kilometres from Birnin Gwari town and about fifty-six minutes away to Funtua in Katsina and another thirty-five minutes to Dansadau in Zamfara. The dense Birnin Gwari forest cuts across these three states and its routes are mostly known by bandits running the forest. Maganda is an agrarian community with an active youth population. It is a Hausa speech community. Before the spate of banditry, Maganda had a burgeoning economy due to its closeness to other market-driven communities in Birnin Gwari. Maganda is a hub for crop and livestock market producing tons of grains which contribute to the general grain output of Birnin Gwari.

Islam is the main religion practiced in the area and this guides the thought and, arguably, the behaviours of people in the area. By all indications, Maganda can be said to be in siege considering the seemingly climate of fear amongst its people and with communities around its borderlines. The community relies heavily on local vigilante for their security as the activities of bandits has defied all the measures put in place by the Nigerian Police Force and army. Banking activities in the area has also packed up due to the several attacks on the institution. Worse, divergent bandit groups have emerged and communities in Birnin Gwari bear the brunt between inter-group clashes. The climate of fear in Maganda necessitated the TfD intervention in the community in 2016.

Methodology

The research adopts a largely qualitative approach, and focuses on the narratives that create the climate of fear. The primary sources of data are Focus Group Discussions (FGDs); drama and Interviews with youths, community leaders, and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) in Maganda. Two focus group discussions were conducted and the issues raised formed part of the dramatic performance. The first focus group was conducted with the community youths who are members of the local vigilante group and the other with community leaders. Interview with the community women also provided a context into understanding the situation in the community. The workshop used transect walk and problem-tree to appraise the problems in Maganda then used dramatic performance to re-present the issues which members of the community themselves have identified.

The research team entered Birnin Gwari on Tuesday, 30th May at about 1:32pm. The team was received by the community contact person Mallam Hassan and was further introduced to Mallam Aminu who led the delegation to Mallam Zubairu Jibril Mai Gwari II, the Emir of Birnin Gwari. The team was received at the Emir's palace and was given the go-ahead to conduct the workshop after briefing the research on the situation in Birnin Gwari. To understand Maganda's context, the team of enumerators embarked on a journey to Maganda. On arriving Maganda, the team embarked on a transect walk in a group of four comprising twelve field workers. The team met immediately after the walk

to discuss its findings. The problem-tree technique was used to link the problems that beset Maganda.

The team discovered that lack of planned security measures is the central problematic and this easily becomes the trunk of the tree on which other security problems – uncoordinated information sharing and intelligence gathering, slow-paced communication system with Birnin Gwari town and Kaduna, bad roads, and fear resulting in confusion which in turn leads to high casualty. The initial plan for WCI was to facilitate women in Maganda on safety measures in times of attack but the plan changed during the focus group discussion with the community members as divergent issues were teased out. One of the issues raised was that the modus operandi of bandits was to surprise the community by sporadic shooting in order to put fear on people after when they go ahead to commit mayhem. The community people identified “the fear of being attacked” rather than “the attack itself” as the problem. Women Connect Initiative abandoned her plan to meet the identified community needs of Maganda community.

The Maganda TFD Experience

From the focus group discussions and interview, the team working with members of the community came up with a story on the extant realities in Maganda. The story was then broken into different scenarios to provide different contexts of attacks and counter-attack. The scenarios were arranged so much so that they could stand alone as complete performance on their own. The performance scenes were then merged with dance performances. The scenarios were carefully chosen, edited, re-edited and presented before the community leaders who finally chose the scenes to be performed.

Casting the Story and the Performance

The cast were youths mostly drawn from the community members with support of two staff members of Women Connect Initiative (WCI), Victor Ihidero and Danliti Kpanja. The WCI research team wanted to hear and watch their stories in performance and what they did is a playback of a happening in Maganda – how communities are attacked and how people react before and after every successive attacks. They cast themselves into roles. The staff members of WCI were portrayed as outsiders and by implication the catalysts that drive banditry. The performance was entirely rendered in Hausa with interludes of dance performance to separate the scenes.

The community members tell the story of Zaman Lafiya, a prosperous peaceful community with vibrant hardworking young men and women. Zaman Lafiya is surrounded with other communities faced with security challenges. Every time, a group of bandits crosses Maganda district to carry attacks in Birnin Gwari, Sabon and Kakangi and Zaman Lafiya show no concern of who uses their territory. Whenever neighbouring community leaders call for meetings, Zaman Lafiya refuse to attend citing their peace as valuable to their existence. Collectively, Doka, Sabon and Kakangi come up with a temporarily defence strategy to defend themselves against the aggressive bandits led by Daji.

On a market day, Daji and his men attacked Birnin Gwari. Sabon and Kakangi with support from joint forces of the local vigilante pushed the bandits backward killing

Daji. On their way back to the forest they stopped over and ravaged Zaman Lafiya for not informing them of the activity of other neighbouring communities. Zaman Lafiya becomes a constant field of savagery as men are kidnapped on their farms, women seized from the husbands and children, cattle rustled, livestock seized and crops harvested by bandits. For every attack, bullets are first sprayed all around as men are killed and their women captured. Gradually, farmers stopped going to their farms and every agricultural activities were paralysed. This did not deter the activities of the bandits in the community to kidnap its members for ransom. Fear began to reign in the hearts of Zaman Lafiya men and vigilante. Help at the same is distant since other communities are faced with resisting bandits of rival groups.

The Daji boys send a message to Mallam Abdullahi, the village head of Zaman Lafiya notifying him on their coming. The Town Crier is sent to town to broadcast the message and to get the people ready for attacks. Men and women are seen fleeing Zaman Lafiya but they are informed of a greater danger on the road. There is general fear on the air as the villagers converge at Mallam Abdullahi's house for solution. Mallam Abdullahi tries to douse the fear but he fails however hard he tries. The eldest man in Zaman Lafiya, Dantijo, the Narrator appears to douse their fears as he recounts the bravery of Zaman Lafiya. He pauses and asks the community to suggest on how to counter the threats posed by the marauding bandits.

At this point, the facilitator stepped in to ask questions relating to the performance. The questions were anchored on four thematic areas. Firstly, what are the genesis or root causes of the problem as seen in the performance? What sustained fear in the community? Why are there no effort at resisting attacks and what can be done to fight back? These questions helped to shovel up deep issues in the community beyond the façade of the attacks themselves.

Post-Performance Engagements

The performance story, told by Dantijo, reflects the realities in the Maganda community. The facilitator, Mr. Timothy Elisha broke the participants into group of three, each facilitated by different communication consultant contracted by WCI. The idea was to arrive at what the community members made from the performance in terms of what they think about the performance and what action to take to stop the marauding attacks of the bandits. The report from the diverse groups is then analysed independently and read before the entire community.

As in the performance, the first respondent, Mohammed Ibrahim noted that the lack of concern of Zaman Lafiya on the attacks of Doka and other communities contributed to the insurgence of bandits into their lands. According to Mohammed, it is evil not to help one's neighbour at the time of need and "what caught up with Zaman Lafiya is a result of their carelessness". Another respondent, Baban Ahmed noted that bandits shoot at children and anyone and everything and that one cannot think on what to do as of that point resulting to utter confusion and death. According to Ahmed the situation in Zaman Lafiya resembles the challenges they are faced with only that they did not allow strangers use them to attack other communities. He noted that there is fear everywhere for them because:

They (bandits) invade our community when we least expect and when we think that peace has finally returned. We don't know what to do or where to go. Even from here to Birnin Gwari is full of danger and we cannot sleep with two eyes closed. We have stopped going to farm because of the fear of being kidnapped. Our women are locked up for fear of them and all our cries to government have failed to bring any result. The Birnin Gwari town that we would have gone to is not safe too.

Similarly, Danladi, a local vigilante affirmed Ahmed's position and noted that he sees in the performance that they do not have effective information gathering networks and security outposts on key entrance and exits paths in the community. He noted that this situation contributed to the lack of confidence on local vigilante. This, according to him, sustains the fear Baban Ahmed spoke about. Bashir, another local vigilante also hinted at lack of cooperation between neighbouring communities noting that this has affected coordinated defence system and resistance. At this point, the facilitator jumped in again to suggest ways they could collectively resist the threat posed by bandits.

The Birnin Gwari Vanguard for Security and Good Governance, one of the community based organisations (CBO) invited for the intervention workshop suggested that local vigilante groups should work together instead of policing only their immediate community. According to the group, vigilante groups can have security outposts at the borders of all Birnin Gwari communities. He said:

This will help us in the sharing of information and pose initial resistance to attacks. This model has worked for communities in other districts and we believe it would work here if we put our minds to it. The problem we have is that we usually don't have information before attacks. When bandits themselves manage to inform us about attacks they are not specific when they will come. Police and military presence here makes the whole thing even complicated because sometimes they attack us wearing military uniforms. Only our own solution can help us.

Another CBO, Birnin Gwari Stakeholders suggested the re-training of the vigilante groups for effective resistance of bandits. The group accused local vigilante of carrying out jungle justice on members of other communities they suspect are informants. They propose a coordinated resistance where every community youth should volunteer to join local vigilante groups to protect fatherland. Women Connect Initiative (WCI) promised to fund the re-training of local vigilantes and to facilitate the deployment of more security personnel to the area. The organisation recruited the services of retired army sergeants who trained local vigilantes for two months and eleven days and also provided reconnaissance toolkit to aid information gathering. WCI also provided farm tools which Maganda community can also use to defend themselves at times of aggression.

Challenges

The much valued homestead approach to Tfd did not work as the general climate of fear affected the amount of time spent in evaluating the process in Maganda. The original plan was for the enumerators to spend three weeks of the six months [every weekend] with members of Maganda community but the spate of false alarms intensified the fear and this made the enumerators to opt for the ‘nomad approach’ which itself is as unsafe as living with the community people. It affected the confidence and trust the community people had on the Tfd process WCI introduced to them

The security consultant contracted to prepare and instruct the vigilante groups could only use routine local weaponry for the training against the sophisticated arsenal of bandits. However, they were taught how to organise their lines and how to disarm bandits without or less casualty. Planned follow up programmes and activities for Maganda community have been placed on hold by the consortium of Women in Governance, the sponsor of Women Connect Initiative, due to the increased activities of bandits in Birnin Gwari.

Follow up and Successes

The Birnin Gwari Vanguard for Security and Good Governance promised to sustain the intervention by organising bi-monthly stakeholders’ review which Women Connect Initiative has participated in four different occasions.

The Maganda TFD workshop contributed in resisting the aggression of bandits into Birnin Gwari on Tuesday, 20th March, 2018, when Yan Sakai (the local vigilante group) resisted a fleet of bandits. Three bandits were killed. As they escaped into safety the corpses were carried away by their gangs. The local vigilante chased after them and captured the commander of the bandits. He was handed over to the military outpost at Kampanin Doka before he was rescued by the planned attack which took the lives of eleven soldiers. Maganda was then attacked on 20th May, 2018 but with fewer casualties. Three women were kidnapped as the men put up resistance which cut short the operation of bandits.

Conclusion

Theatre for Development is a tool that has been deployed in facilitating divergent development needs. Nevertheless, its potentials are yet to be fully tested in countering terrorism as there are little or no reported workshop experiences to show the veritable nature of Tfd in the times of siege – like the siege currently experienced in Birnin Gwari Local Government Area of Kaduna State. The Maganda Tfd workshop which took place from the month of May to November 2017 is a testament that Tfd requires new viable methods which can be used to communicate counter-terrorism or siege. Whilst the extant methods of homestead or nomadic approach is well known amongst development communicators and teachers of theatre for development, the depth, width and breadth of interventions that deploy any of the aforementioned approach is limited to the extent to which their gut-feeling allow them. This places Theatre for development on the spot.

Firstly, as a discipline that thrives on the release of emotions and secondly as an area that calls its audience to reason in order to change their own status quo. For this

study and by implication TfD, the penumbra between catharsis and reason is packed with critical decision which both TfD practitioners and community people themselves must make especially when confronted by siege. What does methodology, theory or practice say about ‘safety’ in a besieged community undergoing TfD facilitation and at what point should reason or emotion takes over each other in TfD process at points of attack.

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THEATRE AS THERAPY AGAINST AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR AMONG TEENAGERS IN UYO AND ADO EKITI OF NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study examined the use of drama therapy, which is a genre of Drama-in-Education as a tool for curbing aggressive and violent behaviours among adolescents in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State and Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti State, respectively. The rate of aggressive and violent behaviours among adolescent both at home and the school environments has become alarming that it has become a threat to Nigeria society at large; both to the adolescents concern; their parents; school proprietors and authorities. Using qualitative research methodology; these researchers analysed data from 30 participants who participated in D.I.E. workshop in Ado-Ekiti and 50 participants who participated in D.I.E workshop in Uyo, respectively. The results revealed that the rates of youth feeling unsafe in their school environment, bringing weapons to school, and engaging in physical fighting on school property continue is on the increase. Findings however, revealed that with the use of Drama-in-Education as a tool as executed with the adolescents of these cities: there is the likelihood of D.I.E eradicating or possibly ameliorating aggressive and violent behaviours among adolescents. The study thus recommends the integration and use of Drama-in-Education as instructional method that is participatory in nature as an antidote to aggressive and violent behaviours among adolescents.

Introduction

Aggression as a term has its root in the Latin word – aggression, from *aggressus*, which means attack. It is a forceful physical, verbal, or symbolic action which is either appropriate or self-protective (for example, self-assertiveness) or inappropriate (for example, hostile or destructive behaviour). It may be directed outwardly at either the environment or another person, or inwardly towards one's self (<https://medicaldictionary.thefreedictionary.com/>).

According to *Wikipedia*, aggression is “overt, often harmful, social interaction with the intention of inflicting damage or other unpleasantness upon another individual”. It may occur either in relation or without provocation. In humans, “frustration due to blocked goals can cause aggression (<https://en.wikipedia.org>). *Wikipedia* classifies human aggression into two direct and indirect aggressions. Direct aggression is characterised by physical or verbal behaviour intended to cause harm while direct aggression exhibits a behaviour that produce harm, affect the social relation of a person. Sex related aggression, territorial aggression, isolation induced aggression, irritable aggression, and brain-stimulated-induced aggression (*Wikipedia*). Aggressive behaviour may be seen as an individual or group social interaction that exhibits some hostile traits that ultimately produce some pain or hurt to the victim. However, Essa is of the opinion that aggression is not a solitary affair, but behaviour (17).

Among teenagers in Nigeria and other countries of the world presently, aggressive behaviour seems to rise without adequate control. On close observation, scholar like Kuper holds the view that the society is run aggressively, therefore aggression is responding to aggression (65-66). Akwang and Chimeziem acknowledge that the aggression stems from ecological factor (22-25). Irele sees the rise of aggression as a show of physical threat against each other in the society (3-5). Sigmund Freud holds that aggressiveness teenagers indulge in, is a replay of unresolved hurt in the mind: that their aggressiveness deterges the wound in their mind and frees them from repressed malcontent they may have inhibited as pent-up grudge against their offenders (in Dukore 827-828).

Ngugi wa Thiongo'o reflects that it is the failure of parents to handle their responsibilities; that some parents over pamper their children to the detriment of the children's attitudes in the society, while some are not given proper love a child should have-both ways show a wide gap leading to aggressiveness among teenagers in societies (132-133). In the same vein, Oseghae Eghosa submits that, the major explanations for aggressiveness are bio-social, psychogenic, and psychological. The popular perspectives here according to Oseghae Eghosa are, “the frustration-aggressive thesis which attributes violence to frustration, which bleeds anger and finally leads to aggressive behaviour” (9). In all units of life, aggressiveness has an agreeable linkage with causes and effects in the lives of teenagers completely.

In an observation at Uyo, the capital of Akwa Ibom State, and in Ado-Ekiti, Ekiti state, there are reliable evidences that simple entertainment through the instrumentality of the theatre can gush out aggression and tone down aggressiveness among teenagers. This claim draws our minds to the concept of catharsis which the famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle, has emphasised to be a purgation of emotion. This idea expressed in his *Poetics*, cited in Bernard Dukore, is further explained by John that in a theatrical performance put out for people to see:

Watching violence allows individuals vicariously to release pent-up everyday frustration that might otherwise explode dangerously. By seeing violence, so goes the theory, people let off steam individuals who see violent activities are

stimulated to fantasy violence, which drains off contents tendencies toward real-life violence (Dukore 376).

In Aristotle's view, when people see aggression performed by other people, they recollect aggressive scenarios in their life and begin to let off the aggressiveness.

In another view of the theatre, it is acknowledged that participating in a production or viewing it performed can counteract aggressive behaviour. Among teenagers, apart from viewing already made production, participation in the crafting of a production by playing role, singing songs and getting ruptured in the pulsation of the dramatic experience make a remarkable impact in the mind of the teenage child. Role playing and general participation in theatre in-education, according to Isidore Eyo, can "deal with a wide range of behavioural problems that generally cause considerable anguish and seriously hamper a person's functioning" (37); and such behavioural problem is the aggressiveness teenagers exhibit to each other, in groups and even extend to the society.

Causes of Aggression

Aggressive behaviour stem from many situations, some of which are the media (television and film contents, culture, family/parental influence, influence from alcohol and drugs, exposure to firearms at home or school, socio-economic status, breakdown in commonly shared values or changes in family/community patterns, truancy, and so on.

Aggressive Situations

These may include among others:

1. When someone shouts angrily on another person, situation or thing;
2. When a person resorts to name calling when angry;
3. When an individual gets easily provoked to the point of verbally insulting or using abusive language on the offender; and
4. When an individual issues out threats as self-defence when annoyed, etc.

Theoretical Framework

Theories of aggression can be divided into three, instinct theory, frustration theory, and learned behaviour theory.

1. Instinct Aggression Theory suggests that aggression occurs as a result of the natural aggressive instinct imbedded in the individual. This theory implies that aggression is innate and hence, cannot be avoided.
2. Frustration Aggressive Theory believes that aggression only occurs as a result of frustration; meaning that any point in time, that an individual feels frustrated he/she will naturally exhibit aggressive attitude. This therefore becomes an unconscious way of expressing dissatisfaction towards a situation or person.
3. Aggression as a learned behaviour (social learning approach) argues that aggressive behaviour is not innate or in born, but learned (acquired). This can

only happen, either through direct experience, through observation or limitation of others (skillsyouneed.com).

This paper, however, adopts Frits Heider's Attribution Theory, which philosophy falls under the learned behaviour or social learning theory. The behaviours of people in the society are reinforced by a cause. It may be external, that is situation made to happen because of the surrounding an individual dwells or internal that may be stimulated by personal drive. Aggressive behaviour is a factor that generates ambivalence in consideration especially among teenagers in Akwa Ibom and Ekiti State.

Attribution theory interlaces teenagers' aggressiveness with the society they live and deduces teenager's aggressive behaviour by attributing it to external or internal situations in a fairly logical way. The external situation focuses on the way of life of a people generally as fashioned out over a period to live while internal focus on the psychological details of a person. In terms of a way of life, Matsumoto and Juang submit that:

Not only does culture exist in every individual, but it also exists as a phenomenon a label depicting the programmed pattern of life we have learned and become accustomed to. These behaviours then feed back onto the social label of culture, so that the label is reinforced as well. Culture thus has a cyclical nature between its properties as a social label and the individual behaviours of its member's attribution refer to the process by which we infer the cause of our own and other people's behaviour (15).

Attribution allows people to draw from the way politics, religion, business, education; the media and other day-to-day activities have made people to develop attitudes and manners to approach life in their communities.

In the internal situations that people draw inference about aggressive behaviours intersect various scholars like Sigmund Freud, Roger Sperry, and D. Kimura to explain the duality of the human mind (Ellen 331-335). The brain has two parts. These parts automatically represent the minds. The left side of human brain controls language while the right hand-side controls creativity. This is further explained to be the conscious and unconscious minds featuring different worlds of reality in an individual. In a survey of an epileptic patient and stroke it is discovered that a disconnection of a part of a brain to the other can result in a seizure of consciousness. In evaluating behavioural capacities experimentation with earphone determines the workability of both ears to be connected to the innate activities of the mind.

Thus, if the shortage of blood supply to the brain is temporary disturbed, a quirk in composure may surface. This is an internal situation of the human body that information may be drawn to the behavioural thrusts of teenagers in the society. However, the internal stimuli are viewed as psychic forces in the individuals. In the view of Hillman, the psychic forces act within a person's inner world, instincts, impulses, or complexes according to present-day psychological terminology (cited in Scategni 5). Based on the views above, Snyder and Higgins hold that the distinction between internal

and external attributions are in aggressiveness, that the people indulge in because of their aggressive environment and the one they indulge because their mind is grounded to do so to relieve inhibition to destroy (403-405).

Theatre Reassessed

Stage performances have been employed as a medium for circulating information for decades. In the contemporary time, it is deployed beyond communication to reinforcement of activities and action. Therefore, this paper presents theatre as the re-enforcer of social activities and the stimulator of psychic energies. The theatre that raises social consciousness is the one that intersects popular cultures with a people's creativity to entertain.

According to Oscar Brockett, it is "the type of theatre associated with popular culture it employs easily recognisable character types, situations, and dramatic conventions, manipulating them with sufficient inventiveness to be entertaining without raising disturbance questions that challenge the audience's values and assumptions (12). In *Marxist Aesthetics*, Arvon reflects that a theatre that raises social consciousness has observed the reality existing in the society (26-29). The reality is the interplay of economic factor and the human behaviours. If the divide between the *haves* and the *have-nots* is eliminated and a society where classlessness exists: then drama shall have fulfilled its social functions. Bertolt Brecht grounds it as a demonstration of the problems of man evolving from exploitation and abuse of his social comfort without necessarily intertwining art with life (102-104); while Femi Osofisan views as a presentation of class consciousness spearheaded by the military and civilian shared culture of class initiation (43-44). However, such theatre

examines social institutions of the religious, the economic and political which together constitute what is called social structure... a discipline pre-eminently concerned with man's social world, his adaptation to it and desire to change it to recreate the social world of man's relationship with his family, with politics, with state in its economic and religious constructs delineates the role of man in his environment, as well as the conflicts and tension between groups and social classes (Bamidele 4).

Theatre can raise energies in the mind and as well tone down psychic energies. In *Black African Theatre and its Social Functions*, Bakary Traore submits thus:

Let us cast a glance at William Ponty theatre which brought together all the nationalities of French West Africa over the years several facts testify to the authorities desire to maintain a sense of rivalry on an ethnic basis among the students. Among other examples there is the note of conduct this means that the play could only be conceived, thought out and developed in the territorial optic. The students returned from holidays full of material gleaned from old men, griots or chroniclers, or simply drawn from official historical materials or taken from the events and customs of everyday life. There was what was called a festival of

welcome a reception to instil in them the pony spirit which manifested itself in the specific attitudes displayed by the students in public (67-70).

To further evaluate Traore's position, certain performances can be organised just to make the students mind bend toward certain desires they may not have control over nor realised that their minds have been practically forced to conceive something beyond their own physical control.

According to Winner, "art exerts power over us and the way it is created remains relatively mysterious ... there is evidence that the process occurs largely on a conscious level" (136); such situations affect thoughts and actions of younger people. In the view of David Whitebread, "young children are a very uncritical audience". To this effect, Scategni submits that the theatre as it may, can amplify emotions, feelings and perceptions accompanied by uneasiness or fear in as much as it implies giving up what is purely private as well as what individual neuroses had comfortably been holding secret (xv). However, to Umukoro, psychic stimulation "is the most effective method of educational communication" (20).

Aggressive Behaviours in Teenagers

Aggressiveness in teenagers are in different ways but generally, aggression is an action that is capable of causing pain to people in the society. Iyayi looks at unaddressed sources anger, frustration, loss of dignity and self-esteem, hunger, joblessness, alienation from basic requisites of life, bitterness from sexual denial and social inequality as situations that reinforce aggression in teenagers (218-230). According to Dzurba, "it is a behaviour that is intended to hurt other people physically, mentally and emotionally" (30). This implies it is a set of "actions of omission or commission that result to physical attack and/or emotional trauma, which are capable of debasing or dehumanising" (Enwereji 54). Osaghae further corroborates that it is any act that involves a threat to or destruction of lives or property (3). All these ideas reflect that aggressive behaviours in teenagers convey many things that mean one thing: destruction.

Aggressiveness in teenagers is self-destruction. It is seen as pent-up aggression. It practically manifests in inhibition, withdrawal from others and gloomy attitude; and the aggressive tendencies are nurtured in words and action (Dzurba 31). In Nnenyelike's view, teenagers indulge in verbal abuse like words that hurt, teasing, making references to part of body in derogatory terms using sexually derogatory language (178). However, Dzurba and Nnenyelike are actually referring to two kinds of aggressions: the former implies personal aggression while the implies sexual aggressive behaviours among teenagers meanwhile, In *Gender and Discourse*, Wodak corroborates that such aggressiveness reflects in behaviours society commonly portrays as innocent and harmless, such as street remarks and so-called compliment on women's body, in actuality serves to harass and to create a context for more overt act of violence (44). The positions of these scholars reflect that aggressiveness among teenagers does not limit in destroying them but extends to demean others who in one way or the other associate with them.

Irele sees it as structural aggression, a spate of aggressiveness where citizens only react to conditions they suffer through social injustices (3-5). Meanwhile, teenagers

freely indulge in delinquency, trespasses and even domestic terrorism as a way of self-reflection and mechanism for self-defence. Such structural aggression where some teenagers inadvertently find themselves is an injury or harm that is done to the minds of these younger ones. In the same vein, Myers holds that those who are frustrated in such psychic injury also frustrate others (569-570). Those who suffer unpleasant situations in life exhibit unpleasant deeds. Those who cannot achieve goals in life cause problems to others but those who have opportunity of changing from bad to good, the changes in them are logically explained than those who change from good to bad. And the one's found in school, Whitebread holds that they never concentrate (193). This reflects both aggressive behaviours in teenagers and consequences in the society generally.

Theatre as Therapy

The therapist has among other responsibilities providing encouragement to his clients, persuading and crediting opportunities for clients/participants or patients to engage in some form of activities that is directed towards making them breakaway from their often irrational behaviours. According to David and Kakchina:

The rational emotive therapist thus uses logic and reason, teaching, suggestion, persuasion, confrontation, de-indoctrination, indoctrination, and prescription of behaviour to show the client what his or her philosophies are, to demonstrate how these lead to emotionally disturbed behaviour and to change the client's thinking and thus emotions by replacing these irrational philosophies with rational logical ones (<https://www.slideshare.net>).

Theatre therapy refers to the process of engaging theatre technique to give therapeutic assistance to victims or concerned individuals. According to the North American Drama Therapy Association (an online publication):

Drama therapy is active and experimental. This approach can provide the context for participants to tell their stories and solve problems, express feelings, or achieve Catharsis. Through drama, the depth and breadth of inner experience can be actively explored and interpersonal relationship skills can be enhanced (www.nadta.org/what).

Wikipedia further defines drama therapy as being the use of theatre techniques to facilitate personal growth and promote mental health (www.nadta.org/what).

Theatre therapy employs such technicalities as drama improvisation, games, story narration, text performance, and so on. Its functions include the following:

- a) Provide learners opportunity to acquire social skills
- b) Helps participants connect one with another
- c) Helps to improve emotional management skills
(positivepsychologyprogram.com).

Methodology

Research for this work was carried out in two cities in Nigeria: Uyo and Ado Ekiti. The study employed theatre as an intervention to help redress aggression among teenagers. To begin this work, the researchers first assembled a group of teenagers and interacted with them to ascertain the level of their knowledge on the subject of aggression and to determine the effectiveness of drama/theatre in providing escape from such anti-social indulgence. Using the qualitative research, (both experimental and survey) method of research, the research also subjected the participating groups to completing questionnaire to ascertain their feeling and level of satisfaction at the end of the intervention.

Data used for analysis were mostly from primary sources focused group discussions, interviews, questionnaire and dramatic experimentation, and secondary sources books, journal, internet. The primary data sources allowed the researchers to employ the qualitative data collection method in which words, images, narration, etc., were used to discuss results. Here, small sample of the population of teenagers in Uyo and Ado Ekiti were used.

Data presentation: Analysis and Interpretation

Synopsis of the Drama Kits

Here, the two study areas shall be identified as Group A – Uyo and Group B – Ado-Ekiti. The play, *The Tiger Train* (Group A – Uyo) centres on a particular family where there is neither peace nor harmony but the parent always fighting each other irrespective of the presence of their children.

The play opens in a classroom setting, as a woman Imalma walks in, angrily and furious with her son who was injured by one of the students named Bobo. The teacher pleads with the boy's mother to come with her to the principal's office. The next scene reveals Bobo's mother and sister on stage as the Dad walks in drunk and requests for his meal, but the wife starts throwing insult at him for giving her five hundred naira only for preparation of meal for family. This leads to a fight between them in the presence of their children.

This attitude displayed by Bobo's parents influenced the children's behaviour at home and in school. In the principal's office, Imaima walks in angrily with her son together with the teacher. After explaining what happened, the principal called Bobo's mother on phone immediately. After the call, a young man walks in carrying Bobo's sister while the teacher drags Bobo into the principal's office. He explains that he has caught them fighting outside the school so he decides to bring them in. Bobo's mother rushes in to see the daughter injured and the son kneeling requesting for an explanation, the principal narrates the story to her immediately she starts beating the son and cursing the father (her husband) for being responsible for the naughty behaviour of the children.

The principal attempts to caution her to be careful of her behaviour before the children, but she reacts by alleging that the principal was insulting her. She drags Bobo and the sister outside and they begin to throw stones at the principal's office. This leads to the school authority calling the Police who come and arrest them.

Summary of the Drama Skits at Ado-Ekiti (Group B)

The First Drama Skit: It centred on John a teenager of seventeen who had negative upbringing which he eventually brought with him to the school. John performance in Mathematics is nothing to write home and every attempt by the Math teacher to correct John prove abortive and John sees the Math teacher's palliative measure as punishment thereby provoking John to be heart-hardened and violent. John eventually joins the bad gang in the school and they eventually maim the Math teacher.

The Second Drama Skit: This story centres on Sade who suffers from parental abandonment. Although Sade grew up with her parents, her parents never gave her the attention she deserved. This act of abandonment and lack of parental attention stirs the aggressive behaviour and violence in Sade and she vows to take her pound of flesh from her parents when she grows up. She eventually grows up and identifies with other teenagers who suffer or are suffering the same fate and they form a gang to unleash terror on their parents and the larger society. However, they end up destroying themselves as they resort to living on hard drugs and alcohol.

The Third Drama Skit: The story centres on Israel, a teenager with a good upbringing. However, due to peer pressure and fear, Israel is lured to join the bad gang in the school. Israel and his gang are caught on examination malpractices in one of their examination and they are both expelled from the school. As a result, they gang up and kill the teacher who implicated them in the examination malpractice and continue to constitute nuisance and terror until they are caught by the police and Israel is sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Fourth Drama Skit: In this story, Richard, an only child of his parent, is over-pampered. As a result, Richard becomes a spoilt child. His parents are rich, as a result he gets everything on a platter of gold, without any personal efforts and input. Richard's WAEC and JAMB results are bought for him, and gains admission to the university. Eventually, Richard turns out to be deviant; he joins a bad gang as a result of peer-influence, peer pressure and weak moral upbringing. He becomes aggressive and violent, both in school and at home. Lured by his gang, he takes part in an armed robbery and he is caught and detained. While in detention, Richard connives with the Warder Officer to go to their home, to kill his parents. The plan actually works out as Richard eventually kills his parents on the ground that they failed to bring him up in a Godly way. He also kills the Warder Officer in order to escape going back to the prison. However, luck runs out on Richard too as he too is killed by a Police Officer, who had been trailing both Richard and the Warder Officer.

The Fifth Drama Skit: This story centres on an illiterate Gate-man, Kanipemotimo. Kanipemotimo missed the opportunity of going to school in his young age and therefore cannot read, write nor understand /communicate in simple English Language. Kanipemotimo's boss commits suicide and the Chef, in attempt to inherit the property of their boss, instructs Kanipemotimo that when police come for their investigation, he should tell them: "I killed her", knowing that Kanipemotimo was an illiterate.

Kanipemotimo actually acts according to the Chef's instruction and that eventually lands him in prison. Kanipemotimo eventually completes his prison term and is set free. Thereafter, he becomes hard-hearted, aggressive and violent, as a result of him being implicated in a crime he knew nothing about. Kanipemotimo eventually turns a kidnapper kingpin and begins to terrorise the society. However, on one occasion, he decides to ask one of his victims the meaning of the word, "I killed her", and the victim interprets it to mean, "mo pa", in Yoruba language. Consequently, Kanipemotimo had the regret of his life and decides to repent of his terror acts because he actually cursed his being an illiterate because he refused to go to school in his early days.

In Group "A" and "B", respectively, data collected were presented and analysed. Dramatic activities: games, songs, improvisation, were also employed to facilitate participation of the teenagers. The demographic characteristics of respondents in the first group (Group A – Uyo) shows that a total of 50 teenagers comprising 26 males representing (52%), and 24 females representing (48%) were randomly selected and used as respondents for the research in Uyo metropolis. Here, no teachers or parents were involved; while the demographic characteristics of respondents in the second group (Group B – Ado-Ekiti) comprise a total of 30 teenagers of 12 males and 18 females. Focus group discussions were also employed, which allowed for interactions between the facilitators and teenagers in both groups. The purpose was mostly to allow participants share their views on the subject of violence and aggression. Ideas provided by participants resulted in the final packaging and enactment of the drama skits.

From the drama skits so far, the following were deduced and discussed extensively: Aggressive behaviours; violence; terror; terrorism, their causes, resultant effects on the individuals and the society at large. It was unanimously agreed in the course of the Drama in Education workshop that aggressive behaviour and violence leading to disciplinary and legal difficulties have reached endemic proportions among our youth. The severity of problems and social and economic costs to society have increased markedly. Thus, in the workshop, the facilitators reviewed the risk factors, situational concerns, and warning signs that are important in predicting school violence and in designing effective prevention and early intervention efforts.

We then described programmes with which we were involved as educators that appear to be extremely promising and applicable to other communities. The prevention and intervention programmes as reflected in the drama skits are distinctive in that they involve collaborations with law enforcement operatives, including the police and criminal sheriff, and the juvenile court, as well as parents and schools, in their efforts to promote positive development. This clinical, educational, and public awareness campaign on the causes and effects of aggressive behaviour and violence among Nigerian teenagers and youths could increase opportunities to be of help in this critical area.

It was agreed in the course of the workshop that aggression is a form of behaviour characterised by physical or verbal attack. It may be directed outward against others or inward against the self, leading to self-destructive or suicidal actions. The group defined aggression as an attempt by an individual or group to inflict physical injury on another individual or group without the consideration of whether their attempt was

intentional or whether it was successful. Furthermore, the group viewed aggression as any form of behaviour that is intended to injure someone physically or psychologically.

The dictionary meaning of aggression is hostile or violent behaviour or attitudes. It is a disorganised emotional response. Adolescence is considered as the most important transition period of life, as adolescents face an intense turmoil because of the cognitive, biological and social changes taking place in this period. This is also the period of psychological transition from a child who has to live in a family to an adult who has to live in a society. Furthermore, adolescence is a period of heightened risk with high rates of conduct disorders and antisocial behaviour. In adolescence stage, any of the thwarting of desires, interruption in activities, constant fault finding, teasing, lecturing and making unfavourable comparisons with other children will lead to aggression.

In the course of the focus group discussion, it was agreed that aggression does not develop overnight, and is largely homebred. Experts ascribe aggression to a combination of factors – increasing exposure to violence through the media and the internet, lack of parental supervision, persistence tension and use of foul language at home, lack of communication between the child and parents, faulty parenting, performance pressure at school, growing substance abuse, increasing intake of junk food and sedentary life style. During the formative years, say from 2 to 10 years of age, a child is very inquisitive. They want to use every new world they come across, want to imitate their role model and want to feel big. At this age, if parents are not there to answer their queries, chances of their falling prey to behavioural problems are high.

Parenting style was also identified to play a great role in development of aggressive behaviour in adolescents captured in the drama skits. Parenting style is defined as the manner in which parents treat, communicate, discipline, monitor and support their children. When parents are warm, protective and supportive, children are unlikely to be over aroused and are better able to respond to parental efforts to focus their attention and guide their behaviour. This view is consistent with Vygotsky's view that cognitive skills are socially constructed through interactions with supportive and responsive adults (18). Parenting styles may also be linked to children's regulation and externalising behaviour problems because of its effects on the quality of the parent-child relationship. Parental warmth and acceptance, positive expressivity and protection have been linked to a secure attachment and this security is believed to foster regulated behaviour, because child has greater psychological resources for dealing with negative emotions and events. In addition children with more secure attachment are likely to be better at understanding others emotions, all of which could result in greater emotional control of behaviour and lower levels of aggressive behaviour.

Violence in the family is another contributing factor in stimulation of aggressive behaviour in children. Family violence has existed in both Indian and Western families (Straus and Gelles 86). Family violence can be defined as an act/action performed by a family member to get the desired conformity from the other member/s and when it carries a negative emotional component. A loving home produces children who pass on these benefits to other person but if there is violence, tension and insecurity, home become a breeding ground for dangerous and destructive behaviour (Tondon 98). Lessons children learn at home about violence are not lost to them but are extended to other social roles as

well. A child who is punished severely for being aggressive at home tends to be more aggressive outside the home. Extreme or inconsistent punishment encourages aggressive behaviour as much as any lack of discipline. Parental corporal punishment is associated with aggressive behaviour of children. Singh reported a link between family violence and aggressive behaviour of adolescents (28). Although a healthy and stable family is the most important social institution that can control the psychological or social factor which could contribute to the violent behaviour among students.

Violence in entertainment media is also considered by many to be a major contributor to aggressive and violent behaviour in real life (Anderson & Bushman 22; Donnerstein & Smith 17; Huesmann et al. 97). Continuous exposure to violence, murder, torture in films dulls the human nature to abhor violence. Identification with television personalities especially for boys identification with a character substantially increases the likelihood that the character's aggressive behaviour will be modelled (Huesmann & Eron 16). National Association for Education of Young Children, NAEYC (90) quoted that children who are frequent viewers of media violence learn that aggression is a successful and acceptable way to achieve goals and solve problems; they are less likely to benefit from creative imaginative play as the natural means to express feelings, overcome anger and gain self-control. Behaviours like aggression can be learned by watching and imitating the behaviour of others. A considerable amount of evidence suggests that watching violence on television increases the likelihood of short-term aggression in children (Aronson et al. 25). On TV, children likely to listen only those program that are exciting and entertaining. It is very sad that children see more movies that are made for adults. Watching all the violence develops anxiety, fright and tension among children. The image presented on TV and movies influence the attitude of children. Exposure to violence by daily viewing of violent television scenes resulted in increased antisocial behaviour. It is contended that new films and television shows that portray hostility, aggression and assault, may further raise the incidence of aggressive acts committed by those who are exposed to such extensions.

Family, the seat of social learning has been considered as an institution where children learn the process of socialisation. But school and peer group is also a major contributor of behaviour development of adolescents as captured in the fourth drama skits. A school is an institution providing education for young people up to the age of about 19 years. It is in this school setting where learners learn new behaviours. Social learning theories suggest that aggressive behaviour is learned and maintained through environmental experiences. Adolescents who are exposed to antisocial environment learn to participate in antisocial behaviour. Antisocial behaviour is not only related to family but also to school and society. The school exposes children to new behaviours which were not acquired at home during the adolescent's childhood. Some of these behaviours may be positive or negative, depending on the school environment. Learning involves the modification of perception and behaviour, which also means that behavioural modifications occur in meeting, changed conditions so that obstacles are overcome. Teachers and peers play a dominant role in shaping these behaviours either positively or negatively. Every teacher is responsible directly to God for the welfare of each child placed in his care, so if he looks on silently while a child needing assistance is led to

destruction as an adult, he is co-responsible and will have to answer for his actions before God.

Question 1: Do you agree you had the tendency to be aggressive?

All the respondents believed and agreed that every teenager has the tendency to be aggressive as a result of the human nature and psychology. It was discussed in the workshop some of the characteristics of aggressive behaviours and their causes of aggressive behaviour and violence. It is against this background that the participants agreed that they both have the tendency to be aggressive.

Question 2: Did you enjoy being aggressive and violent?

All the respondents believed and disagreed that they enjoy be aggressive and violent. Arising from the drama skit they watched in the course of the workshop; they learnt the negative effects of aggressive behaviour and violence and come to the conclusion that it has destructive tendency on the individual and the society at large.

Question 3: Did you ever think that aggressive or violent behaviour can ruin your life?

All the respondents believed and agreed that aggressive or violent behaviour can ruin your life base on the moral lessons learnt from the drama skits; most especially the third drama skit that centred on Sade who was destroyed by her aggressive behaviours.

Question 4: Have you ever harmed anyone before through aggressive or violent behaviour?

Ninety percent of the participants responded in affirmative to this question. Although, they admitted that they never inflicted serious injuries. However, this explained the resultant effects of aggressive or violent behaviour among teenagers.

Question 5: Did you enjoy the play you just watched/participated in?

All the participants responded affirmatively to this question. Perhaps eighty percent of the story were created and narrated by the participants. The facilitators only helped to fine tune the story and guide the participants on how to present them. Thus, they are excited to act out their own stories.

Question 6: Do you understand what the play is saying?

All the participants responded affirmatively to this question. Not only did the participants created the stories, but they were discussed in the course of the workshop before and after the re-enactment.

Question 7: After watching the play will you behave aggressively/violently again?

All the respondents believed and agreed that aggressive or violent behaviour can ruin their lives base on the moral lessons learnt from the drama skits and therefore disagree that they would never behave aggressively and violently again.

Question 8: Do you agree that this play has helped you to have a change of behaviour?

All the participants responded affirmatively to this question, affirming that the play they participated in/watched has helped you to have a change of behaviour; and that henceforth they would always eschew aggressive and violent behaviour no matter the anger in them.

Question 9: The plays you just watched/participated in, emphasised the adverse effects of aggressive or violent behaviours in Nigeria society?

All the participants responded affirmatively to this question, affirming that the play they participated in/watched taught them the causes, the adverse effects of aggressive or violent behaviours in Nigeria society and how to manage it.

Question 10: These types of plays would help to discourage aggressive or violent behaviour among teenagers, if taken round schools?

All the respondents believed and agreed that every teenager has the tendency to be aggressive as a result of the human nature and adolescent psychology and that the earlier this kind of drama is taken round school the better it would be to manage aggressive behaviour among students. This response confirms the efficacy of drama as a veritable tool for anger management and curbing aggressive or violent behaviours in Nigeria society.

Conclusion

Social learning theories suggest that aggressive behaviour is learned and maintained through environmental experiences. Adolescents who are exposed to antisocial environment learn to participate in antisocial behaviour. It is confirmed that the extent to which children are exposed to a number of different family risk factors cause children's aggressive behaviour. Children's aggression is viewed as a reaction to frustration in an attempt to reduce aversive stimuli. Antisocial behaviour is not only related to family, but also to school and society. The school and society expose children to new behaviours which were not acquired at home during the adolescent's childhood. Some of these behaviours may be positive or negative, depending on the environment. It has been highlighted that teachers' harsh discipline can contribute to aggressive behaviour. Adolescents television access to and use of media technology (for example, television, Internet, and so on) are on the rise, and this explosion of technology brings with it potential benefits and risks. Therefore, the need for the present study is felt to ascertain the contribution of parenting style, family violence, television viewing and school environment to aggression among adolescents. The findings of the present study would help parents and teachers to identify various contributing factors towards development of aggression in adolescents.

Recommendations

1. There is need for parents to cultivate the practice of monitoring media programmes to which their children and youths are exposed.

2. Much effort should be exerted towards avoiding child abuse at home and the school
3. Parents should live by example – eschew anger and violent reactions towards spouse, children, neighbours, situations, and so on.
4. Sex education should be structured into the child’s formal and informal learning (school and home).
5. Parent should be disciplinarians set rules and enforce them. They should be seen to be in charge of their homes without seeming to allow undue freedom of behavioural exhibition to the children and youths.
6. Talk shop/workshops should be constantly organised for teenagers to expose them to discourses on how to settle quarrels or problems verbally and peaceably without resorting to violence.
7. Conflict and peace resolution should be inculcated as a subject of study in the primary and secondary school curriculum. This will help teach teenagers of the values of peaceful co-existence.
8. Aggressive/violent reactions should be verbally and physically frowned at by parents and guardians.
9. Government should be seen to be sincere in fighting aggressive behaviour by verbally and lawfully condemning same. Law enforcement officers should be empowered to take up lawful acts against anyone caught in such anti-social behaviours.
10. Theatre-in-education professionals and students should be given an opportunity to package dramatic activities that revolve around the theme of aggression and present same to young people in schools from time to time.
11. Activities promoting skills building should be made part of the classroom learning to enable young learners embrace industrial skills in an attempt to exterminate idleness among youths.
12. Teacher led classroom discussions on aggregate behaviour to aid open communication among learners should also be encouraged.

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PLAYMAKING AS SOFT POWER APPROACH TO INTERROGATING NIGERIA'S COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGY

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Abstract

Nigeria's security landscape has changed since the heinous crime of kidnapping seeped into the system. As efforts were made to clamp down on kidnapping insurgency, Boko Haram emerged in a grand style, surpassing the kidnapping activity. With the notorious hit that took away 276 Chibok girls on 14 April, 2014 in Borno State, series of bombings, and the 'Underwear Bomber'- Nigerian terror suspect in Flight 253 attack, it is not surprising that Nigeria became prominent in the list of the world's most fragile states. Again, the recent pogrom unleashed in Benue and Plateau States reveal that terrorism in Nigeria is far from being a hate speech. The Nigerian government has been strategising in order to counter terrorism mainly through military-centricism. The establishment of a Counter Terrorism Centre (CTC), and the release of a national strategy named National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) in March 2014, and the systematic operations of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch (JTAB) show the level of government's attempt at countering terrorism in Nigeria. But how effective have these been? Insurgencies fuelled by ideology or structural imbalance can be quelled through kinetic approach or the deployment of soft power. This paper interrogates approaches at countering terrorism and suggests a theatre approach to ameliorate acts of terror in Nigeria through playmaking. The researcher relies on Joseph Nye's *soft power theory* for theoretical backing and canvases for playmaking as a soft power concept. The researcher's findings reveal that terrorism has eaten deep beyond political aims to delve into the realms of religion, culture and social conditions. The paper concludes that playmaking as a soft power concept can help re-orient the citizens and counter terrorism in the long run.

Introduction

The relationship between insurgency and terrorism differs by their aims and operative models. While insurgents are military-centric and not media or revenge inclined, terrorists attack non-combatants and bring attention to themselves and their cause; eventually attacking the population indiscriminately. Beyond the objectives of terrorists, their actions have far-reaching psychological effects on the victims and the society at large. Harsh economic realities orchestrated by bad governance have introduced enormous agitations laced with ingredients of fear and terror in Nigeria. The government

has developed policies and strategies tailored to ameliorate the situation but the efforts seem pale in comparison to the continued insecurity. Factors behind insurgencies and terrorism in Nigeria may not be far from structural imbalance as well as deprivation and negligence as contained in a statement made by Isaac Jasper Adaka Boro in 1966:

Year after year, we were clenched in tyrannical chains and led through a dark alley or perpetual political and social deprivation. Strangers in our own country! Inevitably therefore, the day would have to come for us to fight for our long denied right to self-determination (cited. in Ugochkwu 22).

Today, most Nigerians feel as Boro felt more than fifty (50) years ago. Without adequate educational opportunities, infrastructure and empowerment; bitterness is bound to brew. Ogbonna observes that with “lapses in health policies, educational policies and total neglect of welfare schemes, the masses are left to bear the burden of one ill-fated policy, tax/ task force, or the other. It appears the only avenue for the citizens to survive is crime” (1). Crime, therefore, has seeped deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society.

It is within the scope of drama and theatre to interrogate human and social issues. Unfortunately, the stage has failed in addressing social issues majorly due to security concerns and the dearth of theatre culture; little wonder the Nollywood film industry thrives. The absence of government owned/private theatre houses has not helped in any way, but the social construction of knowledge in the classroom through playmaking and the promotion of citizenship education via theatre performances are ways of reaching out to inform and conscientise the masses on vital issues even as this platform would outline counterpart citizenship responsibilities.

It is also expected that the Nigerian government will make efforts to orientate the masses on how to obey laws by enforcing them without the prejudice of selective justice. In this circumstance, crime will abate. Following the extremist action of some groups/sects and the events of 14 April, 2014 (the Chibok girls event) as well as the ‘Underwear Bomber’ Nigerian terror suspect in Flight 253, the government has had to grapple with terrorism. Hence, policies were developed and implemented that would have consequences on the citizenry directly or indirectly. It is glaring that, “conflict is an integral and inevitable part of the life process and a continuing reality of the social existence of man” (Ihentuge and Ogbonna 55). Consequently, the society is in a continuous flux and the dynamics of government may not cater for the needs of the citizen. As such, violent reactions predicated on governments inefficiency and failure of the policing system give rise to conflicts. Akpuru-Aja asserts that, “conflict involves two or more parties that have, or perceive incompatibility in either interests or values, or in strategy of achieving the ends desired” (12).

Obviously, Nigeria in the past ten years is one of the most conflict-ridden countries in Africa and government’s lukewarm attitude towards abating crime has left a question mark in the hearts of the citizens. This affirms the assertion of a former Nigerian Head of State, General Sani Abacha that, “if insurgency lasts in a country beyond twenty four (24) hours government is involved” (cited in Iginla para. 2), thus corroborating Ugochukwu Achonwa’s observation that, “insurgency and terrorism are both politically

motivated violence” (1). That is why this research is in tandem with the notion that terrorism is a fundamental component that should be addressed through the writing of plays.

It is not within the onus of this paper to discuss crime in Nigeria, but having identified terrorism as a horrible crime that has blacklisted Nigeria, it is necessary to take urgent proactive steps to curb it. The questions that come to mind therefore are: What are the contributory factors of insurgencies in Nigeria? Why is it difficult for the government to arrest the situation? Can drama and theatre be of any help in countering terrorism in Nigeria? This paper answers the above questions even as it interrogates the approaches that the Nigerian government has strategised for countering terrorism. The paper develops playmaking as soft power concept using Joseph Nye’s *soft power approach* as theoretical background to engender behavioural and attitudinal change.

Theoretical Framework

Leaders of thought have agreed that insurgencies and terrorism cannot be fought in one direction. They propose a balance between the hard approach and a soft approach. During the Australia Special Summit (ASEAN), President Jokowi emphasised that, "hard approach alone is not enough to tackle terrorism and radicalism threats. It should be balanced with a soft approach" ("Counter-terrorism Needs..." para. 3). The theory of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson is also relevant to this study. Politeness theory deals with "the expression of the speaker's intention to mitigate face threats carried by certain face threatening acts towards another" (Mills 6). Brown and Levinson presented this theory as abstract models of communication using rationality and face as basic attributes. It highlights the positive and negative aspects of face as it exists in human culture. The theory maintains that these types of face exist in human communication and are basic wants in any social interaction. In countering terrorism, politeness strategies, such as, Bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness and off-record/indirect can be used when face-threatening acts are inevitable.

De-radicalisation is another concept that is relevant to this research. To "de-radicalise" a subject, means a complete shift in the subject's mindset, sympathies and attitudes. It suggests that de-radicalising terrorists – "requires changing their mindset and ideological beliefs – is exceedingly difficult, and it finds that disengagement is likely a more realistic outcome" (Silke, para. 2); adding that the concept of de-radicalisation as exemplified in the "Sri Lankan rehabilitation program for former members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (a terrorist organisation that operated in Sri Lanka until their defeat in 2009)" show "evidence that de-radicalisation efforts that provided beneficiaries with sustained mechanisms for earning personal significance significantly reduced extremism after one year" (Silke, para. 18). Thus, de-radicalisation programme is another option at countering terrorism because it reduces extremism, re-directs interests and offer alternatives. According to Andrew Silke, experimental programmes on de-radicalising jailed terrorists reveal that, "findings highlight the critical role of personal significance in de-radicalisation efforts, offer insights into the workings of de-radicalisation, and suggest practical methods for improving de-radicalisation programmes worldwide" (para. 23).

However, this research adopts Joseph Nye's soft power approach as a suitable and subtle way of abating terrorism in Nigeria. The soft power approach encourages the education of the mainstream culture and core values of the people. Soft power consists of all other facets of power, such as ideology, foreign policy, culture, stability, prosperity, and membership in international organisations" (Li Lin, para. 8) The theory is implicitly, and explicitly, founded on cultural and moral values. According to Li Lin, the soft power theory, postulated by Joseph Nye is a supplement and extension of traditional hard power ideology, and a return to classical realism, as well as a criticism about the fact that neo-realism rely overwhelmingly on hard power. Joseph Nye proposes that,

soft power is a kind of ability which can realise the goal through attraction instead of the violence or the temptation. The attractiveness arises from a country's culture, political ideals and foreign policies. When the policy is seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, the soft power is enhanced (Li Lin, para. 9).

The soft power approach is a relevant theory that can be used in countering terrorism because of its strategies in

...engaging in the politics of legitimacy, credibility and attraction, many countries have utilised several approaches at winning and or forcing others to lose. But the significance of the soft power resources and tools are human friendly as against the exercise of hard power to achieve desired objectives (Li Lin, para. 1).

Also, Shin Wha Lee explains that,

Soft power has been referred to as a form of national power that is based on ideational and cultural attractiveness, which is intentionally or unintentionally utilised by actors in international relations to achieve strategic imperatives (Li Lin, para. 1).

The application of the soft power theory in countering terrorism in Nigeria will rely heavily on Li Lin's analysis, stressing on the need to "guide them to set up the correct sense of value, develop the ideological and political education healthily and enhance the national soft power" (para. 2). Evidently, the terrorists are either fighting against a people, the government or an ideology. There is a disconnect that requires to be fixed, controlled or stopped. Oftentimes, unlike the National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) that is military-centric and has not produced visible results, playmaking as a soft power concept certifies a risk-free process that is worth investing in. Playmaking can be used as a weapon of instruction or reorientation even as it entertains. Such plays will embody the right ideology, functional education and the mainstream culture as well as the core values of the people. Through playmaking as soft approach, these values are passed down to the youths and the wider public thereby de-radicalising the 'radicals'.

Counter-Terrorism

Terrorism as the unauthorised use of violence especially to pursue political aims was hardly part of the agitation models in Nigerian. But things have since changed. Dianne Gereluk defines terrorism as, the “violent act or event against innocent individuals to incite fear or anxiety among a citizenry” (8). Also, the aim of terrorist activity is always political “the goal is to attain political objectives; changing the regime, changing the people in power, changing social or economic activities” (Gereluk 8). Thus, extremist views or behaviours or physical actions that elicit fear among the general public could be termed terrorism.

Terrorism is not accidental, but purposeful attack directed at the citizenry. Certainly, the degree of terror that besiege Nigerians today is more intense compared to the wars between diverse cultures that pollute the Nigerian terrains. Laqueur affirms that, “terrorism and extremism are not new phenomena-far from it in fact. Terrorism and extremism have been effective and widely used techniques throughout history” (cited in Gereluk 13). But, while much conflict is expected from a pluralist society, Osita Ebiem acknowledges that when “peoples of unrelated cultural worldviews were forced by the force of fiats and herded as animals, they became compelled to become bound by sets of rules and customs, which are alien to them” (35). Thus, before Nigeria’s independence, the cultural socialisation of most of the people that make up Nigeria, upheld human life as sacred and the people lived with considerations for each other’s socio-cultural leanings. Gradually and steadily, crime seeped into the fabric of the Nigerian society thereby destroying the peace and the seaming co-existence. Like every other society that encounters civilisation and the mingling of ideas and culture; crime is expected, but the corruptive and porosity of the Nigerian law enforcement agencies have not in any way abated crime; rather, crime has increased to a new and frightful dimension.

Nigeria’s security landscape has changed since the heinous crime of kidnapping seeped into the system. As efforts were made to clamp down on kidnapping insurgency, Boko Haram emerged in a grand style, surpassing the kidnapping activity. With the notorious hit that took away 276 Chibok girls on 14 April, 2014 in Borno State, series of bombings, and the ‘Underwear Bomber’ – Nigerian terror suspect in Flight 253 attack, it is not surprising that Nigeria became prominent in the list of the world’s most fragile states. Again, the recent pogrom unleashed in Benue and Plateau States reveal that terrorism in Nigeria is far from being a hate speech. Baba Jibrin Ndace agrees that terrorism, violence and kidnapping activity are threat to Nigeria’s unity as he observes that:

There is no doubt that Nigeria is currently facing threats from various criminal groups that is clearly derailing its difficult but promising journey towards prosperity. Defence and security experts have admitted, and consistently warned that ‘not since Nigeria’s independence with civil war in the 1960s has it been confronted by an existential threat so determined to shake the foundation of its unity (2).

Again, Nigeria's former president; General Abdusalami Abubakar corroborates Ndace's assertion by affirming that "since the return of democracy in May 1999, Nigeria has been battling a raft of security challenges" (cited in Ndace 3). The accelerated increase in ethno-religious conflicts, kidnapping, human trafficking and assassinations has reached a worrisome dimension and have changed Nigeria's security landscape. Hence, Abubakar informs that:

The frequency and extent of damage and destruction brought about by the outbreak and persistence of insecurity and violent criminality, have partly contributed to the classification of Nigeria as a fragile state, by assessment reports and by scholars including Smith and Vivekanada who ranked Nigeria among the seventeen countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, that are on the list of the world's most fragile states (cited in Ndace 3).

Former National Security Adviser, Col. Sambo Dasuki (rtd) admitted in 2013 that,

Nigeria realises that military action on its own will not counter terror if not accompanied by a robust public diplomacy aimed at defeating the ideology of hate and building consensus against violent extremism (Ndace 3).

In this regard, countering terrorism in the classroom through playmaking is a soft approach that can be result-oriented. There is need to explore the potency of storytelling, revolutionary skits and folk dramas, by burlesquing and addressing the emergent ethno-cultural, socio-political, religious and economic challenges that affect the unity of Nigeria. A parody of core values in playmaking may be more result-oriented than the hard approach that is harsh and military-centric. Through playmaking, the artist conscientises the populace; brings to their knowledge the intending tensions, intending dangers, the malignity and may give insightful information on how those that perpetrate crime can be fished out. Again, playmaking can open the eyes of the elite and the government on valuable information and strategies.

There is urgent need for the Nigerian Government to reckon the full gravity of the recent killings and bombings and how their policies and approach on countering terrorism have negatively affected the citizens and the society at large. Uche-Chinemerem Nwozuzu observes that,

Nigeria's current democratic environment yearns for new values, and national rebirth. The nation is witnessing an upsurge in social disaffection throughout the length and breadth of the nation. The strong united peace laden nation is unconsciously heading towards disintegration and anarchy with the current wake of insurgency and political jingoism from all the ethno-cultural corners of the country (94).

The response from the government on the fear, grief and anxiety inflicted on the citizens is the establishment of agencies and policies to counter terrorism albeit military-

centric. The establishment of a Counter Terrorism Centre (CTC), and the release of a national strategy named National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) in March 2014, and the systematic operations of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch (JTAB) show the level of government's attempt at countering terrorism in Nigeria. But how effective have these been?

On the establishment of NACTEST, Sambo Dasuki, explains that, "...the strategy was developed taking into account the root causes of terrorism, adding that the approach was to understand the problem in order to apply appropriate solutions..." (Shuaib, para. 11). He went further to explain that, "NACTEST focused on key points including increasing the capacity of government institutions and relevant agencies in handling extremists. The strategy was developed to offer a key blueprint for law enforcement agencies to combat terrorists" (para.12); and assures that:

What we have learnt is that there is not one particular path that leads to terrorism; rather, there are many often complicated paths that led to terrorism. The NACTEST seeks to prevent attacks before they happen by preventing our people from becoming terrorists in the first place (para. 15)

However, the reviewed National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) "underscores the fact that terrorism has numerous ideologies, not static and response must be constantly dynamic and versatile" (*Metrowatch* 1). This approach to countering terrorism has been seventy percent (70%) military-centric. For a better comprehension, Maj-Gen. Babagana Monguno (rtd) explains that,

The revised strategy explains what organisations and individuals can do to help in its implementation in order to reduce the risk of terrorism and ensure that people go about their lives freely and with confidence... NACTEST is organised around five streams aimed to forestall, secure, prepare and implement with key objectives and indicators to effectively ensure monitoring and evaluating successes at each stage (*Metrowatch* 1).

But terrorist activities have persisted alongside governmental efforts to curb it. Monguno insists that,

ONSA has developed a benchmark framework for the evaluation of the implementation of the NACTEST, which has now been reviewed to include salient areas like the Nigeria countering Violent Extremist programme, which are two very critical pillars in the fight against terrorism and engendering sustainable peace (*Metrowatch* 1).

It is within the Countering Violence Extremism (CVE) programme that the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) has adopted the soft approach consisting of three streams with different layers of partners. The involvement of Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) within the three tiers of government at the federal,

state and local governments, in order to stem the tide of terror, is an applauded approach but has failed to yield reasonable result. Although the NACTEST strategy contains elements of the soft approach and efforts are made by ONSA to unite Nigerians, hence, they have assured that:

At the heart of this new approach is the deployment of narratives that demonstrate that terrorism is un-Islamic; counter terrorism is not against Muslims and encourage and empower Muslims to speak out against terror. It is also an effort that would foster Muslims Christian relations; and show that counter terrorism is apolitical (Ndace 7).

In spite of the efforts put in place by the government to reduce violence and terror in Nigeria, recent developments show that the acts of terror and violence is gaining prominence amongst the youth, and to nib it in the bud, there is need to develop and implement programmes that is youth-friendly. Government's effort at 'preventing our people from becoming terrorists in the first place' through NACTEST can be augmented with job employments, empowerment programmes, rehabilitation centres with a skill acquisition component, and de-radicalisation programmes.

Concept of Playmaking as Soft Approach

It is an aberration to voice out the perception that theatre is merely a profession that centres on entertainment. According to Stuart Brown,

Play leads to creativity and innovation which, in turn, leads to invention and growth. Likewise, Work can lead to creativity and innovation. In addition, work gives us a sense of purpose and helps us develop competence (para. 4).

Theatre engages itself in careful study and analysis of human relations through playmaking. Thus playmaking is an art that is deliberate and purposeful. "Playmaking is the act of transforming work through play. It's play with a purpose, what I call, "Deliberate Play". It is a simple idea that requires a desire for fun, great courage and respect for people" (Brown, para.1). Theatre is an art that studies social and human actions. As a place of the eternal present, theatre happens. Throughout the ages, it has been the one transcendent collective experience of the community. So, "theatre has been an exercise for making visible the invisible worlds within and without us. It has been a laboratory setting for creating an experience of the ineffable" (Lysaght, para. 1). Theatre is a dramatisation of action, not an idea or theme but of action, of want and of conflict. It is a combination of physical motion and psychological tension in order to engage the deeper sensibilities of the audience. Before now, theatre required only a platform and a person or people but the modern theatre with its emphasis on appearance exerts financial pressure to cater for sets, special effects, props and costumes.

Consequently, the concept of playmaking as a soft power approach to countering terrorism, extremism and other social malaise is an initiative that is cost effective and ethical. It may require provocative and emotive techniques, but the availability of a

platform and people help to interrogate and intervene ‘uncertain times’ with expedient action. In the refracted world of playmaking as a concept the exercise centres on arts for the occasion’s sake.

Storyline of Ogbonna’s “Yesterday”

The making of the play, “Yesterday” featured games, storytelling and dramatisations. It is within the game environment that the characters portray, scene by scene, the mysterious deaths, violence and betrayals that exist between the people of Umuala and Umuelu. “Yesterday” contains multi scenes with captions, such as, The Exercise, The Festival, The Present, Yesterday and Tomorrow. The play begins with the entrance of the Director, down stage centre clapping her hands as she beckons on the audience. The characters leave the audience and take their costumes from the Director. Marauders interrupt the festival and argument ensues between Youth Leader and the director. Suddenly, a Warrior storms in to announce the death of a formidable warrior; Jamike. The Director steps aside and encourages the people to pursue their *Want* and explore their *Stakes*. Action intensifies as the people of Umuala refuse to yield to the demands of Umuelu; the youths of Umuala maintain that their Ama-Ukwu is sacred and cannot allow the people of Umuelu acquire Ama-Ukwu as access road to the Cameroons. The plotline reveals that the people of Umuala now live in fear because they have been frequently attacked by the people of Umuelu. Hence the youths of Umuala wants to embark on a revenge mission. Efforts to calm the youths down by some of the elders result into a disagreement as the youths change tactics in order to achieve their revenge mission. But the arrival of the Ezedibia at their hideout in the bush changes their mindset as he tries to open their eyes to reasoning by revisiting some of the ancient values. Festivals, values and norms are re-enacted revealing ancient jurisprudence, betrayals and consequences. As the Youth Leader, Ugo, Obi and Azuka realise that their entire problem is not the handiwork of the people of Umuelu, they become sober. The youths agree that it is time to look inwards and revisit correct family values. “Yesterday” is spiced with songs and dance.

The making of “Yesterday” is tailored towards spontaneous dramatisation of the circumstances within the society. In order to achieve this project, the researcher/facilitator created groups of six into five groups. Each group represents a particular age group in the refracted world of the play. For instance, Groups 3 and 4 are elderly men and women, group 2 is made of unmarried females between the ages of eighteen to twenty five (18-25), while group one and five are male youths between eighteen to twenty seven years. Since playmaking is all about showing and role playing, the researcher/facilitator involved the selected groups as community members for the making and dramatisation of “Yesterday” while the researcher/facilitator played the Director.

Before embarking on this project, the researcher asked the following question: What are the needs of the selected community? Again, during the role play section, the facilitator started by asking: is there anyone amongst us who is a victim of the on-going violence in our community. The diverse opinion of the five groups is replete with harsh economic realities, insecurity, rape, marginalisation and abduction. These experiences and analyses informed the storyline of “Yesterday”. Findings reveal that their problem

ranges from restive youths, armed robbery, and killings, disruption of the people's moral order and violent acts/clashes. These have resulted to distrust, anarchy and insecurity. Hence, in creating a drama for the refracted community, the researcher/facilitator established that this exercise is not art for art's sake but art for the occasion's sake. We also identified the components of drama as:

- A protagonist;
- An antagonist;
- The want;
- Stakes; and
- A tickling clock

We jettisoned a descriptive narrative of how their problems can be solved and rather adopted prescription which equals dramatisation of the ingredients capable of solving the impending problems in the community.

The Facilitator (Director) gathers the people together in a storytelling format, telling the story of the Dog and the Tortoise, she exclaims: "Oh! Now I remember that while bathing, I heard the sound of the Ikoro, Ada, Uzundu, please accompany me to the village square, the Ikoro does not speak for nothing" ("Yesterday" 1) Then, a scene, titled, The Flash, opens with two factions dragging a portion of land, called, Ama-Ukwu. The dramatisation is borne out of the experiences of the community as they are the active participators. Thus dramatisation of the exercise is captured vividly in the stage direction thus:

The director enters the stage, walks to Down Stage Center, claps her hands and beckons on the audience. Young and old, men and women begin to troop out from the audience. The director hands out costumes and props to each of them as they enter through Stage Right and Stage Left. In choreographed movements they adorn their costumes as the drumming initiate the required background. Suddenly, young men and some females storm in shooting and harassing the people. The stage is littered with bodies and broken items as the marauders kidnap a man and woman. The director claps her hands again ("Yesterday" 1).

Director: (*Calls.*) Actors! Come out from your hiding place.

Youth Leader: What is the meaning of this? (*Gradual rising of the drums.*)

Director: Patience!

The making of this play situated at Umuobasi village square is a pilot project to reach out to the community's problems psychology and seeming solution. Audience participation is necessary in order to understand the people's ideology, sentiments and perceptions. The response, 'War' by the youths demonstrates that they are tired of the tensed environment. This is evident in the dramatisation below:

Director: At this point in time all that you need is patience...

Youth Leader: Patience nothing! A toad does not run in the day for nothing! We agreed to hold a sacred festival but you and your people have turned our festival into a sacrilege. The marauders kidnapped Jamike and his wife. Everyone here is a suspect. (*Ezeala stands and tries to leave.*) No! Ezeala, no one leaves the arena until we have been told what just happened here (*Drumming increase in tempo.*) Quiet! Why should the festival continue as if nothing happened?

Director: Because we are all victims (*Exit Ezeala.*) A tsetse fly perched on the scrotum is killed with extreme caution. We must not accuse anyone...

Most Nigerian youths lack the requisite information and this affects their sense of judgment. The play provides the needed information and the correct values and communal expectations. The youths begin to rationalise:

Director: Because we are all victims (*Exit Ezeala.*) A tsetse fly perched on the scrotum is killed with extreme caution. We must not accuse anyone...

Youth Leader: Who gave you the voice to speak for us? And who are you?

Director: I am you and you are me...Together we can make a difference...

Youth Leader: Youths! Arrest him! (*As youths pounce on the Director, a male warrior rushes in screaming.*)

Warrior: *Aru Aru emela* (Abomination has taken place!)

Youth Leader: What is it? What happened?

Warrior: Jamike and his wife have been murdered! They dropped their bodies at the Afor market junction! (*The youths storm out.*)

The Director claps her hands again. The characters on stage form an arc. She signals them to exchange their costumes.

Director: (*Declares.*) This land is blessed. You are a people that should be called blessed. But, like Chinua Achebe said, 'Things have fallen apart and the centre cannot hold, mere anarchy is loosed upon the world' But I cannot berate the youth because indeed, it is not totally their fault...neither can I exonerate the elders; for their silence is loud. I am here because the thunderous rain that has today left us roofless and soaked met us somewhere. It is time to locate where. The why, we already know. But the link between where and who holds the puzzle we have been trying to solve. (*Bows.*) You know what to do. (*Drums increase in tempo as they take their positions.*)

Audience Analysis

There are different kinds of audience. Some come to the theatre to laugh and ease out their minds while another category visit the theatre in order to mirror themselves and look for possible answers. There is a third category of audience that sees the society through

the theatre. The authorial audience is non-gender specific because the play speaks to both male and female and targets youth and children. Based on the technique of scenario formation and shifts in character, the audience did not see each character develop into substantive characters. Hence, it was difficult to achieve complete empathy or alienation effect. During the presentation of “Yesterday”, these categories of audience were thrilled. A Focus Group Discussion after the performance revealed that, “Yesterday” touched on emergent contemporary issues that have besieged the Nigerian society and has become a source of worry.

According to some audience members, “Yesterday” is a new and entertaining approach that not only entertains but is laced with historical and cultural ingredients, as well as provides valuable and valid information. For instance, ABC Duruaku said that, “the scenarios are lifelike and offers valuable information”. Another perception of a theatre scholar/audience is that, “the play reads well and conveys appropriately... the model is refreshing”. Questions from the audience ranged from: Could this approach be explored in the rural areas? Can this approach be used to fight other issues, such as, HIV/Aids, rape, battering and bad governance? The explanation given by the facilitator shows that playmaking as a soft power approach can be applied anywhere including the classroom.

Conclusion

This research notes that complicated paths, such as, ideologies, bad governance, youth restiveness as a result of unemployment, marginalisation and hegemony, lead to terrorism. Hence, they should be traced back to history/source, re-valued and attended while such sources, information and possible consequences are to be broached in the classroom. Again, incorporating history and the common culture of the people will help to emphasise our differences, what unites us over what divides us. Historical facts help to put the record straight over distorted facts and propaganda. Through playmaking the values of the nation can be preserved. A national identity is sought, sources of terrorism and extremism are identified and options of countering terrorism are outlined. Information is subtly provided to guard government and its security agents. It is through a graphic burlesquing of ideas that most sensitive information are encoded.

However, it is unavoidable to have a tension free environment in a pluralist society where fundamental human rights are upheld. But in order to foster collective values and cohesive co-existence, swift arbitrary action that affect individual liberties such as looking at personal bank accounts, surveillance and tapping of phones are infringed for the safety and stability of the society. Hence, the suggestion to include playmaking as a soft approach in countering terrorism is because extremism and terrorism are difficult topics to negotiate. It is a difficult and sensitive issue to broach. But through playmaking, what is left unsaid can be said and what shouldn't be said can be broached, and tensed issues and moments can be dramatised with thrilling innuendos and spectacle.

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PLAY PERFORMANCE AS EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT FOR COUNTER-TERRORISM: PRODUCTIONS OF SOME SELECTED NIGERIAN PLAY TEXTS AS PARADIGMS

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Abstract

In recent time the Nigerian society has been bedevilled with avalanche of problems engineered by Nigerians themselves. One of such negative activities that have posed threats to Nigeria's peaceful co-existence is terrorism. The Nigerian space has witnessed different forms of terrorisms such as tribal, ethnic, religion, and political terrorisms. Efforts are been geared towards countering this menace through different means of counter-terrorisms and one of such means is play text. There are so many plays that captured the menace of terrorism and counter-terrorism in Nigeria. But because reading culture is dead, or the little who read, their reading has no effect on curbing this peril in the society. It is against this backdrop that the paper looks at the effectiveness of such plays on the populace and the campaign for the production of such plays as paradigm shift. The paper adopts the content analysis of the qualitative research methodology by appraising the content of the productions of Musa Salifu's *The Rebel Soldiers* and Amade and Salifu's *The Revenge Mission* in Owerri and Anyigba, respectively, with audience reactions. The research findings show that if plays like these with such serious thematic preoccupation on terrorism and counter-terrorism are left for the readers, much meaning may not be made from the plays. The paper recommends that there should be paradigm shift from play reading to performance. It concludes that if performances of plays with such thematic preoccupation are taken into cognisance meanings would be made and applied to curbing the menace of terrorism.

Introduction

Playwrights or dramatists over the years have made and are still making tremendous efforts in writing plays that copy the follies of their ages, their society and other societies. Whether the playwright is aware of it or not, he presents the society as it were or tries to

weave into the quest to correct the society. This is because, "...a playwright writes for or against any subject matter he sets to discuss in his play depending on his stand point, and perception of the issues under discourse..." (Mohammed-Kabir & Yunusa 81). Plays or dramas have been used over the decades to discuss the society or correct the society. Arguably, there is no play or dramatic piece that is written in a vacuum. The essence is, either to be read or to be seen on stage.

However, it has been observed that reading culture is "dead" or "dying" among the Nigerian youths. Thus, no one or some persons seem to be interested in reading, talk less of reading the avalanche of plays that have the follies of the society as their thematic preoccupations. The issues as presented in the numerous plays are very essential to the existence of the people. But what do we do now that little attention is paid to reading culture? Do we have to leave the avalanche of plays in the libraries and individual's study? There is need to intensify effort to take the contents of these plays to the people, if the people have refused to read and come to the theatre to watch the plays on set. Efforts must be geared towards performances of such plays in the theatre or found spaces. Play performance has been used to solve societal challenges. Hence, "Drama is one out of many other instruments used in resolving the Niger Delta crises" (Embu 147). If drama therefore, had been used to solve the avalanche of challenges of the Niger Delta crises, then it can be adopted as a viable instrument against the cankerworm called terrorism. According to Canice Nwosu, "creativity in conflict resolution enables the creative writers reveal the dangers of religion to the nation in their works" (243). Thus, we can explore the potentials of drama in curbing the menace of terrorism and not only religion. The threat of terrorism to Nigeria's peaceful co-existence is real and enduring. It has become a persistent and permanent feature of Nigeria's security environment.

For adequate and sustainable development of any nation, there must be peace. The great nations of the world are succeeding because they put peace in the front burner of their activities. This is aptly captured by Nwosu as he submits that, "peace and security are important variables sort after by most nations of the world" (239). Corroborating this, Reuben Embu says, "the peace and stability of any country can only be guaranteed when its citizens are living in peace with one another and in such an atmosphere where the machinery of government is allowed to function effectively for the common good of all" (146). Thus, for the peace sort by the Nigeria nation-state to be reached there must be togetherness and for the togetherness to be attained; there must be equitable distribution of the state resources and apparatuses for sustainable developments.

Performance on the other hand, is seen as spectacular presentation of plays or dramas before an audience. According to Richard Schechner, "... a performance is any activity done by an individual or group in the presence of and for another individual or group" (30). Corroborating this, Robert Cohen opines that, "theatre is performance..." (19). Cohen goes further to define performance as, "an action or series of actions taken for the ultimate benefit (attention, entertainment, enlightenment, or involvement) of someone else" (19).

In another vein, Grahame Thompson posits that, "... 'performance' is the mode of assessment of the 'textual/character/actor' interaction. Performance is interestingly placed at the intersection of the text, the actor/character and the audience" (138). Perhaps,

it is the effectiveness of play performance that the people of Niger Delta have enjoyed relative peace as captured by Embu thus: “The region has also benefited from stage as well as community theatre performances from non-governmental organisations and from the academia in sensitising the people on impact of the crisis” (147). That has made the region to enjoy a relative peace.

If the above is the case, then peace should be sorted out through performance to avert the psychological trauma of terrorism as Chikerenwa Ihekwe me submits on the psychology of war that, “the psychology of war and terrorism in Nigeria is insidiously portraying a devastating trend as are the challenges faced in understanding the dimensions of human trauma and suffering that are involved” (43). The devastating condition of the people as a result of the catastrophic nature of terrorism which leave the people in a sorry condition would never permit them to think straight. The trauma affects every facet of human endeavour as it was captured accordingly:

The ravaging health effects of war and terrorism on victims and casualties around the globe have continued to be a distressing phenomenon. Incidents probed against the psychological costs of war and terrorism has shown an alarming human psychic disconnect (Ihekwe me 43).

It is in this light that efforts have been geared towards the eradication of the menace of terrorism. It is against this backdrop that this paper stresses that paradigm shift to play performance as effective instrument of counter-terrorism may be the answer.

Theoretical Framework

Behaviourist theory

This theory also known as empiricism and behavioural theory stands among the major theoretical perspectives within the field of first language acquisition. According to Digham, Dembo and Driscoll, “the most influential version of the behaviourist theory was put forward by B. F. Skinner in 1959” (cited in Dada 9). The theory is useful because it emphasises that environmental control of human behaviour comes through learning. Skinner is of the opinion that, “teenagers behaviour is controlled by manipulating their environment which is the first link that influences their behaviour” (Sanni, Ayedun & Omede 10). Sanni, Ayedun and Omede posit further that behaviour is based on the “reward and consequences from the environment” (10).

The implication of this theory for our study is that there is a truism in this statement and it has a close relationship with theatre approach which is focused on negative transformative change in attitude and behaviour. This theory is further relevant to the theatre approach because its underlying logistic statement is that “it is important to observe behaviour to be able to understand an individual” (Akinboye 10). Using the behaviourist theory closely with the theatre approach towards improving the practice of attitudinal change in youth is sure to go a long way in achieving the desired change overtime.

Consequently, as terrorists are making compelling efforts to change the attitude of the people, especially the young adults, play performance should be making concerted

effort in bringing or teaching the people, young adults the effects of belonging to a terrorist group and underlying repercussion if one tend to associate with one. This was the case when the two plays: *The Rebel Soldiers* and *The Revenge Mission* were performed at Alvan Ikoku Federal University of Education Theatre and Kogi State University Theatre, respectively, with audience interactions and feedbacks. There was also production of *The Rebel Soldiers* at Kogi State College of Education Theatre in September 2018. Effects of these interactions on the audience would be better felt than when a member of the audience stays to read the play texts individually.

Conceptualising Terrorism and Counter-terrorism

Terrorism is the use of violence by groups or individuals pursuing political, religion, economic and social objectives. Terrorists are frequently indiscriminate in their attacks and can deliberately target civilians and non-combatants, often seeking to inflict mass casualties in the name of fighting government. Terrorism can be seen as a process of communication aimed at manipulating political, social and religion attitude and behaviour of the people, especially the young people in a violent manner. A wife can terrorise the husband and the husband can terrorise the wife. The definition of terrorism is relative. As the poor masses especially the youth see the activities of terrorists they termed to be copying the inhuman attitude of the terrorists.

Definitions of terrorism are usually complex and controversial, and, because of the inherent ferocity and violence of terrorism, the term in its popular usage has developed an intense stigma. It was first coined in the 1790s to refer to the terror used during the French Revolution by the revolutionaries against their opponents. The terms, “terrorist” and “terrorism”, originated during the French Revolution of the late 18th century (Stevenson 199), “but gained mainstream popularity during the U.S. Presidency of Ronald Regan (1981-1989) after the 1983 Beirut barracks bombings” (Heryanto 375), “and again after the 2001 September 11 attacks” (Faimau 298), “and the 2002 Bali bombings” (Heryanto 375). Although terrorism in this usage implies an act of violence by a state against its domestic enemies, since the 20th century the term has been applied most frequently to violence aimed, either directly or indirectly, at governments in an effort to influence policy or topple an existing regime.

“There is no commonly accepted definition of ‘terrorism’. Being a charged term, with the connotation of something ‘morally wrong’, it is often used, both by governments and non-state groups, to abuse or denounce opposing groups” (Feiler 67). Broad categories of political organisations have been claimed to have been involved in terrorism to further their objectives, “including right-wing and left-wing political organisations, nationalist groups, religious groups, revolutionaries and ruling governments” (Feiler 56). There is no universal agreement as to whether or not “terrorism”, in some definitions, should be regarded as a war crime. In Nigeria, terrorism can be said to spring from political organisations, ethnic groups, religious groups and others.

There have been efforts by various scholars in their innumerable capacities to give meaning to terrorism even, as it has been argued in other quarters that there is no specific definition of terrorism. However, “terrorism is, in the broadest sense, the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror among masses of people;

or fear to achieve a financial, political, religious or ideological aim” (Fortna 520). “It is used in this regard primarily to refer to violence against peacetime targets or in war against non-combatants” (Wisniewski 230). Terrorism, according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is:

the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective. Terrorism has been practiced by political organisations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and religious groups, by revolutionaries, and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and police (Ultimate Reference Suite, n. p.).

Encarta World English Dictionary defines terrorism as, “... violence or the threat of violence, especially bombing, kidnapping and assassination, carried out for political purposes” (1841); and caps a terrorist as, “somebody who uses violence or the threat of violence, especially bombing, kidnapping and assassination, to intimidate, often for the political purpose” (1841). Also, *Merriam Webster’s Deluxe Dictionary*, defines terrorism as, “...the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion” (1906).

The main source of international terrorism and the primary terrorist threat to Nigeria and Nigerian interests is from a global violent jihadist movement; extremists, who follow a distorted and militant interpretation of Islam that espouses violence as the answer to perceived grievances. This extremist movement comprises al-Qa’ida, groups allied or associated with it, and others inspired by a similar worldview. The Boko Haram Islamic sect, in Nigeria, ISIS in Syria, Talibans in Afghanistan exemplify lack of reason in defence of religious faith. The callous destruction of America’s World Trade centre and Pentagon by the Islamic terrorist group, al-Qaeda, led by Osama Bin Laden on 11th September, 2001 is indelible marks inflicted not only on Americans but entire Western world by religious fanaticism. Despite total condemnation of the Arab world and Islamic society for the perpetration of this heinous crime, there is also need to look beyond it effect and address some of the remote causes of these fatalistic acts (Nwosu 242).

However, there is need for concerted efforts in combating terrorism through counter terrorism, no matter the factor or factors that breed terrorism. The Australia Counter-Terrorism White Paper of 2004 asserts that:

...while there have been counter-terrorism successes (most notably pressure on al-Qa’ida’s core leadership in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and action against terrorists in South-East Asia), these successes have been offset by the rise of groups affiliated with, or inspired by, al-Qa’ida’s message and methods, with new areas such as Somalia and Yemen joining existing areas of concern in South Asia, South-East Asia, the Middle East and the Gulf (2).

One of such groups which may have risen out of the successes in affiliation with, or inspired by, al-Qa’ida’s message and methods could be Boko Haram, herdsmen and others in Nigeria.

Surmising from the above, it could be stated that terrorism is part of a broader insurgency, if terrorism is then part of a broader insurgency, counter-terrorism may employ counter-insurgency measures. There should be programs or measures that attempt to suppress insurgency, lawlessness, or subversion or to reduce the conditions under which these threats to security may develop. And if the threats to security have developed like the Nigerian situation, there must be suppressed for peaceful co-existence, hence the need for counter-terrorism.

Counter-terrorism incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism. Counter-terrorism strategies include attempts to counter financing of terrorism (Wisnicki 87). Counter-terrorism forces expanded with the perceived growing threat of terrorism in the late 20th century. Specifically, after the 9/11 attacks, Western governments made counter-terrorism efforts a priority, including more foreign cooperation, shifting tactics involving red teams and preventive measures.

Thus, counter-terrorism comprises measures designed to combat or prevent terrorism. It consists of activities that are intended to prevent terrorist acts or to get rid of terrorist groups. Thus, activities that are intended to prevent terrorist acts or to eradicate terrorist groups. In the same vein, a counter terrorist is one who practices tactics, strategies and techniques to prevent or respond or avert the acts, intent, move, mission, vision, strategies, motive and motif or threats of terrorism by terrorists. Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, pre-empt, and respond to terrorism. action intended to prevent violence for political purposes. The concept can continue as long as one keeps thinking.

Counter-terrorism encompasses “activities and operations taken to neutralise terrorists, their organisations, and networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instil fear and coerce governments or societies to achieve their goals” (*USA Joint Publication* vii). The document also defines counterterrorism as, actions and activities to neutralise terrorists, their organisations, and networks; removes countering root causes and desired regional end states from the definition (*USA Joint Publication* iii).

At times of extraordinarily serious terrorist threat, many governments have accorded law-enforcement authorities special powers of arrest and detention. These powers have generally been temporary and were meant specifically to aid the government in capturing and prosecuting terrorists and eliminating extremist threats to society, while avoiding the imposition of unjustly severe measures that might infringe on civil rights and civil liberties. These expanded powers, however, have generated public concern and criticism of government, especially when coupled with the suspension of long-standing and cherished democratic protections such as due process of law.

Does theatre fit into this terrain? And many other questions are raised by family, the educational terrain and the society at large. They hold that the objective of theatre is just entertainment. Beatrice Onuoha succinctly maintains that,

...when one talks about theatre in the ground of conflict transformation or resolution, people simply wonder what theatre would be doing with the serious

business of ‘blood, death and anger,’ when it is supposed to be essentially an instrument of entertainment; they even wonder if theatre has the vocabulary in use in this terrain; and so; theatre’s usefulness in the social arena is weaved to the winds (Onuoha 231).

This is the challenge faced by the theatre in Nigeria. But this study intends to prove that beyond entertainment, theatre has great potentials to educate, communicate, impact and impart and above all, inform. Theatre has enormous potentials to serve as effective instrument of counter-terrorism.

Synopses of the Selected Plays and Interpretations and Discussions

Adamu a stranger (herdsman) comes into a community to enable his herds graze and feed well. In his quest to succeed he seeks the help of Azala the farmer and Opele the flutist to get the Onu (the king) to approve his stay which he got. At the beginning everything was moving smoothly. But things started going wrong as soon as the herds/cattle start grazing on crops instead of grazing on the grasses. Audu, Adamu’s son heightens the already tensed situation by killing Usuma’s mother on her farm land and this terrible situation leads to bloody invasion of the Ruga (Herdsman) settlement by the youth of the community. In return, the escaped and only surviving son of Adamu returns to their home town and reports the ugly situation to his uncle, Hassan. Hassan and Audu plan a revenge attack in the intent for revenge mission. The revenge was bloody, which lead to the death of many people in the community.

The Rebel Soldiers beams its searchlight on the current situation of the Nigerian society that is bedevilled by avalanche of violence and terror attacks. This attacks ranging from Boko Haram in the North East, Niger Delta Avengers in the South, and Independent Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) in the South East to mention but just a few.

The Nigerian state is faced daily with one form of upheaval or the other. In the North, it is the religious crisis orchestrated by the Hausa-Fulani, while in the South currently, the Niger Delta youths have made the region unsafe for residents demanding for their rights (Embu 146).

Even then, Embu’s position is not quite correct because the religious crisis in the North is not orchestrated by Hausa-Fulani alone. Bornu and Yobe States are not Hausa-Fulani. We have had many violent incidences in the past like the Oodua People’s Congress and other political and ethno-religious violence. The ones mentioned by Embu above have degenerated that Nigerians cannot go to bed with their two eyes close and, the most recent among them is Herdsmen attacks which has spread from the North, to the South and right now in the North Central region (the Middle Belt).

Through a multi-media approach, the playwright via Professor Samuel reveals the secrets behind violence and terrorism. Professor Samuel centres the light on the warring communities; Angwa, Ogwugu and Omogwu. These wars were presented as flashbacks through the mind of Professor Samuel and aired through television programme. When the play finally returns to the stage a different and modern dimension

to violence and terror was employed through Mayor the leader of a terrorist group and his boys who have been terrorising the people. Mayor tries to justify his action and that of his boys after he was caught at the court of law but the court takes it over through the Leading Counsel. The prosecutor takes it over and debunk Mayor's claim by nailing it that no reason is justified enough for a man to take a man's life.

The Revenge Mission is set in the Middle belt/North Central (Igala Land), where Adamu, a herdsman, comes to settle. This is glaring from their exchange:

Adamu: I am a stranger in this part. My name is Adamu. I am from Toungo.

Azala: Oh. I see! What can I do for you?

Adamu: My herdsman and our herd are at the waterside over there.... We want to settle in your forest for a while. Like a good slave, we shall be loyal to you if you grant us this opportunity (*The Revenge... 2*).

That is always the trick they set forth to settle on a community's land. One could feel the audience reaction as the play was on-going on set. Although at the beginning both parties were enjoying the togetherness but things took a different dimension which requires urgent attention but was not given by the leaders and security agents. The herdsman and the herds keep destroying the crops for the people as can be seen from the following dialogue:

Osuma: Good morning, Obe.

Obe: Morning, Osuma, my friend.

Osuma: You are returning from the farm this time, any problem?

Obe: yes, there is a problem. Go to my farm and see what the cattlemen have done to it. (*Lamentatively.*) These people have ruined me this year.

Osuma: The cattlemen again? Just three years ago they destroyed Oniolo's farm and... (*The Revenge...27*).

At this point Onu (the king) should have intervened in the matter to disallow it from degenerating. "The audience member began to exclaim and saying that their leaders are their problem". The trend of destroying people's farms continued until Osuma's mother's farm was destroyed and the old woman killed. The killing of Osuma's mother aggravated the whole thing. Like the leadership of Nigeria who instead of taking a proactive measure would look at issues until they degenerate, Onu is a replica of the Nigeria leaders; he was busy collecting gifts from the herdsman as token instead of tackling the scenario head on. The Old woman came to her farm and saw the way the herdsman destroy her farm and she exclaims:

Old Woman: Hie... Hei... Hei... my crops! Our ancestors will curse these people. Ukwu, the god of death will destroy your herd, cattlemen for what you have done to my farm.

(Now, **Old Woman** enters.)

Old Woman: (*Looks at Jemilu surprisingly.*) Oh, young man, this where you are smoking your bad weed, while your cattle are there destroying my farm! You child of evil world, all the dangers in the forest henceforth shall hunt you to death for what you have done to me.

Jemilu: Then, you must see the land of the dead before me. (*Rises and brings out a knife.*)

Old Woman: (*Stammers.*) What... What... What are you trying to do?

Jemilu: Just wait and see.

[**Jemilu** rushes towards the **Old Woman**, stabs her to death, looks here and there and takes her corpse away...)

This apparently is the kind of experience Nigerians are getting from the settlement of the herdsmen and their herds. What Jemilu did to the Old woman is a form of terrorism that requires so many methods of counter-terrorism to fight it and nip the menace in the bud. If not the act of terror that led to the old woman to curse Jemilu, ordinary sorry and seeking solution to the destroyed crops would have saved the woman from dying untimely death which is a way to counter-terrorism and ameliorate herdsmen attacks in Nigeria. This was part of audience reaction during the production at KSU Theatre. The killing of the Old Woman by Jemilu sparked the youth to prepare to avenge the demise of the mother of one of them. Osuma and Ode planned an attack which they did in the middle of the night and killed all the herdsmen except Audu who escaped and ran to their town to report the ugly scenario to his uncle, Hassan. The arrival of the police was late and the audience members attested to that: "Look at when they are coming? They are coming when people are already dead".

In the same vein, a critical mien into *The Rebel Soldiers* also shows that if such dramatic pieces can be prepared and performance before the people, Nigerians, both the herdsmen and other Nigerians will see the reason why we should accommodate one another for sustainable peace. In *The Rebel Soldiers*, one would read how different communities unleashed terror on one another and the repercussion of their actions. Prof. Samuel and Tom David try to give reason why there is terror wave in the society:

Tom David: (*Looks at the piece of paper in his hand.*) There is no smoke, they say, without fire. Prof. what do you think is responsible for the increase of criminal activities in our society?

Professor Samuel: (*Smiles.*) You see, like you have said, there is always reason for every happening on this earth and the case of our current challenges is not exclusive. (*Turns to Tom David.*) I hope you are with me?

Tom David: Yes, Prof...

Professor Samuel: The uncaring and selfish attitude of some of our land's ruling class, I strongly believe, is responsible for our problem (*The Rebel... 9*).

It is glaring from here that the reason why we have terrorism is bad leadership with selfish interest, uncaring attitude and kleptomaniac intent. The domineering tendencies of the ruling class as Nwosu rightly posits that,

The apparent fear of Westernism, either as a monolingual hypnotisation of the world or capitalism aimed at despoiling global victims or ideological dominion of the rest through international politics are obvious signs that trigger off religious violence (242).

A critical observation of the conversation between DPO and Mr. Mayor, the leader of the terrorist group, explains it all that the repercussion of terrorism and violence is good for any community:

D.P.O: We must not continue like this. Many people... Many innocent people have lost their lives and just few hours ago, a report got to my office that apart from the people that were injured, fifty people have died following the attack carried out by your boys. Please tell us your grievances and let's resolve this problem once and for all.

Mr. Mayor: What are you talking about? Have you so soon decided to drop your torturing tools? Go ahead and use them on me. But this you must know: the aim of my organisation must be achieved (*The Rebel...* 43-4).

Mr. Mayor reiterating this he emphasises in his line:

Mr. Mayor: Ha...ha...ha... the spirit of our struggle is powerful ...powerful than you and your law...your law, the enemy of the poor and bosom friend of the rich... (*Light fades.*) (44).

One of the pivotal causes of terrorism is discrimination and domination as opined by the playwright. Thus, leaning on Nwosu's submission above, it could be said that the domineering hegemony of the leaders is one of the causes of terrorism. Therefore, for the upright development of the society, the leaders must first be just and make equity their watch word. That is why Mr. Mayor uses parables to justify their actions thus:

Mr. Mayor: A hungry pig ate it child.
A hunter's dog bits its owner, a greedy hunter,
To death over a piece of bone.
Both, without doubt, are unlawful acts.
Oh, upright judge! Examine both sides of these cases
Before you condemn the pig and the hunter's Dog!
Is hunger not the maker of all evil acts?
Greed and injustice
Not the breeders of violence? (*The Rebel...* 45-46).

The policemen in *The Revenge Mission* and *The rebel Soldiers* are strong agent of counter-terrorism if truly they will do their work, as can be deduced from the audience members during interactions. While the policemen in *The Revenge Mission* like Mayor

recall the failed leadership, the ones in *The Rebel Soldier* plead with Mayor to stop the killing of innocents in the street. This is a form of counter-terrorism in that perspective. These plays can go a long way in cushion the menace of terrorism. Following the interactions with member of audience at the end of the play at Alvan Ikoku Federal College of Education (AIFCE) Theatre, the researchers deduced that play performance has the potentials to curbing terrorism.

Again, the performances of these plays and other plays like Femi Osofisan's *Once Upon Four Robbers*, which captures the terror and violence meted on the people, are significant. The Soldiers, the four robbers: Alhaja, Hassan, Angola and Major and even the supposed spiritual leader, Alfa, are caught in the act of terrorism. Though it is averred by Nwosu that the predicament of the four robbers in *Once Upon Four Robbers* are, "...products of the corrupt society took to robbery because of hunger and unemployment faced by the people in a society ruled by insensitive leaders" (248). This is in tandem with the position of Mr Mayor in *The Rebel Soldiers*.

Olu Obafemi's *Dark Times Are Over* equally beams it searchlight on terror and violence meted on campus by Yepa 1 and 2. If these are left on the pages of the dramatic texts they may have no or small effect on the people but if they are taken to the people in the theatre or in any found space. The people may be informed and educated while being entertained. When the two later plays were produced by theatre arts students of Kogi State University in 2007 and 2008, respectively, with the responses of the audience, they created indelible impact and impart in the people. These can be produced now that we are faced with avalanche of terrorisms to serve as an instrument for counter-terrorism.

Recommendations

- a) The first responsibility of government is the protection of Nigeria, Nigerians and Nigerian interests. So, a key government priority is to protect Nigeria from terrorism. Government should employ all available machineries of counter-terrorism to fight terrorism.
- b) The United Nation's strategy and measures to combating terrorism should be taken into serious consideration. They are:

addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism: measures to prevent and combat terrorism; measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard; measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism (*United Nation's Report* 45).

- c) Both government, civil organisations, non-governmental organisations should look into what theatre can do and what it has done in Nigeria and other countries beyond entertainment. Thus, it will enable them to explore theatre's potentials and prowess as an impeccable measure and verifiable and capable instrument to be used in the fight against terrorism.

- d) The youths should redirect their mind and focus towards amicable resolution of differences, than taken to arms and violence or terrorism in fighting for their right as there is no reason justifiable enough, for one to take a man's life because he/she needs something or fighting injustice in the land.
- e) Government on the other hand, should swiftly look into the causes of these violent actions and take proactive measures to avert terrorism and violence in the land. Hence incessant discrimination against the citizenry is important and our leaders should do away with greed, ineptitude and kleptomaniac intent and concentrate on providing social amenities and jobs for the teeming youth of this country to engage their minds.

Conclusion

One of the means of counter-terrorism captured by the playwright in both plays are the exploration of the police to curb the menace of terrorism. The audiences responded and reacted accordingly on the stages where the plays were performed. Thus, if this is left on the pages of the plays, they may not be effective in nipping the cankerworm called terrorism in the bud. Therefore, the current study calls for a paradigm shift from reading of dramatic texts to their performances to leave strong impact on the way to kill terrorism is the society. The area of the leaders being just and abolition of greed and uncaring attitude of the leaders are not left. This spurred the audiences into shouting and disrupting the performances as the leaders according to their reaction, are the problem of the people. These and many other ways raised in the plays can be explored for counterterrorism. If these are left on the pages of play texts with the “dying” or “dead” reading attitude of the youth, they may not have strong effect on the attitude of those indulging in the deadly act of terrorism and violence.

It is the stance of this paper that plays should be seen beyond reading to performance and not just performance, there should be interactions among the stakeholders – audiences, actors and actresses, even the crew members to drive the message of such plays home, for the attainment of counter-terrorism. The theatre can be a viable instrument and plays a vital role in the fight against terrorism, if properly utilised. The audience is shown the angle the police come into the scene of terrorism and played a concrete role in countering terrorism. The audience reacted to this too. These were the case when *The Rebel Soldiers* was performed by the Theatre Arts students, Alvan Ikoku Federal College of Education, Owerri, on the 20th February, 2017. The audience responses show that the play can go a long way in serving as counter-terrorism instrument in curbing the menace of terrorism.

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EXAMINING THE NEW ROLE OF ARTS ADMINISTRATION IN COUNTER TERRORISM IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

There is a growing concern on domestic and global security all over the world. The use of terror as a means of coercion in pursuit of political aims continues to increase at an alarming rate. Terrorism has continued to impoverish the peoples of the world in addition to its adverse effects on people's psychological health, security, social, political, economic life and food security. Military and non-military efforts are being employed to prevent and or counter-terrorism. Agencies, such as, Mobile Police and the Nigerian Intelligence Agency (NIA) are at the forefront of the efforts in the country. The strategies to counter terrorism also require non-military dynamics such as attitudinal change, discourses and dialogue which can be propelled by arts administration. Even enemies will have to dialogue at some point and since the performing arts can keep the public discussion going, arts administration has a new role to play in counter-terrorism in Nigeria. This paper therefore examines how the arts and culture have fared and can be organised to perform this new role. We explore the position of arts administration in the intersection of arts and terrorism in Nigeria. Although terrorism has damaged the arts and cultural industries, proper administration is still potent means to counter terrorism. This can be achieved through democratisation of theatre programmes and structures, cultural exchange at the local and foreign levels, organisation of festivals and carnivals and encouraging the practice of museum theatre. Terrorism is usually sustained through continuous recruitment and a well-structured arts administration programme can truncate this process and significantly block the source of recruitment while creating room for dialogue. The paper concludes that arts administration is a panacea to counter terrorism in Nigeria.

Introduction

Adapting a multilateral approach to counter terrorism beyond military options is a desired trend in counterterrorism efforts all over the world. Attempts are being made to shift focus from confrontation to other conflict resolution alternatives. Terrorists have local supporters and sympathisers who provide funds to lure people for recruitments. Terrorism has become an aesthetic category by being subjects of numerous films and drama where the silent majority is often times compromised by fear to aid and abet terrorism or other terrorist activities. But terrorist activities affect not only combatant but also innocent

civilians, internally displaced persons (IDPs) in camps and prisoners of war, constricted or volunteer terrorists. Counter terrorism involved therefore practices, civil tactics, techniques and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism. The UN Global counterterrorism strategy is focused at empowering global youth to counter terrorism. In essence the idea is not defeating only terrorists but defeating terrorism in its entirety and this can be achieved through assault on terrorist ideas as well. Counterterrorism is advancing from confrontation through military might to other conflict resolution alternatives. Ideas of counter terrorism range from short term, through medium term to long term, the arts and culture constitute viable options in addressing the issue of counterterrorism in both medium and long term but in a more instructive manner.

Arts and cultural administration constitute an essential vehicle for arts and culture and their functionality. The arts play significant roles in social cohesion and conflict resolution generally thus for its various potential to be properly harnessed for conflict resolution, it has to be properly harmonised through its administration. In its varied functional format such as applied theatre; arts therapy, museum theatre, festival, carnivals, and so on, it plays a significant role in preventing and reducing violent extremism like terrorism.

Using an exploratory approach, this paper attempts to examine the position and potential of arts administration in counterterrorism in Nigeria, and serves as a basis for further enquiries. It examines the role of nonconventional counterterrorism methods and also analyse the alternative approach to counterterrorism. It then reviews Nigeria's attempt at fighting terrorism and the potentials of arts of theatre precisely in conflict resolution and how it can be employed in counterterrorism operations in Nigeria. Furthermore, the paper prescribes some measures to utilise its administration in the fight against, prevention and reduction of terrorism or any form of violent extremism. It employs a qualitative analysis method.

According to Kaplin,

the arts enrich, transform and even save lives... the arts are essential to life but in a different level of reality from food and air. One can live without the arts; one hardly does (cited in Hampton 57).

On one hand is the romantic perception of theatre by the practitioners as being about society or about theatre itself, and on the other hand is the issue of commercial reality versus artistic challenge. Arts and culture can and must influence for good our sincere search for solutions to economic and political as well as social problems (Oyewo, "Promotion, Development, and Preservation of Arts..." 483). Also, war on terror is war on fear, war for social, economic, and mental freedom. Terrorism is a situation of conflicts that has been addressed by diverse means of conflict resolution, namely, *Warfare, Negotiation, Mediation and Arbitration*; but efforts have been concentrated on the warfare aspects whose failure has strongly suggested the need to employ alternative methods through the arts and its administration.

It is essential to define some key terms and place them in proper perspective of this study. These terms are: arts administration, cultural administration, counter terrorism, terrorism, and museum theatre.

Operational Definition of Key Terms

Arts administration is an essential component of arts and its functionalities; its concern is with the management of cultural institutions. It is the deployment of a state's artistic and cultural resources in support of its policy on arts and culture. Cultural administration is also the management of cultural institutions and organisation. The art is referred to as an irreducible part of culture and as such the administration of culture has to do with arts administration.

Counter terrorism refers to the various ways that state respond to terrorism, to control it, prevent it and defeat it. It does not refer to any individual attempt by groups to counter state terrorism because that attempt itself would be terrorism and since terrorism has been criminalised all over the world, using violence to counter state terrorism can be seen as a criminal action. It is the practices, civil tactics, techniques and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism.

Terrorism is that act that is strongly hinged to the narratives of hate in a non-state induced terrorism. State terrorism means, "inflicting on the innocent for political ends". Non-state terrorism is the most rampant; and according to Miller, it is when an inquiry is made into

the motives of non-state terrorism, it frequently emerges that an injustice has occurred; that 'others' in a specified place and time have previously been sacrificed to 'higher interests' and that the survivors of this injustice are not prepared simply to concede defeat, abandon their own dignity and accept the new status quo (1).

The focus in this paper is on non-state terrorism as a result of a perceived injustice.

Museum theatre refers to any dramatic, theatrical presentation whose theme is centred on any museum exhibitions, artefacts or piece or any traditional festival performances be it documentary, feature, and or living history. It could make use of amateur or professional actors; and could precede exhibitions as outreach or be synchronous with museum visits. By this, a theatrical presentation within a conventional theatre that focuses on any antiquity with the intention of protecting, preserving and promoting artefacts also qualifies as museum theatre, while the corresponding dramatic text qualifies as museum drama.

Literature Review

Certain events have impacted significantly on the way the world responds to terrorism. The 11 September, 2001, terrorist attacks in the USA have changed the world dramatically. These events have attracted myriad of postulations on how to counter terrorism. Schultz demanded for a resort to violence to destroy "the evil scourge of

terrorism” (cited in Chomsky 11). The various responsive actions against terrorism have also raised some major questions about human rights violation and high lightening new era of humanitarianism. This devastating event has further supported the vulnerability of the superpower and of military might. All these have made it hard and difficult to counter acts of terror because it only breeds more violence by a set of people who are ready to die in the first instance, “somebody who is trying to kill and willing to be killed is dangerous” (Remark by President Trump in Florida in 2016). The president further observed that,

Rather than false promises that terrorism can be eliminated by dropping more bombs, or developing more troops or fencing ourselves from the rest of the world, we have to take a long view of the terrorist threat, and we have to pursue a smart strategy that can be sustained fighting terrorists in a way that does not create more terrorists (<https://www.whitehouse.gov>).

This is in tandem with McMahan’s assertion that neither military action, police action constitute the most important part of antiterrorism action; rather, “it is to give justice, and to show generosity and magnanimity to oppressed, exploited, humiliated or merely disadvantaged peoples whose unreasonable but many legitimate, are the ultimate source of terrorism” (2). It is also important to note that Islam constitute the major threat to states as agent of terrorism not only in Africa but in the world over. Vision of Islam that is irreconcilable with tolerance and modernity and basic science by false Islamic prophets makes the counterterrorism efforts to be more effective at the level of war against ideology and in the mind.

According to the level and nature of involvement in culture significantly indicate the level of civilisation (Oyewo, “Promotion, Development, and Preservation of Arts...” 488). Often times, also, the perception of what arts and culture are, determines the seriousness with which it is promoted by government and participated in by the populace. However, the significance of promoting arts and culture is hinged on two pedestals; indispensability for people to achieve spiritually affluent life, and secondly as sources of creative economic activities at the local, national and international levels. Such institutions, organisations, and bodies as government, practitioners, entrepreneurs and the entire community constitute the ecosystem in the administration of arts and culture.

According to Emmanuel Dandaura, the solution to a vibrant Nigerian economy, diplomacy, sustainable national development and effective environment protection lies in the proper understanding of the enormous potentials that abound in Nigerian culture sector, its careful packaging, promotion and efficient administration (19). Since the various arts forms constitute a significant component of culture, the wealth of a people’s cultural life can be found in the many individual artistes and also arts organisations that provide an array of artistic and cultural events for the citizens (Oyewo, “Promotion, Development, and Preservation of Arts...” 483).

However, the consumption behaviour associated with cultural products, including the performing Arts is strongly impacted upon by the concept of cultural capital (CC). This suggests a strong need for arts administration. Bourdieu advances “a compelling

theory regarding social-class influences on consumer behaviour” (cited in Marylouise 2). He argues that people typically consume certain products and adopt certain consumption styles as a means of creating distinction and declaring their social position. The perception of museum as custodian of arts and cultural objects overshadows its other functions and definitions to the extent that it has led to estrangement between the museum and the community whose heritage it is supposed to preserve. According to Ashaye, “political and security situations make tangible cultural heritage fragile and of high risk that must only be preserved and protected to survive” (93). This becomes the preoccupation of the museums which rather than communicating with the community, become not a lived experience but maximum security prisons to safeguard the artefacts.

Role of Arts

Arts play significant roles in its various forms; visual, performing arts and have been deployed to address traditional and contemporary problems that plague society. For example, an art exhibition by Oluseyi Ogunjobi, titled, “Legends of the Ancestors”,

comprises over 20 mixed media works and depicts the tales of ancestral legends as viewed from Oluseyi’s the Yoruba perspectives with which he contemplates the innumerable problems confronting humanity today such as war, injustice and racial divide (2).

Play in performance has been in existence in both animal and human society since primordial times. Huizinga asserts that,

the great archetypal activities of human society are all permeated with play from the start by language, myth and ritual where all the great instinctive forces of civilised life have their origin; law and order, commerce and profit, craft and art, poetry, wisdom and science (63).

All these show that genuine, pure play is one of the main bases of civilisation. According to Okediji,

the mythological sources that (Duro) Ladipo explored in his theatrical exposition of Oba Koso has been described by Wole Soyinka as ‘ritual archetypes,’ with which communities celebrate and invoke the powers of their divinities, using performances and enactments of myths, proverbs, lore, and myriads of other creative devices, to prevent the world from descending into chaos (6).

The participatory nature of the performing arts makes it efficacious in counter terrorism and conflict resolution generally. To Graham, “it is through the concept of participation that audiences are involved... accomplished performers/participants are different from the audience because audience are merely watching/listening” (157). Preliminary assessment of various musical forms in Nigeria indicates that Nigerian Musicians have made efforts to deploy their craft in the cause of national unity and peace in Nigeria.

Rentschler theorises that there are four roles for arts leaders: *entrepreneur*, *managerialist*, *custodian* and *impresario* (6). According to this theory, an entrepreneurial arts leader needs to have creative ideas and be willing to change directions or funding to establish new programs and risk-taking ventures. She/he needs to master analytical, organisational, and administrative skills, and more importantly, achieve satisfaction of artistic creation through a less structured, less meticulous and more emotionally artistic way to implement ideas.

Guerrilla theatre has been used as a countercultural practice, not to call to arms but to a cultural revolt aimed at replacing discredited values and norms. According to Doyle, “political protestors,... began increasingly to adopt dramatic forms as a means of expressing their collective dissent from a society they saw as morally bankrupt, racist, militaristic and culturally stultifying” (33). This vision to continue presenting moral plays and to confront hypocrisy in society is a potent means of preventing terrorism.

Rehabilitation of ex-terrorists is another major area where terrorism can be addressed. A study was conducted in Saudi Arabia whose objective was to showcase the use of Arts therapy in the care and rehabilitation of ex-jihadists. Arts therapy was conceived to achieve the following; may disrupt activities of promoting violent extremism, achieve social regeneration, serve as safe container for extremists’ self-expression. It demands a strong understanding of their ideology and are adjusted to the local cultures of extremist population. The study concludes that a successful art therapy programme is required within the overall approach to counterterrorism (Alyami 4).

Role of Arts Administration

The field of arts administration is very wide and its objectives span the non-profit and profit oriented terrain in the arts. By which fact it has both heavy government presence as well as being a very fertile ground for entrepreneurial intervention. According to Goodin, “the option of ignoring terrorism is not available, it might be rational but is psychologically or politically impossible...” (18); but overreacting, plays into terrorists hands, too because it is giving them what they want and need to attract public sympathy. This justifies the need for arts administration’s intervention as a complimentary means of counterterrorism to military option.

The EU National Assembly has evolved measures beyond the military option in its fight against terrorism emphasising the aspect of culture in combating terrorism (5). It observed that the main direction and purpose of any cultural action aimed at combating terrorism should be to create a culture of tolerance, dialogue, understanding, respect and pluralism. This, in turn, would reduce the heroic aura surrounding terrorists and help eradicate public acceptance of terrorist acts. The body also observed that some contemporary terrorist organisations, such as, Al-Quida, Boko Haram, ISIS, and so on, choose to operate under a religious banner, playing on people’s faith and appealing to the most sensitive and profound elements of the human mind. Their increasing networking and link is a very dangerous trend in contemporary times. The document then concludes that,

there is no such thing as religious terrorism, only terrorism disguised as religious dogma. Cases where religious dogma is used as a pretext for committing large-scale criminal acts sharply highlight the need to build an adequate and effective system of measures to counter this threat, without, however, resorting to violence or intimidating entire populations (9).

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that culture as a weapon for preventing terrorism must be part of a coherent, coordinated public policy, using three different approaches to combating terrorism: *confrontation*, *containment* and *prevention*. That is the thrust of the *Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention* that the ministers responsible for cultural affairs, representing the member states party to the European Cultural Convention, adopted on 22 October, 2003.

Culture offers tremendous potential for combating terrorism. This potential includes a cultural content that aims to foster modern, democratic, tolerant and friendly relations between people, both within states and at international level. Artistic component of cultural contents are deeply embedded in festivals, carnivals, music, dances and theatre and plays. Arts, therefore, as a strong component of culture, is a factor both in containing terrorism and in overcoming it. Also, communication technologies can be a social and psychological means of achieving a particular goal by influencing people's minds. We have even seen the emergence of concepts such as "information weapon", "information wars" and "information terrorism".

Another facet of conducting information wars is cyber terrorism, or the criminal use of telecommunication networks. The purpose of these acts is to obtain, destroy or alter information. Cyber terrorism poses a real threat to society. In such cases, as well as legal action, measures designed to give greater attention to social psychology and self-improvement may prove highly effective. Virtual theatre and its administration can be a potent means by which terrorism can be countered. Combating terrorism can benefit significantly by the use of a complex approach combining cultural, economic, political, social, legal and security measures. Arts administration through the various arts and culture offers a viable solution to complement the military options.

Arts Administration in Nigeria

When many countries became independent, they developed various systems of management. Unlike in the past, art organisations and art groups have to take care of themselves. They had to adapt to the changing environment. According to William,

Art manager has to study, research and make decisions how to act if any of these environments makes bad impact on the organisation. Every art organisation and art manager must be able to adapt quickly and make changes in the organisation's internal agenda and use external circumstances for their benefit (199).

The first step in arts administration is the formulation of cultural policy because arts administration is the management of artistic component of culture. Arts

administration in Nigeria includes the administration of both traditional arts and cultural institutions as well as government arts institutions. The arts refer to all artistic manifestation of culture which serves as the aggregate of all the creative activities within a community – referring to the visual, fine and applied arts, and the performing arts. According to Malomo, arts and cultural administration always include a theatre, cultural or arts centres, arts institutions, arts galleries, museums, opera house, and Dance Company (cited in Oyesoro 54).

According to Oyesoro, the formulation and adoption of a *Cultural Policy for Nigeria* developed in response to a provision of the conference on intergovernmental cultural policies in Africa held in Accra in the late 1970's and was ratified by Nigeria (59). Various meetings and deliberations were held on the emerging recommendation and was also influenced by the UNESCO Conference on Cultural Policies in Paris in 1982. This finally culminated in a *Cultural Policy for Nigeria* in 1988. The policy is very broad in scope and is expected to “facilitate the management, rational selection and determination of cultural programmes, with emphasis on specific areas of government participation” (CPN 6). It also determines how best culture can be used as a factor in domestic and foreign policy. The Arts: literature, performing arts and craft is one of the five areas of focus of implementation of this policy for Nigeria.

Tourism is another area, and the arts is suffused under all other areas of focus, namely, Education, Mass media and General focus. For arts to be controlled to suit social development rather than distort it, both government and private bodies should be involved in their administration with the state, “setting out to preserve the national heritage and encourage artistic creation without resorting to direction and control” (Kossou in Oyesoro 55). Official support for the arts can be seen from some basic phases in Nigeria; establishment of *Nigeria Magazine* to 1977, FESTAC 77, Period of FESTAC to 1988 when the *Cultural Policy for Nigeria* was formulated for Nigeria and from 1988 and beyond. Administration of the arts and culture was also greatly influenced by the various types of governments, namely, military dispensation and civilian (parliamentary and presidential) regimes.

The types of governments and events on ground greatly informed the nature and administration of arts and culture. For example, the civil war and the need to restore certain desiderata necessary for reconciliation brought about the institution of a National Festival of Arts in 1972 to foster unity just like other institutions; and the National Sports Festival and the NYSC to foster unity and reconciliation after the devastating civil war. The National Festival for Arts and Culture (NAFEST) has continued to be held to further enhance unity in diversity of Nigeria; while some other festivals and carnivals at Federal and State levels have been organised and are being revived for continuity of policy and as response to emerging problems. What is called arts and its administration, at any time, is always a product of historical and cultural forces and therefore is continually changing in response to continuity of change in the society.

Terrorism happens to be one of such problems that hopefully can be addressed by the field of arts and culture through arts administration. Arts and Theatre can be one means of healing the tragic situations such as wars, hunger, and poverty confronting the world. This is why Okkim asserts that, “we believe more in the importance of listening

closely to the word of Actors in the theatre than to speeches made by politicians and scholarly theoretician” (cited in Oyesoro 94-95). The *Cultural Policy for Nigeria*, in spite of its imperfections, is evidence that there is a reasonable level of rhetoric as well as symbolic support for arts and culture in Nigeria.

Combating Terrorism in Nigeria

Terrorism in Nigeria is predominantly religious, ipso facto ideological induced. The first extreme violence that is of terrorist magnitude in Nigeria is the Maitatsine Riot of 1980 in Kano. Mohammed Marwa, aka, Maitatsine, was the leader of the Islamic group; and according to Adebayo, he became notorious when he came up with certain ideological principles that were against the teachings of Islam and decided to impose it on the Muslims (28). “He declared that those who did not believe in him as infidel who must be fought, and whose blood could be shed” (Abdul Fattah in Adebayo 29). He was killed in 1980 but his disciples continued to cause quite considerable damage all over the northern states of Nigeria over a long period of time. The most prevalent extreme violence in Nigeria now is incidentally alluded to religious terrorism by the Boko Haram Sect and which has claimed allegiance to world terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaida, ISIS, and so on.

Several causes have been identified for the various incidences of extreme religious violence/religious terrorism in Nigeria. Some are attitudinal; others ideological while some are ethnic in nature. Adebayo identifies poverty and unemployment, provocative statements, tribalism, lapses in security system and misinterpretation of scriptural verses (deliberate or out of ignorance) as major causes of religious terrorism in Nigeria (30). One major effects of the BH terrorism in Nigeria among others is “denting the image of the country, religion and its adherents” (Adebayo 33). According to Siddiqi, “the violence committed by a few Muslims has portrayed Islam and Muslims as uncivilised, inhumane and unkind” (cited in Adebayo 33).

The fact that the menace of terrorism seems to overwhelm the government in spite of the actions put in place is an indication that military option alone cannot provide the panacea for peace. This is where arts and its administration becomes relevant to address not only terrorists but the fundamentals of terrorism by also in addition aiming to also indict and address Politicians/Government of being insincere in fulfilling her election campaign promises to the people. But to Eke, “...instead they flamboyantly with great impetus exhibit executive lawlessness in corruption and abuse of office at the glaring face of hungry, poverty ridden, unemployed and absolutely deprived Nigerian youths” (268).

In essence, the new role of arts administration in counter terrorism in Nigeria will be complimentary to the use of military might, and focus on all the personnel involved in the ecosystem of terrorism and its causes in Nigeria.

Examining the New Roles of Arts Administration in Counter Terrorism in Nigeria: Some Recommendations

Since arts in its various facets have played significant role in human society generally, Arts administration has to organise the terrain for effective counter terrorism beyond

mere tourism development but also as a unifying factor in the diversity of the Nigerian Nation. The following recommendations are made for the future roles that arts administration has to play in counterterrorism in Nigeria.

It is established that religion is the preponderant reasons for terrorism in Nigeria; so, the religions should not be overemphasised in cultural promotion so as not to estrange the youth but to attract them to embrace the essence and traditional moral values of our arts and culture in their diverse nature – traditional, trado-contemporary and contemporary realities. This will address the stigmatisation of Nigerian culture as paganism by terrorist and in terrorism. The new role of arts administration in counter terrorism includes “the need to draw an enduring connecting chain between myth, history, contemporary realities and the future”. An artless society is said to be a heartless society hence one sees the prominent role of arts and its administration to focus on understanding terrorists and address the various audiences of terrorism in order to deter terrorism. The various audiences for terrorism are: “potential recruits, internal audience, host societies, media, enemy societies, world opinions” (WDC 16). This would also be categorised into three; radicalised group, vulnerable group and society at large. Arts administration can organise Museum Theatre in its formal or informal environment targeted at various audiences of terrorism to enhance the counter terrorism efforts in Nigeria.

In view of these, the level of arts administration should also engage in image building for Nigeria through more structured cultural diplomacy and exchange programmes. It is unfortunate that the effects of arts and culture festivals and carnivals are not quantified in Nigeria, thus leading to the question whether all festivals and carnivals including traditional festivals, NAFEST, Abuja Carnival, Calabar Carnival, and so on, are still relevant and productive or have become either relics of a dead civilisation and/or a mere jamboree. We need to assess and research on the impact and viability of these festivals and carnivals while contextualising Arts and Culture as an entrepreneurial venture to address some reasons of unemployment as excuse for terrorism in Nigeria.

For Arts Administration to play a new role-a greater role in counterterrorism, the existing urban and rural dichotomy has to be resolved by democratising both the programme and physical structures to reach the grass roots. There is a limit to which elitist arts can impact on the populace. We visualise a new role of arts and its administration by providing access to arts to prevent further interest in recruitment and to win terrorism sympathisers over.

We envisage a role that will take into consideration the new media in its fight against terrorism. The social media has become a potent means of not only instigating people to kill, but feeding the terrorists narrative of hate. Virtual theatre or arts could be evolved by arts administration to push back or countering terrorists’ messages that instigate people to kill.

Most importantly, we think there is the strong need to review the *Cultural Policy for Nigeria* to reflect the new reality of terrorism which is a global menace and need to take counter terrorism beyond the military and diplomatic options alone. Terrorism has reportedly claimed 26,000 lives in the North East of Nigeria, according to UN,

High level of devastation caused by the conflicts, men, women and children were facing grave humanitarian right violation, including sexual and gender based violence on a daily basis... internally displaced persons (IDPs), aid workers, children as “improvised explosive device” (IED) carrier, girls abducted (cited in Idowu 8).

It has also damaged the cultural/ art industry in Nigeria. Various Governments have taken steps to curry the support of the arts especially the movie industry in its efforts to to find solutions to the issue of terrorism by using the arts as a way to counter terrorism in Nigeria. The civilian administrations of Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and President Muhammadu Buhari have at various times challenged the film and theatre industries in Nigeria to rise up to counterterrorism. This is an indication that the arts and ipso facto its administration is recognised.

UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy addressed the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism by promoting dialogue. This is where arts administration comes into the picture to enhance democratisation of the arts in its administration. The strategy also includes preventing and combating terrorism, and the arts can also play a complementary role to the military and other methods.

Arts administration has the potential to become a more valuable tool for states to combat terrorism; it needs more advocacy funding and management skills. Arts administration can be employed to achieve idealistic purposes – to develop mutual understanding, combat ethnocentrism, and stereotypes and prevent conflicts by getting the artistes involved as a cultural/arts manager/ambassadors.

Conclusion

Our conclusion is that the field of Arts and its administration has a greater role to play in the new world order plagued by terrorism. However, the field of arts has brought about the danger of romanticising terrorism by treating the theme of terrorism as an aesthetic category in performance and other visual arts. But structured arts programmes could be targeted at the various categories of participants and recipients of terrorism in Nigeria such as the protection and sensitisation and conscientisation of prisoners and inmates of IDP camps through the arts.

Democratisation of the Arts by addressing the urban and rural dichotomy in Arts administration, in programmes/programming – Festival, Carnival, Tfd, revival of Alarinjo tradition – and in theatre Structure constitute potent tools to counterterrorism in the global attempt to curtail this wild fire. However, the success of arts administration in playing greater role is dependent largely on provision of funds by government, and through generation of funds through the arts by corporate bodies and individuals entrepreneurs.

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