UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICAN LITERARY WORKS: A POST-COLONIALITY STUDY OF SELECTED NIGERIAN PLAYS

HORSU ISAAC

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BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of English of the Faculty of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Literature in English

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name: Horsu Isaac

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name: Prof. Moussa Traore

Co-Supervisor's Signature: ..... Date: .....

Name: Prof. Theresah Patrine Ennin

ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to examine how political corruption is depicted in post-colonial literature, specifically in *Altine's Wrath*, *Midnight Hotel* and *Harvest of Corruption*. African literary artists, and African literary works produced during both colonial and post-colonial eras have been described by many critics as being based on nationalism, protest, and disillusionment. The texts contain the necessary elements of politics such as deception and victimisation. The study aims to close the gap on the devastating effects of political corruption in the post-colony by critically examining and analysing how the playwrights portray politics in the post-colony. The study adopts the qualitative textual analysis approach and post-coloniality theory in order to evaluate how politics is portrayed in the selected plays: Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013). This study also aims to examine the devastating effects of political corruption in the post-colony. The findings reveal that forms of political corruption such as graft, nepotism, moral decadence, disillusionment and maladministration of public offices, as portrayed in the selected plays, have a negative influence on the general population. Political corruption affects the citizens who are mostly the less fortunate in society, causing economic loss, inefficiency, poverty, inequality, intimidation, and discomfort. Except for individuals who are a part of the corrupt network, everyone else may experience some sort of negative consequence. The findings also reveal that through satire, the playwrights are able to confront societal realities such as oppression, exploitation and resistance, and expose corrupt characters. They also reveal that post-coloniality theory in the selected plays is used to call for justice. The study concludes that the playwrights disapprove of the social injustice, corruption, and oppression that often puts a nation's life in peril. The study recommends that there should be a call to action for individuals to speak up against corruption and fight for fairness in society.

KEYWORDS

Political Corruption

Post-colonial literature

Post-Coloniality

African Plays.

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DEDICATION

To my future wife.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The entire body of African literary works during colonial and post-colonial eras have been described as being based on nationalism, protest, and disillusionment. Even though Africa has a wealth of natural resources that could improve the living standards of its citizens, poor political governance, and high levels of corruption have led to the exploitation and diversion of its economic resources by corrupt government officials, often to the detriment of the continent's development and welfare. It is in this regard that the texts under study show how the literary artists attempt to pursue societal change. This study seeks to address the issues of political corruption in post-colonial literature through its analyses of Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2003), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013),

Political corruption is a problem which is progressively returning Africa to the days of slavery and over-exploitation of Africa's human resources. It often manifests as the result of poor political governance and a lack of sufficient attention to the marginalised. Many people in Africa seem to have freely subjected themselves to various sorts of exploitation. Worst of them is Africa's dismal industrial and labour relations, where technocrats and high-skilled workers are paid peanuts while, in many cases, ordinary citizens who have entered politics bathe in a sea of wealth, thanks to extraordinarily good working conditions and geometrically high salaries. In pursuit of an insightful post-coloniality agenda, this study focuses on Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2003), *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's

Harvest of Corruption (2013). The goal of this study is to examine how political corruption is depicted in post-colonial literature in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath,* (2003), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

From my perspective, the trap of an embedded postcolonial style of thinking is that nation-states and their academics are eager to escape the unfinished mission of political decolonisation. "Post-colonialism, like post-modernism" in general, is a brand of culturalism that exaggerates the importance of cultural aspects in human affairs (Eagleton, 1999, p. 26). As a result, playwrights put out their necks to fulfil their functions as social critics; otherwise, they will not be acting as society's watchdogs. Postcoloniality theory in this sense remains an unfinished agenda as the study seeks to address the issues of political corruption in post-colonial literature through its analyses of Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

Background to the Study

Africa remains trapped in the snares of the colonial power matrix. Control of the economy, control of authority, control of gender and sexuality, and control of subjectivity and knowledge are the four interconnected domains described by Quijano (2007, pp. 168-178), as the essential outlines of the colonial matrix of power. Colonialism was never satisfied with imposing its syntax and logic on a ruled country's present and future, as Fanon (1961, p. 67), observes. This study focuses on Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption*

(2013), to expose issues of political corruption in the post-colony and the ills associated with African politics.

In the fifteenth century, what began as colonial contacts resulted in historical and intellectual realities mediated by inferior-superior relationships. Historically, Africa integrated into an international system on the parameters set by the West. The truth of this integration cannot be avoided by African thinkers. For instance, nationalist historiography was a response; so was cultural nationalism before it, and both faced the challenge of countering negative Eurocentric ideas about Africa (Falola & Aderinto, 2010, p. 262).

According to Ngugi wa Thiong'o in *Writers in Politics* (1981), writers are unable to escape the political, social, and intellectual realities of their cultures. He says in the preface of the book that "a writer has no choice, but to make sure his writings reflect one or more parts of society's intense economic, political, cultural, and ideological struggles" (wa'Thiong'o, 1981, p. 11).

Bribery, fraud, embezzlement, and nepotism are more typically seen in African literary writings (De Sardan, 1999). Corruption was essentially non-existent in pre-colonial West Africa due to the lack of a clear boundary between public and private life in pre-colonial civilisations. Nonetheless, there were cases of misuse of authority that we now describe as part of the corruption complex (Le Vine, 1975).

The African play, according to Owonibi (2014), is largely representational. It is a collection of works that can help understand the ups and downs of Africa's development. Drama is always ready to provide a truthful picture of Africa's social reality. Modern African theatre is a great tool for recording African experiences in all forms in addition to exposing the lies

and contradictions that are present in today's African societies. This applies not only to theatre but to other literary forms, including prose and poetry.

For years, literary African giants like Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Ayi Kwei Armah, and Ama Ata Aidoo have expressed concerns about political and governance issues. Many of these playwrights express their concerns in literary works that portray that, on the African continent, politics as a corrupt institution in which the winner takes all and dishonesty is rampant. Some of their works' thematic concerns are therefore a sharp response to society's tragic moral deterioration.

Africa's existing state systems, according to Wyke (2021), are a vestige of a colonially imposed framework. The colonialists' centralised state system was embraced by Africans, resulting in a political culture based on ethnicity and authoritarianism. After independence, the mass of the populace was oppressed by this system, driving many writers to question and investigate these acts of impunity and disrespect for humanity. Post-colonialism also reveals how politicians strive to get to the greatest political office by any means necessary, and sometimes aim to lead for life. These acts are adequately portrayed in the agitation of the tanker drivers in Djoleto's *Money Galore* (1975), and through the agitations of the trade unions in Achebe's (1967), *A Man of the People.*

Our colonial conquerors were interested in stealing our raw materials, but today's politicians are more concerned with stealing money than with stealing raw materials. Both have essentially created a class system that benefits the rich while burdening the poor. Injustice reigns supreme as long as colonial oppressors rule from afar. In response to this situation, Nigerian

playwrights like Osofisan and Ogbeche, for example, use satire in their works to criticise socio-political vices. This study grounds the analysis of the selected texts within the post-colonial and post-coloniality theory, bringing out the motifs within the bureaucratic structures of post-colonial Nigeria from which the research takes a panoramic perspective of the entire society to address the issues of political corruption in the post-colony.

Thesis Statement

The goal of this study is to examine how political corruption is depicted in the post-colony of *Altine's Wrath*, *Midnight Hotel*, and *Harvest of Corruption*. The issues of politics and the struggle for power in many African countries after gaining political independence are discussed in this study. The struggle for political power amidst the super flow of corruption has slowed the progress of many African countries. The plays selected for this study, *Altine's Wrath, Midnight Hotel* and *Harvest of Corruption*, have political elements that expose the roots of the indictments, and corruption that weigh down the political leadership of a nation.

The writings of African writers bring to the fore the notions of politics, corruption, and injustice in their respective worlds. Researchers who concentrate on these issues look into the circumstances that motivated writers to write about the phenomena that are "killing" their countries. Abiodun (2014), discusses the relationship between political authority and wealth corruption in Achebe's novel, *A Man of the People*. Achebe clearly stated the themes raised in the novel and highlighted in *A Man of the People*:

> Overnight everyone began to shake their heads at the excesses of the last regime, at its graft, oppression and corrupt government,

> newspaper, the radio, the hitherto silent intellectuals, and civil servants- everybody said what a terrible lot; and it became public opinion the next morning. And these were the same people that only other day had owned a thousand names of adulation, who praise-singers followed with song and talking drum wherever they went (Abiodun, 2014, p.148).

Ogbeche Frank Ogodo (2013), and Femi Osofisan's (1986, 2002) publications have given readers a plethora of information about the topics that are currently resonating in their respective countries. The plays introduce us to a culture that is grappling with a heap of political, moral, and economic problems. The three plays' topics, characterisations, and language, as well as their satirical and funny nature, have all been researched by many experts. Not many works, however, have been done to cover the plays using post-coloniality theory. This study, through textual analysis and post-coloniality theory, aims to expose to the issues of political corruption in the post-colony and the ills associated with African politics as portrayed in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

The study seeks to address the issues of political corruption in the post-colony.This study uses the post-coloniality theory as a framework for literary analysis. Political corruption is such a thorny and troubling term because it seems to address the happenings of postcolonial realities in African societies. Post-coloniality theory looks into the very unruly nature of the African political leadership after total political independence, and influence from the colonial masters.

Drama, poetry and prose fill a societal void. Contrary to common opinion, the arts in general, and drama in particular, exist largely or totally to entertain. Drama has shown over time that the society in which it functions has issues that need to be addressed and anomalies that need to be rectified. The playwright uses his pen to reveal society's flaws in order to increase public awareness about how to rectify societal injustices, just as society gives birth to the artist. This is consistent with Obuh's (2010), point of view:

Apart from playing the role of the entertainer, the artist uses his artistic creation to instil truth into people's consciousness at any given age. It is also true that when anomalies and contradictions become too glaring in any society the literary artist feels called upon to rectify such anomalies found in the society by using art as a weapon (Obuh, 2010, p. 68).

According to Olanrewaju (2011), Achebe states aptly "an African creative writer, who seeks to ignore the big social and political issues of contemporary Africa will end up irrelevant" (p.72). Artists have the freedom to use any genre to communicate their message to the reader or audience.

When the European political system was first introduced to Africa, it was largely misinterpreted and misapplied since it was unknown to Africans. This frequently culminated in ambiguity and disarray as a result of multiple upsets and confrontations with complex and difficult-to-understand sources. The central issue seems to have developed as a result of the colonially imposed social and political institutions in which colonised Africans lived and struggled to survive (Davidson, 1992, p. 12). There is an "institutional crisis" that has arisen owing to the social and political institutions established in the main frame of the national set up by the colonial masters.

This study, in keeping with its goals, focuses on how politics is portrayed in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath* and *Midnight Hotel*, and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption*. The study seeks to get their thoughts across and closer to their audiences through critical interpretations of their characters as the stories progress to confront societal ills and establish the much desired change.

The modern African political landscape is strewn with brutes and beasts in the form of tyrants who go from north to south and east to west throughout the continent. These dictators exemplify transitory personalities to perfection. Many have been removed violently while others are still waiting for a larger force to wipe them out like vermin. Any discussion of Africa will be incomplete without discussing a dictator, past or present. Power drunk leaders are a common cause of strife and political turmoil across Africa, notwithstanding the cultural and ethnic varieties of these countries.

On this note, the study aims to explore the devastating effects of political corruption in the post-colony by critically examining and analysing how the playwrights portray politics in the post-colony.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to expose, through textual analysis and post-coloniality theory, the issues of political corruption in the post-colony and the ills associated with African politics as portrayed in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

Objectives of the Study

1. To examine and discuss forms of political corruption in the selected plays in the post-colonial African socio-political environment.
2. To assess the impact of political corruption on the lives of characters in the selected plays.
3. To explore satire as a literary style used by the playwrights in portraying the issues of political corruption in the selected plays.
4. To explore post-coloniality as a spectacle and a literary theory in addressing political corruption as exhibited in the selected plays.

Research Questions

1. What are the forms of political corruptions in the selected plays in the post-colonial African socio-political environment?
2. How does political corruption affect the lives of the characters in the selected plays?
3. How has satire as a literary style employed by the playwrights helped to portray the issues of political corruption in the selected plays?
4. How does post-coloniality as a spectacle and a literary theory address political corruption as exhibited in the selected plays?

Delimitation

This study is confined to only the chosen texts, Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013). The study analyses how the writers portray African politics using post-coloniality theory as a analytical framework to portray the issues of political corruption in the post-colony

Limitation

Leedy and Ormrod (2001), point out that during a research process, the researcher cannot avoid having data contaminated by one form of bias or another. It is however unethical and unprofessional to fail to acknowledge the possibility of such limitations. The most significant challenge to this study will be a scarcity of literature on "post-coloniality theory". The researcher faced a little challenge in adopting it to guide his work since it is an emerging theory and has few literature on it.

Significance of the Study

Some modern African playwrights shine the light of their creative powers to expose various flaws in African politics but only a few plays such as Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013), clearly portray political corruption in Africa. On this note, specific reasons are stated below to justify their choice.

These plays reveal outright indictments of politicians and have a common theme of political corruption explicitly portrayed in them. They address the common issue of power struggle and abuse. Again, the artistic nature of writers (poets, novelists, playwrights, journalists, and academics), patriotic citizens, and civil and human rights activists are committed to the well-being or welfare of the people, their revolution, and transformation. They contribute to democratic change and preserve everything good for humanity. Thus, by recording and exposing the harm associated with political corruptions in the respective countries, they remain on the side of the

oppressed. It is these reasons that have motivated the study of the selected plays.

Methodology

According to Johnson and Christensen (2004), research methodology describes the framework of the researcher's actions in making the best decisions based on the nature of the research questions and the expected outcomes. According to Kumekpor (2002), research methods are the methods, procedures, and techniques utilised to uncover what one seeks to know.

Research Design

Using post-coloniality theory, the study examines the corrupt nature of African politics in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath* (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013). This study employs the qualitative approach to investigate the problem under study and textually analyzing the objectives. It uses the postcoloniality theory to find out subjectively the corrupt nature of African politics in the selected plays.

Analytical Framework

Textual analysis was used as the analytical framework for this study because it deals with the interpretation of texts. Textual analysis, according to McKee (2003), is the process of interpreting texts (films, novels, television shows, magazines, ads, clothing, graffiti, and so on) to gain insight into how people in different cultures and times make sense of the world around them.

Textual analysis is a word that every qualitative researcher is familiar with. It is based on numerous factors such as originality, creativity, inspiration, history, and the cultures in which we live or learn (McKee, 2003). Textual analysis, according to Smith (2017), is widely employed in the field of

communications since it is a trans-disciplinary method that can also be found in the social sciences and humanities. He also discusses the approach of textual analysis which allows for certain variations in the form of content analysis, semiotics, interactional analysis, and rhetoric critique.

Hindle (2007), points out that the origins of textual analysis can be traced back to the Greek myth of Hermes, the mythological god who, when faced with the monumental task of conveying the gods' message to mere mortals, needed to first interpret the gods' messages before translating and explicating their meanings in a language that ordinary humans could understand. Textual analysis entails deciphering the language and symbols found in texts to learn how individuals interpret the texts. Textual analysis is done to interpret the text to get the sense or meaning out of it.

According to Belsey (2014), every literary analysis requires an understanding of how meaning operates. Meaning is not at the disposal of the individual, and it is not, according to popular belief, a matter of purpose or an isolatable "concept" that exists before its inscription; rather, we learn what we mean from the outside, from a language that has always existed before us, (Belsey, 2014). If meaning is developed through language, Belsey continues, we can make up words, but they will only become meaningful if other people comprehend them. We can build up codes, but they only become languages when they are intelligible to another person, at least in theory (Belsey, 2014).

In terms of textual analysis, Barthes and Marshall (1977), have expanded on this fundamental distinction that reading a text and deciphering its meaning through analysis is an objective rather than a subjective process. Making sense of a text does not imply deriving meaning from it in the way

that one fantasises about something (Belsey, 2014). Understanding something from a text is the goal of textual analysis. This can be accomplished by "understanding the process of interpretation as the result of a reader-text connection" (Belsey, 2014, p. 27).

There is no such thing as "pure" reading, according to Belsey. Extra-textual knowledge is always used in interpretation, some of it from broad cultural knowledge and others from secondary sources (Belsey, 2014). However, this does not imply that a reader is free to extract any meaning he wants from the text, as meaning is not derived through free association. To buttress his argument, Belsey (2014), uses the Barthian concept of the reader which rejects the utopian author's sole sovereignty over the text but does not replace it with the reader as an individual. All the quotations that make-up writings are imprinted without any of them being lost; the wholeness of a text is found in its destination rather than its origin. This destination, however, can no longer be personal. The reader has no past, biography, or psychology; he is simply someone who collects all the traces that make up the written text in a single field (Barthes & Marshall, 1977).

To avoid personal bias, a researcher must be conversant with the cultural and social context of the indicators in the text he is analysing. Various cultural and historical secondary sources are then studied in the context of the text's cultural and historical background or set up for the textual analysis. Taking into account all of these factors, the process of textual analysis generates a wide range of different interpretations and readings, contributing to the corpus of knowledge. This study seeks to interpret political corruption in the selected texts using a qualitative textual analysis approach that conducts

reading from the post-structuralist perspective to interpret the issues of political corruption in the post-colony and the ills associated with African politics as portrayed in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath* (2002) and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into seven chapters. Chapter 1 consists of the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, delimitation, and limitation, significance of the study, methodology, and organisation of the study. Chapter 2 presents a review of related literature to the study. It further examines the theoretical framework that underpins the study and reviews the related studies to shape the current study and uncovers new terrain in this field of study. Chapter 3 concentrates on the textual analysis of the forms of political corruption in the post-colony as portrayed in the selected texts. Chapter 4 covers textual analysis on the impact of political corruption on the lives of characters in the selected plays. Chapter 5 focuses on the textual analysis of satire as a literary style used to portray political corruption in the selected plays. Chapter 6 focuses on the textual analysis of post-coloniality as a spectacle in examining political corruption in the selected plays. Chapter 7 focuses on the main findings, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This chapter reviews the related literature which comprises the views and findings of different writers as documented in books, the internet, journals, articles, and periodicals about the problem. In this chapter, the post-coloniality theory underpinning the research is reviewed. The chapter traces the background of this theory, its proponents, and the relevance of the theory to the topic being studied. This theory as reviewed shall shape and direct the focus of the research. It also helps to establish the existing gap to fill with the study.

Post-coloniality Theory

An analysis of the crises of post-coloniality in Africa must necessarily begin with conceptual clarification not only of the notion of the post-colony, but also its entanglement with the global hierarchy of power and practices of colonial subjection. The notion of post-coloniality and African subjectivity has been extensively debated by several scholars (e.g. Geschiere, 2009; Quayson, 2001; Radhakrishnan, 1993). Post-coloniality is defined by Hume (2008), as the resistance of imperial power by the subjects who are harmed by it. It is a corpus of work that aims to dismantle colonial assumptions of Euro-North American political and cultural criticism. While decoloniality operates outside of the Euro-North American matrix, by emphasizing the site of enunciation, post-coloniality is trapped inside it (Campa, 2008). The epistemic center of post-coloniality, which has its roots in Euro-North American English academic departments, is counter-hegemonic both in form and in content. It is

the Third World's voice within the empire of Europe and North America. In order to refute the simplistic and unfounded universal claims made by that theory, post-coloniality has focused on "finding the connectedness of European theoretical terminology" (Hume, 2008, p. 395). Decoloniality, which stands outside the Euro-North American Empire through border-gnosis, supports the "marginal subject" or "the subaltern" from what it refers to as the Third World's epistemic location. Post-coloniality also privileges culture and discursive practices in a form of a text. It calls for the transformation of the structure to solve problems hence post-coloniality appears to be purely dealing with socio-political issues after colonialism that is post-colonial experiences. Erroneously, post-coloniality seems to go hand in hand with concepts such as post-war, the meaning of which relates to the aftermaths of war or after a political crisis.

Post-coloniality "has left one of the greater forms of modernity/colonialism undisturbed" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007b, p. 382). The superiority of the Euro-North American epistemology tends to be maintained by post-coloniality, which embodies some effectiveness of radical critique. While decoloniality does not take modernity for granted and recognises coloniality as modernity's darker side, post-coloniality does not see modernity from this perspective. In contrast to post-coloniality, decolonisation does not in any way restore modernity. As opposed to post-coloniality, its modes of criticism take place outside of modernity. Post-coloniality is defined as "various indigenous local and hybrid processes of self-determination that reject, erode, and occasionally displace the tremendous force of imperial cultural knowledge" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998, p. 1). Although

colonialism has been transcended in post-colonialism, colonialism continues to inform the present and exists in the form of coloniality, which is an essential component of modernity. According to Scott (1972), post-coloniality adopts an anti-colonial stance and is focused on painting a bad picture of colonialism.

In this vein, Appiah (2013), asks if the *post* in post-modernism equates the *post* in post-colonialism. Irele's claim about duality with post-colonial Africa goes as follows:

We are aware of the irrevocable character of the modifications that Europe's influence has wrought in our midst, which are so widespread as to constitute the major frame of reference for our current life. Then, the traditional pre-colonial culture and way of life remain a reality among us, but they are part of an order of existence that is on a forced march, controlled by the demands of a contemporary scientific and technological civilization (Irele, 2013, p. 600).

Colonialism's after-effects and losses concerning Africa's endogenous development are intolerable. In post-colonial Africa, Asia, and America, for example, alienation emerged in many forms. Ambivalence and ambiguity are two aspects of its manifestation. The colonial master imposed Western "civilised" cultures on his/her subjects using the potent tool of formal education, a type of education that was conducted without regard for cultural concerns and values that existed among the indigents of a formally colonised people (ZTchombe, 2006). Even though some of the colonized find it difficult to comprehend, the results are slyly terrible. Castellano (2022), has no other option than to wipe the destructive seeds of colonialism from his or her inter-personal territory. Irele (2013), also appears to be saying that raising

awareness is critical in deconstructing the dominant approach to the concept of post-coloniality.

The first and last mistake, according to Appiah (2013, p. 656), is to assess the "other" on one's terms. As a result, we impose our judgment in the name of this relativist knowledge. As Abrams (2005, p. 246), summarises, the challenge of classical conical writing for fairness and justice is a major trend of post-coloniality. Per Abrams, "a major element of the postcolonial agenda is to disestablish Eurocentric norms of literary and artistic values, and to expand the literary canon to include colonial and post-colonial writers" (ibid, 246). Many of the works written by post-colonial writers are ambiguous and controversial due to their introspective and self-critical qualities.

According to Pewissi (2017, p.129), hybridism, as a major notion in post-colonial realities, does not imply that hybridism began with post-colonialism. In other words, before, during, and after colonisation, hybridity and hybrid experience are not the same. The terms are different from each other. From the binary opposing strategic approach, it is clear that, before Africa's contact with Western colonizing powers, social organisations exhibited uneven relationships, and hybridism was manifested through the interactions of people from various religious, cultural, political, and social backgrounds. Akyeampong also maintains, in the words of Kwame Nkrumah, that:

> African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic religion; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa,

using colonialism and neocolonialism as its vehicles. These different segments are animated by different ideologies (Akyeampong, 2014, p.77).

Multi-culturalism, which celebrates the diversity of cultural practices, has attracted the attention of post-colonial studies critics. Given the blending of past and current values in literature, post-coloniality reads like a similar connotation to multi-culturalism. Post-colonial periods experience alien cultures adopted into the native culture of the colonised. Some critics in the United States, at least from the literary perspective, have come to classify culture into two big groups: American culture, which implies the mainstream, and boutique multi-culturalism, which encompasses all other cultures. Boutique multi-culturalism equates all non-American cultures to the exotic (Traore, 2012, p. 405). About the concept of multi-culturalism and the historical settlement background of the United States, one is tempted to ask for the reason for all other cultures, in this broad geographical context, to be referred to as boutique as “against one single culture”. Again, it is important to know if America, referred to as a melting pot, can have a single and unified culture.

On the theoretical level, post-coloniality may appear to be a reality, but lived experiences of colonialism range from one person to the next, from one area to the next, and from one era to the next. These various realities have an impact on colonised people's responses to post-colonial concerns. The term “post-coloniality” is a contentious and confusing one. Post-coloniality means different things to different scholars, and the idea can have several contradictory meanings for the same scholar or proponent. Consequently, the

concept is re-defined, conceptualised, contested, debated, studied, and differently, adapted for study in various disciplines such as English literature and comparative philology, cultural studies, gender studies, Diaspora studies, and other disciplines that epistemically or methodologically interface with self-proclaimed core stakeholders such as political scientists and historians. The themes in the plays selected for this study correspond to or reflect the concerns raised by the "core stakeholders", social commentators, as well as those concerned with the political dimension the African continent is taking.

Furthermore, numerous ideas, ideologies, and schools of thought are involved in the debate about the definitions and connotations of post-colonialism. Such schools of thought include Marxism, dependency theory, nationalist historiography, the subaltern school of history, post-colonial studies in African literature, post-modernism and various shades of post-structuralism, both within and between domains, which are all included in the discussion. The broader epistemological debate about whether the competing concepts of "post-coloniality", "post-colonialism", or potentially "post-modernism" have more adequate explanatory power linked to the previous complex arguments. Some writers have questioned the definition of the term "post" in these various contexts. If the term "post" is taken in its literal or linear historical sense to mean "events after", then "post-coloniality" or "post-colonialism" becomes roughly synonymous with the seemingly underappreciated concept of "neocolonialism", which refers to a new form of colonialism after independence when the original form had ended. Does *post* transformatively redefine "coloniality" or "colonialism", as some scholars have argued, to represent some ordered type of "discursive practices, the construction of

subjectivities and identities, or real historical processes" (Zeleza, 2006, p. 19). The basis for defining and improving understanding of the nature of crises linked with the political phenomenon on the continent is post-coloniality in Africa. Post-coloniality, a more modern and "periphery-centred" derivation of postcolonialism, refers to "the cultural daily life of the former colonies". Post-coloniality is a long-standing pattern of power that arose as a result of colonialism and allows us to understand how colonial forms of dominance remain after colonial administrators have finished their turn which was created or influenced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern (colonial) capitalist world system. The term "post-colonial power" refers to a critical structuring process in the modern/colonial world system that connects peripheral locations in the international division of labour with the global racial/ethnic hierarchy, as well as the inscription of Third World migrants in the racial/ethnic hierarchy of metropolitan global cities (Wallerstein, 1979). Post-coloniality replaces the presence of colonial administrations. As Peruvian sociologist, Quijano (2000), demonstrates with his "coloniality of power" perspective that we still live in a colonial world, and we must break free from narrow perspectives on colonial relations to realise the unfinished and incomplete twentieth-century dream of decolonisation. This is a bane of this study which intends to scrutinise the contemporary African political administration's exhibition of the features of colonial injustice and the political corruption that were experienced during the colonial era. The literary telescope of this study reveals political corruption as portrayed in the content and imaginary experiences shared in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002),

and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013).

Critiques of Post-Colonial Theory

The foremost and most serious criticism levelled against postcolonial theory is directed at the term "postcolonial". Critics argue that either the term's definition is so broad that it encompasses practically all eras and places, rendering it useless, or that the concept is simply too basic. Ahmad (1995), argues that an overly broad definition of colonialism (and subsequently, post-colonialism) leads to meaninglessness, pointing out that "colonialism" then becomes a trans-historical thing, always present and always dissolving in one part of the world or another, so that everyone gets the privilege, sooner or later, of being the coloniser, colonised, and postcolonial, sometimes all at once, as in the case of Australia.

McClintock (1992), has challenged the word "postcolonial" by pointing out that it is still based on a binary: colonial/postcolonial. She claims that "the term's singularity causes a re-centring of world history around the single rubric of European time. Colonialism reappears when it is about to vanish (McClintock, 1992, p. 86). McClintock continues that "in its simplicity, the term also elevates the nineteenth-century European colonial experience as the standard essentialism of colonialism that excludes or at least reduces imperial endeavours before the European era (such as Japanese imperialism) and after its fall (such as Soviet imperialism)" (p. 86). In addition, the term postcolonial, say critics such as McClintock, implies that colonialism has ended and that we can look back on it with a new *post*colonial perspective.

While official colonialism as defined by nineteenth-century European standards may have ended, many geopolitical interactions could be (and frequently are being) classified as colonial or neocolonial. Does this rule out the possibility of a past neocolonial theory? The question is only half-joking, but it does highlight a problem with defining postcolonial theory and what it entails. With all of its emphasis on knowledge production, postcolonial theory has not ignored the power of language, and as a result, some of the most passionate discussions about postcolonial terminology have come from those who have worked to define the concept themselves.

Further, critiques of the postcolonial theory have stressed European colonialists' uncomfortably prominent position in postcolonial thought. While we still consider it a kind of European colonialism, the Spanish colonial endeavour in the Americas has received little (if any) attention, even though it ended decades before colonialism in Africa and Asia. In the same way, Australia began to be represented in the 2000s and 2010s, and the experiences of groups who have been subjected to internal colonialism, such as indigenous communities, have had too little voice in the endeavour of rewriting colonial history (McClintock, 1992; Shohat, 1992).

Postcolonial theory has also been accused of ignoring structural conditions in favour of subjectivity to the point of missing the real power altogether (Dirlik, 1994). Finally, the highly self-critical nature of postcolonial theory has elicited charges that postcolonial theory has reached into an esoteric realm, perpetually arguing with itself about what it is and what it should be called. But in the light of the literary world, especially in Africa, the extent to which playwrights exhibit their artistry in exposing the social,

political and economic realities of the people needs the coloniality theory to understand the political corruption influenced by colonialism. This coloniality theory will help expose and redirect the ills of their political environment. To most critics, the colonial impact may have been the reason for the troubles of the masses in Africa as exhibited in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath,* (2002) and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013). Thus, for this study, postcoloniality theory can be trusted to be ideal in the analysis of these plays.

Literature as Resistance

Within the postcolonial theory, literature as resistance is a broad field that encompasses reading texts and writing texts as forms of resistance. Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask* (1968), is about resistance, so it is simple to spot while other works are more subtle in their treatment of resistance. While there are numerous examples of resistance in literature, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958), by describing the intricate life of an African hamlet, vehemently refutes colonially-informed conceptions of "primitive" Africa. He also writes the dialogue in a high register of Igbo, highlighting the beauty of the language but simultaneously positioning the Western English-speaking reader as an outsider to the complexities of African life. Indeed, reconstructing the tongues of the colonised is a kind of resistance that can be found across most postcolonial literature. In its production, content, and reception, Achebe's work is a great example of a postcolonial text questioning colonial knowledge production, and it has offered rich material for postcolonial theory (Ashcroft et al., 1998). The political knowledge established by colonialism set a pace for the modern governing politicians. This leads to the issue of coloniality.

Colonialism and Imperialism

Most analyses and explanations of colonialism begin with an examination of its link to imperialism, leading to some scholars blurring the lines between the two notions. Both concepts have a long history and both include kinds of subjugation (including the actual exercise of behavioural influence) of one people or country by another (Young, 2001, p.15). Imperialism is derived from the concept of empire. Empires, in turn, arise from large power imbalances among political units, and this inequality allows one party, the strong (metropole or core), to dominate and govern the weak satellites (periphery) (Rapkin, 2005, p. 390). Both colonialism and imperialism are founded on the asymmetrical political and economic relations between the metropolitan centre and the subjected periphery.

Military and ethnocultural dominance, irredentism, religious inquisition, economic exploitation, and so on were all factors in pre-nineteenth century imperial and colonial ambitions (Holy Roman Empire, Chinese Empire, Medo-Persian Empire, and so on). However, they differ significantly from imperial and colonial projects from the nineteenth century onwards, which were economically motivated (access to raw materials and markets), implemented as State policies, backed by the metropolitan state's overwhelming power and bureaucratic machinery, and fostered a global ambition. The postcolonial is intrinsically linked to this capitalist-inspired age of colonialism and imperialism. Imperialism and colonialism have not always been converged in history. Arguably, the classical colonialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was both pre-dated and post-dated by imperialism or what some

contemporary scholars describe as 'imperial governance' (Omeje, 2008; Rapkin, 2005).

Sub-Saharan Africa bore the brunt of western imperialism, partly due to the crippling antecedents of externally induced slavery. Two terrible forms of externally-induced slavery in the region laid the groundwork for European conquest and later colonisation of Sub-Saharan Africa. The first was the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade, which lasted over 900 years (from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries) before the colonial rule and in which Arab merchants bought and conscripted slaves from various parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (particularly, eastern Africa and the Sahel) and sold them to the Arab world (including North Africa) and parts of the Mediterranean. Most of the male slaves were used as foot-soldiers, castrated harem guards, and domestic servants while the female slaves were employed as domestic servants, hardbound mistresses, and forced prostitutes. Black slaves in the Arab world were scarcely allowed any opportunity for normal family life and procreation. A limited number of slaves were also taken from eastern Africa across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent.

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade constituted the first european drive for Africa, with hordes of slaves being transported from Africa to the Americas to labour primarily on agricultural plantations. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was mostly restricted to Western Africa, excluding Southern Africa and Eastern Africa (save for Mozambique and Madagascar for logistical reasons). It resulted in heated rivalry as Portugal, the Dutch Republic, France, and Great Britain battled for black slave workers (Rawley, 2003, p. 6). Slave traffickers in Europe enslaved

Africans by kidnapping, deceit, capture, and, most importantly, by threatening African chiefs and community leaders with conscription of themselves and their families if they did not produce “enslaveable” people. The persistent pressure on chiefdoms was indeed made more pronounced by the occasional conscription of recalcitrant chiefs and royal households. In effect, continuous inter-tribal raiding and warfare occurred between chiefdoms as they competed to capture and deliver citizens of rival communities to brutally armed and waiting slave masters and ships.

Historians' estimates of how many Africans were transported from the continent in the course of the various externally-induced slave trades vary a lot, but they are all in the millions. Perhaps, as many as 9 million in the trans-sahara/oriental slave trade, and well over 12 million in the trans-Atlantic human trade (M'Bokolo, 1998). Leading African historians such as Cheikh Anta Diop (1978), believe that between 100 and 200 million Africans were slain or enslaved during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Baregu, 2003, p. 22). Political economists have thoroughly examined and documented the effects of centuries of externally-induced human trade on the African economy, security, and development (Ake, 1982; Rodney, 1972). Africa’s workforce was ruthlessly stolen. Africa's labour force was systematically plundered as the critical mass of individuals in the most productive age cluster required to engineer and sustain development at home was lost and redirected towards for the development of the countries and regions to which they were sent. As a result, Africa remained precolonial, while the rest of the recipient world (mostly, Europe and the Americas in the case of the more destructive Transatlantic Slave Trade) achieved rapid development with the assistance of

African ‘enslaved’ labour. The second scramble for Africa was triggered by Europe's search for exploitable colonies, culminating in the historic Berlin Conference of 1884-85, where Africa was balkanised into colonisable parts by the main Western imperial powers.

Many other places of the world were colonised by Western powers in addition to Africa. Colonial hegemony in the nineteenth and then twentieth centuries took several forms that reflected the major colonial countries' policy orientations and goals. Major colonial powers such as the United Kingdom, Spain, France, and Portugal sought and implemented various colonial policies in various regions and missions.

The following three major types of colonies and colonial activities have been identified by scholars (Young, 2001, p. 17). The first, dominion colonies, were formed primarily for the sake of settlement. These colonies include British North America, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as other Portuguese colonies such as Brazil, Angola, and Mozambique. The majority of Dominion colonies experienced systematic killing and/or displacement of indigenous inhabitants, as well as their forcible ejection/confinement to harsh environments such as deserts and forests. This approach has been dubbed “geographical violence” by some (Young, 2001, p. 17).

The second category includes colonies created as economic dependencies with no intention of becoming large-scale and permanent settlements. They were mostly colonies in the high-humidity tropics. Such regions witnessed the use of direct and indirect rule as by the British, assimilation theory by the French, and direct imposition of metropolitan culture. Because only a few European officials were involved in administering

the vast colonial territories, scholars like Bayart and Hibou (1999), argue that all colonial powers use a combination of direct and indirect rule, even if some, like the French and Portuguese, do not frame theirs in the same way as the British.

The third is maritime enclaves, mostly islands, harbours, and other strategic points acquired by imperial powers as bases for global military operations and protection of strategic interests as in outlying regions like Dutch Batavia, and Falkland Islands, among others.

Classical Colonialism mostly involved the first two types (dominion and dependence colonies). As a result, all colonial powers tended to have two distinct types of colonies within their empires (settled and exploited, white and black/coloured) which were treated extremely differently (Young, 2001, p.19). Mbembe (2001, pp. 32-35), has indicated several underlying aspects concerning Africa and colonialism, which I have highlighted and illuminated in the following six thematic points.

First, there is *the instrumentality and arrogance of organised violence.* According to Mbembe (2001), colonial rule established systems of sovereignty based on three types of violence: founding violence, which is the self-justifying right of conquest and the establishment of governance structures, roles, and laws by sovereign diktat; justifying colonial sovereignty and violence by providing self-interpreting models for the necessity of the colonial order and its universalising mission – discursive violence aimed at converting the founding violence into a universalised mission. More importantly, military aggression was necessary for the development and maintenance of the enabling conditions that allowed for the most efficient

resource extraction. The authoritarian predilection and unmitigated impunity of the colonial establishment have been a recurrent feature in most analyses of colonialism by virtually all trenches of historians – nationalists, "post-nationalists", and the likes. Colonial rule was profoundly authoritarian, even though some facade of democracy was hurriedly instituted in most of the colonies towards the eve of independence. For the colonial masters, the uncivilised Africans were depicted as occupying the lowest rank of the human species' evolutionary ladder, only a step beyond the wild apes. This meant that authoritarianism was thought to be a fitting method of administration. The authoritarian ethos and heavily centralised political institutions that typified Africa's post-independence regimes were ostensibly a remnant of colonial authority.

Second, there is *the exercise of sovereignty with impunity*. Mbembe (2001), describes colonial authorities as "the arbitrariness and inherent unconditionality of colonial sovereignty; lack of justice as the means and lack of legitimacy as the ends of colonial programmes". The author contends that, the impunity regime constituted a divergence from the common law, individual rights, and legal justice ideas that were already evolving in the metropole. The colonial regime of impunity included forced labour, compulsory cash crop production, and the devolution of sovereign power to trading companies and individuals. The colonisers equipped many large companies with commercial and mining privileges and with sovereign rights, allowing them to raise taxes and maintain an armed force. According to Mbembe (2001), on the part of the colonisers and their business associates (colonial trading companies), the regime of impunity translated into and was

construed as a regime of privileges and immunities. Sovereignty was thereby privatised.

Third, there is the theme of the *"Prebendal" privatising of the public sphere.* Mbembe (2001), correctly observes that a corollary of the colonial regime of impunity was the confusion between public and private law, which allowed the sovereign's servants to seize the law and use it for purely private purposes in the name of the State. According to the author (who did not use the term "prebendal"), the desire to seize state authorities for 'prebendal' goals was pervasive. It appears in a variety of disguises and numerous locations. Mbembe maintains that, both the colonisers and their native assistants (catechists, interpreters, court clerks, office clerks, uniformed guards, butlers, and so on) are to blame for this occurrence.

Nnoli (1978; 1989), has eloquently articulated the historical trend in Africa toward privatisation of the public domain by state office holders, dating back to the conquerors' devious schemes, and how nationalist and postcolonial elites exploited ethnicity to further their authority and wealth. The systematic plundering politics that have characterised and devastated many of Africa's post-war regimes cannot be separated from the colonial era's self-centred blurring of public and private domains. Richard Joseph (1987), was the first scholar to rigorously re-theorise this deeply compromising political practice using the concept of prebendalism. This privatisation ethos of the colonisers, have led to the present situation of political powers of contemporary African leaders who, engage in corrupt practices based on ethnicity and tribal affiliations as explored in the selected plays.

Bach (2011), has re-theorised the familiar idea of Neo-patrimonialism to depict some meaningful distinctions among African postcolonial regimes, based on a conceptual synthesis from several relevant research. Neo-patrimonialism is a post-Weberian phrase coined by Eisenstadt (1973), to describe the confusion seen in many developing countries between the public and private spheres, and between the public officer and the office holder in a State with Weberian modern legal-bureaucratic institutions. The day-to-day running of state affairs, including the formulation and implementation of government policies, is conducted through informal client-list networks (often rooted in clannish, ethno-cultural, and other primordial tendencies) ultimately linked to a few powerful state office holders beyond the façade of public bureaucratic institutions. Neo-patrimonial rule is largely seen as a core element of African politics and a key contributor to postcolonial problems. A post-coloniality study into the themes of the selected plays exposes much of the evidence that a neo-patrimonial rule nursed by post-colonialism and imperialism have had effect on political corruption in African governance.

In Africa, Bach (2011), establishes an important analytical distinction between two opposites of Neo-patrimonialism: controlled and predatory types of Neo-patrimonialism. According to Bach (2011, pp. 277-280), the regulated neo-patrimonial state is characterised by a combination of personal rule, elite co-optation, and a re-distributive policy of ethnic-regional balance (e.g., Cote d'Ivoire under Houphout-Boigny, and Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta), whereas predatory Neo-patrimonialism corresponds to Zaire under Mobutu Sese Seko. Regulated Neo-patrimonialism has a high level of bureaucratic institutionalisation, allowing the government to establish and implement well-

intentioned development policies and initiatives. Predatory Neo-patrimonialism, on the other hand, is anti-development and a fundamental threat to the coherence and internal sovereignty of the state. Bach submits that, there arises a possible range of intermediate variations between the preceding two broad polar contrasts.

The fourth theme is *the Native discourse*. Scholars such as Fanon (1965), Rodney (1972), and Memmi (1991), have all eloquently elucidated the nativism debate. The racial and cultural divide between settlers and "natives" fueled colonial rule. The colonisers' denigration of the natives' systems of social structure as primitive, as well as their use of raw force in their self-imposed mission to civilise the Indians, were fundamental to this dichotomy. To justify the civilising mission, colonial discourses conjured up a slew of derogatory images of Africans as "subhuman species, unformed clay of primitive multitudes, a special human type, a child-like human with a child psychology and outlook, a child race that could never grow up, children with a bundle of drives and dysfunctional capacities that required perpetual guides and guardians", among other things (Mamdani, 1996, p. 4). The indigenous people of the colonial states lived as instinctive beings, incapable of rational thought, and wallowing in unbridled barbarism typified by mutual destruction battles in their natural state. The Indians were incapable of any breakthroughs in science, technology, literature, politics, or government owing to their lack of rational reasoning. Some of the works and pronouncements of well-known political theorists, philosophers, historians, explorers, statesmen, Christian missionaries, novelists, and other social thinkers from late feudal/early modern Europe, as well as the early stages of colonialism, can be found in the theory

of colonisation. It is important to recreate three of the most striking early modern European intellectuals' views on Africans or natives (Oluwole, 2006, p.10).

The Whites believe that nature has given the black African no intelligence that is above the level of folly. The disparity between the two races is significant. Eighteenth-century philosopher Emmanuel Kant ascertains that, the colour of one's skin determines the state of their mental faculty. I am inclined to believe that black people are naturally inferior to white people. There has never been a civilised nation of that complexion, nor has there ever been a person of that stature, in either action or speculation. There were no indigenous manufacturers, no arts, and no sciences among them. On the one hand, the rudest and most barbarous of the Whites, such as the ancient Germans, then sent Tartars, have still something eminent about them, in colour, the form of government, or some other particular thing. Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men, Hume, the eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher, adds.

The nineteenth-century French public intellectual, Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, widely regarded as the father of modern Euro-Western racial ideology, historically classified humanity into three unequal races – white, yellow, and black postulating that the Aryan-Germanic white is directly or indirectly responsible for all the remarkable achievements in all human civilisations throughout history owing to genetic superiority endowed with the creative genius. De Gobineau attributed the primacy of the Aryan-Germanic Diaspora to the legendary culture of ancient Egypt under the kingship of the

Pharaohs, a well-acclaimed black civilisation before the Arab Muslim invasion of North Africa. A few excerpts from one of de Gobineau's classic works, *An Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (1853-1855), will suffice to illustrate his pseudo-scientific racial ideology (Ayoub, 2012; Seilliere, 1914).

> Almost the whole of the Continent of Europe is inhabited, presently, by groups of people whose basis is white, but in which the non-Aryan elements are the most numerous. There is no true civilisation, among the European peoples, where the Aryan branch is not predominant …No negro race is seen as the initiator of a civilisation. Only when it is mixed with some other can it even be initiated into one …. Similarly, no spontaneous civilisation is to be found among the yellow races; and when the Aryan blood is exhausted stagnation supervenes. The negroid variety is the lowest (*of the three races*) …The yellow races are clearly superior to the black…. We now come to the white people. These are gifted with reflective energy or rather with an energetic intelligence. They have a feeling for utility … perseverance … greater physical power, an extraordinary instinct for order … a remarkable, and even extreme, love of liberty…
>
> The white races are, further, distinguished by an extraordinary attachment to life. When they are cruel, they are conscious of their cruelty; it is very doubtful whether such a consciousness exists in the Negro. Fabricated bigotries of the preceding nature, which were widespread during the so-called Enlightenment Age in Europe, were powerful legitimizing ideologies of both Colonialism and the trans-Atlantic slave trade that preceded it.

Various kinds of native social organisations were deliberately and systematically destroyed throughout the colonial era, and several cultural practices that existed before colonial authority were outlawed. The colonists attempted to civilise and train the Africans to become "proper" humans through Christianisation, Western education, and direct imposition of metropolitan cultural patterns. These pejorative discourses and castigations of Africans predate Colonialism and were, as previously said, part of the conceptual rationale of the trans-Atlantic slave trade before the colonial invasion. Every colonial authority had to come up with policies and conventions on how to deal with the native question (Mamdani, 1996, p. 4). One of the most prevalent policies was the promotion of separate settlement and development schemes for natives and European settlers in colonial urban centres. In some countries, the policy was extended to local indigenes and migrants from other ethno-cultural groups. "Indirect rule" using native authorities and traditional institutions was another famous policy.

The fifth theme is *the Fiction of compassion and benevolence*. To promote the colonists' goal of civilising the locals, they invented the myth of unselfish humanitarian action. The locals were supposed to be vulnerable to external influences, natural whims, diseases, and wild predators if they were left alone (Mbembe, 2001, p. 33). The colonisers' action was partially intended to save the locals from self/enemy devastation, poverty, and deplorable living conditions. Colonizers' discourses on Colonialism's reasons and raison-d'être were designed to obscure its materialist goal of securing resource enclaves for raw material extraction and other types of economic exploitation (Musah, 2002, p. 915). It is significant to point out that all the arms of the colonial

establishment, state officials, big businesses, and Christian missionaries and educationists were united in creating and instilling the patronising discourse that colonialism was a necessary and urgent humanitarian intervention. Victorian anthropologists of the evolutionist school reconstructed, disguised, and elevated the discourse into a self-fulfilling theory of human and societal progress. Even the theory of modernisation and political development vigorously promoted by American social scientists since the 1950s and repackaged by different Western agencies in contemporary history using various universalising euphemisms (e.g., neoliberal peace, democratisation, globalisation, developmentalism, liberal internationalism, market reforms, etc.) is essentially a disguised offshoot of the classical colonial fiction of compassion and benevolence.

The sixth is the progressive distinction between "Citizens" and "Subjects" is the sixth theme. As Colonialism progressed to the point where it was unavoidable to provide some of the noisy and groomed locals civic and political liberties, a division between 'citizens' and 'subjects' was eventually established. Originally, colonial subjects were indigenous peoples who were denied civil and political rights reserved for colonisers and other European or white immigrants/settlers. However, as Africans intensified their anti-colonial struggle, some of the affluent indigenes were gradually granted restricted citizenship status. In many countries, this created a new stratum of Africans who prided themselves as 'mini-Europeans', as the label *evolved* to be through the French's branding under their famous Assimilation policy. Rodney (1972), and Mamdani (1996), are among the most noted scholars to have eloquently expounded the "citizens and subjects" discourse. This established paradigm

brought up a discriminatory outlook between the elites and the common people of African nations after independence. Similar to this, it is realised in Femi Osofisan's *Altine's Wrath*, (2002), and *Midnight Hotel* (1986), and Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's *Harvest of Corruption* (2013), that political corruption practices benefits the elites at the expense of the majority common/semi-literate/illiterate citizens.

Postcolonial discourses

Postcolonial discourses are about specific ways of understanding, engaging with, and criticising Colonialism's material and discursive legacy (McEwan, 2002; Young, 2001). Although there are differences in the way different scholars view and interpret Colonialism's material and intellectual legacy, McEwan (2002, p. 127) attempts to identify four fundamental pillars of postcolonial discourses, which I have expanded and described.

The first pillar of postcolonial discourses is to destabilise or dismantle imperial Europe's main intellectual discourses, which are either implicitly or expressly ethnocentric or anchored in European (post-) Enlightenment civilisation and worldview. History, philosophy, development economics, anthropology, religion, politics, and linguistics, according to McEwan, are among the major intellectual discourses. Critics question some of these fields' core assumptions, such as the beliefs, biases, prejudices, distortions, and falsehoods they promote.

The second pillar is to question the power constructions and, by extension, discursive violence inherent in many categories, labels, and classifications (mainly binary) present in colonial discourses, which tend to be accepted as fact in postcolonial history. Discursive violence refers to the

barrage of intellectual and ideological discourses enunciated and propagated by the colonial establishment (European colonial officials, missionaries, and scholars, particularly colonial anthropologists) to justify colonial sovereignty, as well as the colonial order's necessity and universalising mission. Discursive violence against the black race was ubiquitous before and during colonialisation. During the era of colonialism especially, discursive violence was mostly about constructions of binary contrasts between the White and Non-white races (in the case of Africa, the black race) aimed at two mutually reinforcing objectives. The first objective was to denigrate, disparage, belittle, humiliate, ridicule, drivel, and pour scorn on everything about the "natives", their humanity, culture, religion, knowledge, history, and civilisation. The second objective of the binary discourses was to nurture, cultivate and transform the "natives" into mini-Europeans or "modern" persons living in a new civilization crafted in European image (McEwan, 2002).

The third pillar of postcolonial discourses is a critique of Western discourses' hegemonic accounting of history (time) and spatial distribution of knowledge (power) between the West and the Third World. The author adds that proponents have frequently presented the Western feeling of uniqueness from other regions of the world and superiority (modernity) in both history and knowledge as a timeless independent variable. As Zeleza so aptly states, the central thesis is:

> Prior to the rise of postcolonial studies, there was a tendency to see the metropolitan-colonial connection in one direction; to emphasise the flow of ideas, influences, institutions, and even individuals from the metropole to the colony. Post-colonialism has stressed the importance

> of reverse flows, of flows in both directions. The metropole was made by the imperial project as much as the colonies; more than commodities came from the colonies: new constructs of nation, race, gender, class, and modernity in the metropole were fashioned and refashioned in the combustible furnace of empire (Zeleza, 2006, p.120).

Postcolonial critique highlights the dialectical interconnections between the developed world and the Third World and the multi-faceted contributions of the latter to the development of the former.

The fourth and final pillar is that postcolonial scholarship attempts to recover the lost history and contemporary voices of the marginalized, the oppressed, and the dominated through a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production. It recognises and tries to reconstruct the strong civilisation of several parts of the developing world before European contact, the majority of which were distorted, unacknowledged and rubbished by Colonialism.

Post-colonialism

Post-colonialism emerges from the very beginning of colonial relations. Colonialism is responsible for the emergence of oppositional speech. The aftermath of Colonialism is shown in postcolonial literature. It displays the colonised natives' nostalgic self. A colonised must put up with a variety of unsettling events. He must be able to withstand and persevere in the face of numerous unavoidable conflicts. The suppression of a tremendous wealth of indigenous cultures under imperial power is brought to light by postcolonial writers. As Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (2003, p. 2), rightly point

out, all post-colonial cultures are still exposed to overt or covert forms of neocolonial dominance, and independence has not fixed the problem. The development of new elites within independent societies, often buttressed by neo-colonial institutions; the development of internal divisions based on racial, linguistic, or religious discriminations; the continuing unequal treatment of indigenous peoples in settler/invader societies all testify to the fact that post-colonialism is a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction.

Postcolonial writers attempt to ascribe new ethnic and cultural meanings to marginalised groups in the setting of a multi-cultural society, where the colonised often live with their former oppressors. Its literature tries to forge new identities in the face of these externally imposed boundaries. The colonised are approached by postcolonial literature, which seeks to commune with them. Its goal is to enter their inner sanctum and bring their cries of loss and proclamations of birth into the image. It is not literally to portray the colonised as victims, but rather to depict their perplexing feeling of belonging. They are culturally, racially, and historically hybridised, causing them to swing between present and past. This fluctuation can result in ineffective communication, and thus blurs belongingness.

Through colonial discourse, colonial violence is considered to have an 'epistemic' component that is an attack on the colonial peoples' culture, beliefs, and value systems. Colonial discourse denotes a new style of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic, and political processes are understood as intertwined in the establishment, perpetuation, and deconstruction of Colonialism. Because Africa has also served as a focal

point for colonising superpowers under various pretexts, it has fostered a sense of disintegration and division within the African population over time, giving rise to several rebellious critical writers.

Chinua Achebe's books and writings have been essential in the development of postcolonial theory and indigenous knowledge systems among African writers. However, wroks of various African writers are essentially by-products of his creative activity, which took the form of novels. The examination of Achebe's novels, as well as his essays, are among the most important contributions to African literature scholarship. Perhaps Achebe's most important influence, given his goal as a writer, is his contribution to the advancement of a new postcolonial consciousness, especially since his fictions date from the eve of African independence, thus giving emphatic voice to the pan-African impulse that found political expression in African independence, as Irele (2010, p. 33), asserts. It is from the novel that Achebe has made his most enduring contribution as a postcolonial writer (McClintock, 1992). The significance of his choice of this form has deep historical roots. The novel form is both the product and medium of the historical process. It marks a historic stage in the evolution of human communication when the interaction of technology and social relations brought about a new consciousness and the need for a new form of literary expression, as has been argued in studies by historians on the effect of technology and changing social relations on human consciousness, literary production (such as Georg Lukács, Ian Watt, Arnold Kettle), and communication media (Marshall McLuhan). With both technological media prospects and literary artistic works through poems, plays, and novels, history

is made. The truth or reality of the political atmosphere is brought to light through these two perspectives.

Coloniality

True colonialism was marked by oppressive policies that included enslavement, racism, violence, and genocide, wreaking devastating effects on the colonized (Rönnbäck, 2009, pp. 135-136; White, 2007, pp. 217-218). However, when colonisation officially ended with the formal cessation of sovereignty from European countries by the colonised and the withdrawal of the occupying military forces and administration, there was no increase in freedom for the colonised. Instead, what resulted was "poverty, corruption, violence, and sometimes chaos" in the realm of the formerly colonised, which continues to this day (Memmi, 2006, pp. 1 & 123). As such, colonisation is not simply a historical event but survives as a continuous process of implicit subjugation. I will refer to 'colonization' as *coloniality*. Coloniality is the material, and symbolic apparatuses and processes that further enforce colonisation. In terms of imperial powers of control and violence, colonisation does not exist in their original historical contexts. Empires no longer wield explicit, conscious, and direct power over their colonial subjects, nor do they even exist in terms of constitutive political sovereignty. However, their legacies live on through coloniality and the vast social, political, cultural, economic, and psychological conditions that it creates. Through the use of various means of coercion, colonisation was the active process of subordinating subjects in an exploitative hierarchical relationship that was both material and symbolic between themselves and the coloniser. Although conflicts were frequent as a form of repression and control by colonial powers,

such means of force need not always be deemed physically violent in terms of conflict. Rather, the material and symbolic forces of colonisation additionally and violently manifested themselves by the imputation of technology, thought, and symbols (in terms of things like infrastructure, identities, states, and economic systems) onto the colonised subjects (Schaffer, 2004, pp. 138-147). The concept of coloniality refers to the state of being and nature of the relationships that the colonised and post-colonised subjects experience as a result of colonisation. Quijano (2000, p. 533), argues that coloniality refers to a matrix of power that connects colonialism, capitalism, racism, and modernity, and that also continually expresses colonial subjugation and inhabits vestiges of global power existing today. The impetus of coloniality reflects in the present politically corrupt practices in the present leadership realm in Africa as revealed in the selected plays of this study.

To understand how the matrix of coloniality occurs outside of the temporality and spatiality of traditional and explicit modalities of government and activity such as States, the intersections of the matrix must be identified in their material and symbolic implications. According to Achille Mbembe (2003, p. 12), sovereignty occurs in a situation of necro politics, in which control over life and morals is used to exercise sovereignty. Mbembe (2003, p. 13), adopts Agamben's (1998), postulation that sovereignty can continue as a fixed spatial arrangement that constantly dwells outside of a normal State of law to show how sovereignty can exist after a juridical framework has ceased to exist after a point in time. Sovereignty in this case for Mbembe "consists in society's capacity for self-creation through recourse to institutions inspired by specific social and imaginary significations" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 13). Given

that the use of various types of violence against the colonised was one of the primary methods of establishing colonialism, I believe that the continued presence of coloniality within the subjective post-colonised ruins of colonialism and colonisation are in the form of material and symbolic processes of force. Colonial ruins are a structural force in this situation, whereas colonisation is a more micro-level phenomenon. As a result, it is critical to define and outline coloniality and its conditions so that post-colonial allies can recognise and destroy colonialism's remains.

Colonialism is the historical event that caused coloniality, while coloniality itself is an ontological model of existence. I only make such a distinction to illustrate that decolonisation is not fully over even though colonialism itself as a historical phenomenon is thought to be over. The challenge of this thesis then becomes how to frame these conditions of coloniality to accurately depict the times, relationships, location, impact and processes within which they exist.

To fulfil this agenda, I will argue that coloniality exists as an ontological mode of existence in the form of assemblages linked by material and symbolic instances of physical and temporal violence that sustain an implicit and autonomous process of continuous and liquid colonial sovereignty. I shall argue that coloniality is formed by the presence of three conditions in a colonised territory: ruination, violence, and commandment. Stoler (2013, p. 9), posits that, instead of seeing an empire as a permanent location, academics should see it as a series of interactions that define colonial dominance and power. Again, Stoler believes that, instead of investigating the remnants of colonial authority and control, researchers should consider

ruination as a continuous process. Fanon posits that what distinguished the practice of colonialism were the unique applications of violence and the physical and psychological traumas they caused. Lastly, Mbembe (2001), puts forth the concept of the commandment, the intersections of violence that create organisational rationality, and the relationship between the post-colonised and violence that form colonial sovereignty. To recap, ruination is the existence of coloniality as a continuous and linear process that cannot be traced back to a single physical location. Both the method of colonisation and the lingering effects on the colonised are characterised by violence. The commandment is a structure of violence that, via the linking of intersections of colonial violence, perpetually recreates an implicit paradigm of colonial sovereignty. I would have to go over each of these circumstances in greater depth now to show how colonisation's consequences persist as an implicit and ongoing process of subjugation.

The impact of imperial assemblages of coloniality on the minds and bodies of the colonised manifests itself in the psychology of the post colonised. Owing to conquerors' earlier imposition of limitations, identity reconstruction, and brutality, there have been generational impacts on mental health and psychological well-being. The “seeds of decay” that result from imperialism, according to Fanon (1961, p. 181), afflict people subjected, for example, to the French colonisation of Algeria and subsequent repression of resistance. For Fanon (1961, p. 182), colonisation represents a “systematic negation of the other” that attempted to deny attributes of humanity to the colonised. In effect, the colonised Algerians became symbolic peons of control for the French colonisers, which distorted the perceptions of self-worth on the

part of the Algerians. During the active Algerian resistance to French colonisation, Fanon (1961, pp. 185-215), describes different mental illnesses and symptoms of Algerian and European persons who were treated. Sexual impotence, serious depression, psychosis, anxiety, sleeplessness, incontinence, sadism, post-partum depression, anorexia, phobia of sound, phobia of electricity, delusions, social anxiety, and verbal incoherence were among the conditions and symptoms. Fanon also identifies conditions that were, and are, not typically associated with psychiatry and psychology, such as a fear of group discussion, as well as psychosomatic conditions such as stomach ulcers, muscular failure, hypersomnia, arrhythmia, premature ageing, and abnormal menstrual cycles that emerged from colonial violence. The situations that caused all of these symptoms involved the colonialist violence at the time, such as rape and torture, as well as the trauma experienced from witnessing violence and its symptoms like murder and such. Although similar mental and physical conditions can arise from the implementation of violence in non-colonial contexts, these particular instances carried with them the symbolic attachments of coloniality that transformed the impact of colonial violence. For example, Fanon (1961, p. 186), describes the use of rape by colonial forces against women labelled as attached to the Algerian resistance movement. Moreover, the perception of self that is distorted by coloniality (as Fanon argues as the “negation of the other”) also mutated the symptoms of colonialist violence and thus intensifies their effects. In other words, the medium of violence is used to deliver the message of coloniality while simultaneously being the message itself.

Decoloniality

In various aspects, critical decolonial liberation ethics vary from postcolonial liberation ethics that became popular in the 1990s. Decoloniality and critical decolonial ethics of liberation can be traced back to anti-slavery, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-apartheid thinkers in the Global South, whereas postcolonialism can be traced back to thinkers in the Global North, including Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Antonio Gramsci, among others. Built on top of post-structuralism and post-modernism, post-colonialism was then popularised by scholars from the Global South working in North American academies, such as Edward Said (1978), Homi Bhabha (1994), Gayatri Spivak (1994), Achille Mbembe (2001), and others.

While decoloniality began its interventions in 1492 by covering Spanish and Portuguese imperialism that was constitutive of the first phase of the rise of Eurocentric modernity, postcolonial interventions are focused on later British and, to some extent, French colonialism in the nineteenth century as their point of departure. Decoloniality traces coloniality to the dawn of Euro-North American-centric modernity. Coloniality is articulated in decoloniality as the underside of modernity. As such, modernity is unmasked by decoloniality whereas postcolonialism, because of its genealogical relationship with poststructuralism and postmodernism, is concerned with attacking meta-narratives and ideological certitudes. Decoloniality grapples with what Grosfoguel (2007), terms heterarchies of power, knowledge, and being that sustain an asymmetrical world system and its imperial/colonial global orders.

Decoloniality, in terms of the horizon, aspires to a decolonised and deimperialised world in which a new universal humanity is feasible. A "critique of modernity inside modernity" includes postcolonialism. As a result, postcolonialism, like liberalism, Marxism, poststructuralism, and postmodernism, becomes just another critical social theory emanating from the heart of the Euro-North American globe. These critical social theoretical approaches fall short of addressing coloniality, which decolonial theorists define as the darker side of Euro-North American modernity. Decoloniality is an expression of universality (a world within which many worlds fit harmoniously and coexist peacefully). This is in tandem with Mandela's push for *ubuntu* (the Bantu ethic of community, co-humanness, unity, and harmony) and a "rainbow nation" (Campbell, 2013). Chinweizu and Jameson (2008), write of "hauntology", which they define as the Afrocentric human sciences for black redemption that privileges African experience as its locus of enunciation.

Decoloniality, which was no longer decolonisation as it was during the Cold War, grew into a disobedient conservatism project and organisation. The energy that engenders dignified rage and decolonial healing is decolonial disobedient conservatism, and its main goals are to delink to re-exist, which means relinking with the legacies one wishes to preserve to engage in modes of existence with which one wants to interact. Thus, pre-existing is contingent on the individual's place in local history, which has been disavowed, degraded, and demonised in Western modernity narratives. This is not to suggest that decoloniality calls for delinquency. On the contrary, it calls for both civil and epistemic disobedience, which could be enacted at different

levels and in different spheres. (Mahatma Gandhi, for instance, showed the way to the Indian people). The state, corporations, and banks would not be in favour of people taking control of their destinies.

This is critical, however there cannot be a single decolonial master plan for it would be far too contemporary, Eurocentric, provincial, limiting, and yet universal. Decoloniality is based on plurality and truth, rather than universality and truth.

Projects of resistance confronting global designs have emerged from very specific geopolitical and Corpo-political local histories. For instance, the Bandung Conference was a crucial moment that ignited the fire of the Third World that Frantz Fanon theorises in his celebrated work, *Les Damnés de la Terre* (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961). Decolonial geopolitics refers to State politics struggling to liberate themselves from economic and political dependency. Body politics are also articulated in Fanon's response to Western racism: 'O my body, make of me always a man who questions!' Where Fanon says 'man' we should read 'human beings'. Where Descartes said 'mind' Fanon says 'body'. But the body invoked by Fanon is not the body of Leonardo da Vinci's Vitruvian Man, a singular Roman body modelled as a universal Man/Human. It is a black body in the middle of the twentieth century; it is a racialised body; it is a humiliated body; it is the despised body that he contested and rejected all through *Peau Noire, masques blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks*, 1952). This is a different kind of geopolitics –the geopolitics of the body– which does not operate in the sphere of the State, but the geopolitics of racialised and sexualised bodies.

Anzaldúa's (1987), influential *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* makes a similar point from the experience of a lesbian *Chicana*. For Anzaldúa, *la frontera* (the border) is geopolitical. The border between the US and Mexico, with all the power it embodies, is also a sexually racialised *Frontera*: 'the new mestiza' is both ethnical mestiza (Mexican-American or Chicana) and sexually mestiza (a lesbian of colour). This reading is not necessarily ethnographic, as these readings are frequently categorised but political. It is an example of decolonial disobedient conservatism – wanting to preserve the legacies that secure what it means to be a lesbian of colour or a Mexican-American alongside the modes of existence that they potentially embody. Both Fanon and Anzaldúa analysed and came out with results that are necessary to thinking about delinking to re-exist by preserving the legacies that Afro-Caribbeans and lesbians of colour in the US want to preserve. Both arguments are analytic, coherent, and of paraxial empowerment. Both embody decolonial disobedient conservatism: they propose to *preserve* what each community needs to be able to re-exist, and not to *change* following the rhetorical trap of Western modernity.

Orientalism

According to Edward Said (1978), who wrote *Orientalism*, postcolonial theory is a literary theory or critical approach that deals with literature generated in countries that were once, or are now, colonies of other countries. It also includes literature published within or by citizens of colonial countries about the colonies or the people who live there. The concept revolves around otherness and resistance. The postcolonial theory became a

part of the critical toolkit in the 1970s and it was Edward Said's book that established the theoretical framework.

In his book, Said describes the three stages of postcolonial literature to appreciate the many dimensions of postcolonial thought. In the first step, the Adapt phase, the writer looks for a genre form and demonstrates its universal applicability. In the second stage, the Adapt phase, the author adapts or borrows the form, particularly the European form, to the national subject matter. The final stage is the Adapt phase, which focuses on the text's independence. In the modern era, we do not find any interference from European cultural forms.

The term "postcolonial" has a broader meaning than is commonly understood. A society that is recuperating after a calamity is referred to as post-colonial. The post-colonial theory emphasises the reading and writing of literature from previously or currently colonised countries, as well as literature from colonising countries that deals with the colonisation of colonised people. It focuses on how colonising culture literature distorts and inscribes the colonised people's experiences and realities, as well as how colonised people's literature seeks to articulate their identity and reclaim their past in the face of that past's unavoidable otherness.

Resistance as subversion, opposition, or mimicry is central to postcolonial philosophy but it comes with the unsettling problem that resistance inevitably inscribes the resisted into the texture of the resisting: it is a two-edged sword. Resistance carries with its beliefs of human freedom, liberty, identity, individuality, and other concepts that may or may not have been held in the same way in the colonial culture's vision of humanity.

Frantz Fanon was a literary and cultural theorist who devoted his life to researching and writing about Orientalism and Post-colonialism. From his research, he makes a significant contribution to these fields of study by coming out with books like *Orientalism*. *Orientalism* is a foundational text in postcolonial studies, and it was *Orientalism* that ignited the discussion concerning continued relevance of postcolonial studies. One of Frantz's main goals, according to Habib (2013), was to investigate the historical origins and motivations of Western discourses about the Orient in general, and about Islam in particular, to highlight the long-running Palestinian struggle for independence. He challenges the usual definition of post-coloniality, which states that it must occur outside of Europe and entail race, by focusing on this part of the world.

Hybridity and Assimilation

Cultural subjectivity and the interconnections of colonised and coloniser identities are essential parts of the postcolonial theory. Homi Bhabha and Ann Laura Stoler, for example, argue that areas of "mixing" represent the greatest danger to colonialism by shattering the very conceptions on which it is constructed, arguing against the binary categories that colonised/coloniser accepts (Bhabha, 1994). The imperial preoccupation with keeping the relationships between the two categories distinctly clear through vast amounts of colonial policy regarding the intermixing of the racialised categories of colonised/coloniser indicates a clear concern on the part of the imperial authority to keep it straight when it comes to the Other (Stoler, 2001).

Both the coloniser and the colonised had diverse cultural interactions before colonization. Some postcolonial theorists consider this gap as valuable,

while others see it as harmful. Fanon describes the hybrid man as having a schizophrenic mindset and correlates integration with schizophrenic behaviour. Another form of colonial ruin is Western tendencies of mimicking and loss of identity (Fanon, 1961).

Hybridity, according to Bhabha (1994), challenges societal norms in all areas, especially those relating to identity and nation. He explains how these unified individuals grow in a linear and sophisticated manner. According to Pederson (2016), Bhabha's hybridity expresses a state of "in-betweenness", as in a person caught between two cultures. He notes how, as per postcolonial studies, while civilisations learn from one another, individuals are caught in between two cultures. According to his findings, an individual in a postcolonial setting does not belong to just one culture because colonialism developed a small mirror image of the colonizer's culture.

Homi K. Bhabha, in The *Location of Culture* (1994), states that the concept of hybridity became popular in defining the postcolonial theory's vision that all cultures are intertwined and cannot be separated. In this regard, diasporic writing has become significant; it has redefined the postcolonial aftermath not only in literature, but also in national, socio-cultural, political, economic, and other fields.

Power, Politics, and Oppression

As noted by Habib (2013), he says that the nation, as a whole, combines all of the required elements for cultural production. Because the colonised are the only ones who can develop their own natural culture and identity, this is the most pressing worry. This is because their culture has been

ruled and destroyed across history, and they now have to work to reconstruct it.

Fanon was a staunch supporter of national literature, which he refers to as "fight literature" because it "invite[s] the entire people to strive for the survival of their nation". It is a way of protecting their culture and language by using literature rather than actual weapons, as well as concealing their revolt through references only the colonised understand. Literature is one of the finest ways to fight a culture war since words may do more than violent acts of war. As a result, in Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Western racism is seen as a kind of scapegoating that permits the West to keep control while simultaneously prompting violent responses from the colonized. Fanon's works focuses not just on society's dehumanizing effects, but also on the individual. When a colonises person has been repressed for a long time, a violent reaction is almost inevitable. As a result, Fanon's work on the idea criticises scapegoating and its social effects. He claims in the book that "it is the settler who has brought the native into existence and who supports his existence". However, it does not focus on the colonisers, possibly because Fanon is more concerned with fighting tyranny. This is in relation to the fact that post-coloniality has eaten into core aspects of the politics of colonised or formerly colonised states. The political leaders of the formerly colonised independent states imitate the "tyranny" of the colonial masters of which political corruption as evident in the selected plays for this study can be said to be a crucial part of such developments.

Africa's Development Challenges: How Leaders Have Failed Africa

For a long time, Africa's development concerns and marginal status in the world's political economy have sparked passionate and ongoing discussions. Africa's underdevelopment, according to scholars such as Walter Rodney (1972), Kwame Nkrumah (1965), Patrick Bond (2006), and Samir Amin (1977, 2011, 2014), is due to colonial and post-colonial capitalist and imperialist economic exploitation and marginalization. The way Africa has been integrated into the global system since the commercial age can so explain its poverty and underdevelopment (Amin, 2014). Bond (2006), sums up the root of Africa's poverty and underdevelopment this way:

> Africa is poor, ultimately, because its economy and society have been ravaged by international capital as well as by local elites who are often propped up by foreign powers. The public and private sectors have worked together to drain the continent of resources that otherwise- if harnessed and shared fairly- should meet the needs of the peoples of Africa (p.1).

Others such as George Ayittey (1999, 1992), Greg Mills (2011), and Robert Calderisi (2007), believe that Africa's underdevelopment is due to the continent's internal arrangements and shortcomings. Among the second group of scholars who attribute Africa's underdevelopment to internal causes, there is a growing corpus of evidence correlating underdevelopment with Africa's bad leadership. Africa is poor now, according to Mills (2011, 2010), because its leaders have prioritised poverty over the development of its people. Bad leadership practices, citizens' unwillingness to hold their leaders accountable, and an international community that remains mute have all combined to allow

African leaders to wreak havoc on their countries and people (Mills, 2011). African leaders are, as stated by President Goodluck Jonathan at the 2012 World Economic Forum in Addis Ababa, are part of the problem of the continent as most of them place their ego above the interest of the people they lead (Ogbu, 2012). African leaders have been at the centre of persistent corruption, aided illicit financial outflows and capital flight, frustrated local ingenuity, and managed states as their personal property.

Mbah (2013), notes that:

> More than five decades after [independence], African States have [sic] remained in a vicious cycle of conflicts, stunted development, and finally characterized by all indices of destructive governance; this time, not as a result of colonial invasion, but as a result of the character of their leaders – power politics, endemic corruption, clientelism, and patronage politics (p. 143).

Some observers have criticised radical intellectuals and supporters who have tended to externalise Africa's problems in this vein. Instead, they advocate for a balanced assessment and holding of leaders accountable. For decades, African radicals have decried colonial pillage, American economic imperialism, the Western banks' avaricious proclivities, multinational firms' predatory activities, and the IMF's tight-fistedness as the root reasons for Africa's economic woes. It was frequently claimed, for example, that Western banks, operating as monopolists, dominated credit markets and extorted high-interest charges from impoverished, problem-plagued African countries that couldn't afford to pay them. Per Ayittey (1992), foreign banks and acfinancial actors are not totattotally to be blamed for Africa's predicament:

> …But unethical practices by foreign banks and defects in the international economic system and other external factors alone are insufficient to explain Africa's economic crises. Nor could foreign companies exploit African economies without the connivance or active encouragement of corrupt government officials (p. 234).

Of course, such narratives help us explain why Africa has remained impoverished for more than fifty years even though former colonies in Asia (India, South Korea, and so on) have made significant progress. External forces, in reality, are insufficient to explain Africa's underdevelopment. No one can claim that Africa's loss of $597 billion to $1.4 trillion in illicit money flows over the last three decades is simply due to external factors (Sultan, 2014). We can not blame the international system or institutions for Africa's annual corruption losses of approximately $150 billion (Hanson, 2009).

Similarly, external factors had no influence on President Omar Bongo, former president of Gabon, decision to cling on to power for 42 years, appoint his son Ali as his minister of defense, his daughter Pascaline head of the presidency, and his son-in-law Paul Tongine Minister of foreign affairs (Mills, 2011, p. 230). Therefore, one may not have the moral right to blame corrupt practices of President Bongo's government on external forces. For example, the amount of money lost as a result of paying salaries to ghost workers in Tanzania increased from 178,066,130 shillings ($153,479) in 2007/2008 to 832,448,998 shillings ($717,505) in 2012/2013 (National Audit Office, 2014, 2009) has nothing to do with external factors. The deaths of about a million Rwandans during the 1994 genocide, 300,000 Sudanese in the war in Darfur (Mills, 2011: 4-5), and more than 5 million in the Congo DRC since 1998

(Gettleman, 2010), cannot wholly be blamed on the international community or the international economic system.

The international community and system, and colonial legacy may share some blame but the great responsibility lies with the Africans themselves. Certainly, as Mills argues, “Africa’s failure is thus no mystery, but rather a rational choice by African leadership” (Mills, 2011, p. 232), aided by the passiveness of their citizens and the international community. And as one of the advocators of historical capitalist and imperialist exploitation of the periphery by the centre concludes, “Undoubtedly, African ruling classes were here maximally responsible for what was going to start the involution of the continent, particularly when they joined the neocolonial camp against the aspirations of their people, whose weaknesses they exploited. The collision between African ruling classes and the global strategies of imperialism is, therefore, definitely, the ultimate cause of the failure.

African and global responses to Africa’s leadership challenges, the leadership dilemma, and its ensuing influence on Africa's development and governance has prompted concerted efforts to overcome it, both within and outside the continent. The fact that much of Africa's difficulties and challenges stem from leadership and governance flaws has been recognised, and tackling these issues is now considered a necessity for progress. For example, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) began paying more attention to governance issues that were seen to be important in making the market work if addressed (Bolarinwa, 2013). As a result, the IMF began funding governance projects in Africa and elsewhere. Good governance became a condition to be fulfilled for African countries to receive grants and loans from the

International Financial Institutions (IFIs). The main issue here was not achieving good governance for its own and the sake of Africans but for making sure that markets and capital would function properly in Africa. This was part of the reasons why Africa was forced to liberalise its politics (democratisation) during the early 1990s.

The World Bank (1989), also stressed the importance of strong governance in addressing Africa's leadership and development issues. It argues, for example, that better governance necessitated political renewal, which required concerted efforts against corruption from the highest to the lowest levels. This could be achieved by leading by example, strengthening accountability, encouraging public debate, strengthening the press, and empowering women and the poor (The World Bank, 1989). As a result, the number of non-governmental organizsations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) founded and operating throughout Africa has increased. Such organisations are funded by, among others, the IFIs to champion good governance in Africa. For example, there are currently about 2,085 NGOs and CSOs (only those registered on the UN website) working in Africa in all areas of development.

Furthermore, Nyerere (1998), states that governance should be strengthened for African countries and people to achieve true independence and progress. Nyerere goes on to add that this is not the same as claiming that because Africa is poor, Africans do not deserve effective governance. This continent is not known for its effective governance of African peoples. But we cannot eradicate poverty without good governance, because no corrupt administration is interested in eradicating poverty; on the contrary, as we have

seen in many parts of Africa and elsewhere, pervasive corruption feeds poverty (Nyerere, 1998, p. 27).

On the other hand, tackling Africa's leadership deficit has taken a motivational approach, with the "best" performing leaders being recognised and awarded as a means of inspiring them to adhere to good governance norms. The Mo Ibrahim Award for Achievement in African Leadership was founded by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation in 2007 to honour excellence in African leadership by granting a prize to a meritorious former Head of State or Government.

The awards looks out for an Executive Head of State or Government who left office in the last three years, was democratically elected, served his/her constitutionally mandated term, and demonstrated exceptional leadership. The award consists of a monetary prize totaling $5 million over ten years and $200,000 a year for life thereafter. Since its inauguration in 2007, only three former Heads of State (namely, President Pedro de Verona Rodrigues Pires of Cape Verde in 2011, Festus Gontebanye Mogae of Botswana in 2008, and Joaquim Alberto Chissano of Mozambique in 2007) have received a prize (Ibid.). The prize was not awarded in 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2013 because there was no one deemed qualified for the award (Straziuso, 2012; Tran, 2009), a reflection of how serious the challenge of leadership is in Africa. The challenges boil down to political corruption as portrayed in the plays that this study examines.

Moreover, there have been some local initiatives by former and current leaders in an attempt to address the challenges. As indicated in the introduction above, a group of past and present African leaders established in

2004 the African Leadership Council to 'confront the continent's pathology of poor leadership with deeds as well as words' (Rotberg, 2004, p. 10).

The leaders established a Code of African Leadership with 23 commandments, released the Mombasa Declaration to encourage better leadership, and promised to train their successors in the art of good administration as a result of this undertaking (Rotberg, 2004). Former Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire, former Nigerian Head of State General Yakubu Gowon, Vice President Moody Awori of Kenya, former Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob, and other current and former prime ministers and cabinet ministers from Sierra Leone, Kenya, Malawi, and Uganda were among the council's founding members (Ibid.). According to Rotberg (2004), such a bold African move was hopeful, dramatic, and a step forward, regardless of whether it could address the difficulties.

Several leadership academies have also been formed to train and equip the next generation future leadership roles. The African Leadership Academy is a wonderful illustration of this. This organisation was founded in 2004 to improve Africa via the development of ethical and entrepreneurial leadership (The Master Card Foundation, 2014). The academy, which is situated in Africa, accepts young people aged 15 to 18 to its two-year pre-university programs, which are aimed to equip young leaders "with the information and motivation they need to engage as agents of positive change on the African continent" (African Leadership Academy, 2014). The academy believes its young leaders have already started making an impact on the continent through, for example, the launch of 44 non-profit and for-profit enterprises since its inception.

While all of these solutions may be useful in resolving Africa's leadership and governance issues, they are all separated from the continent's history, particularly its pre-colonial history. Much emphasis has been placed on domesticating western-based governance and leadership paradigms, as though Africa's history has nothing to offer in this area. As a result, this study applies certain lessons from pre-colonial Africa's governance and leadership systems to the current leadership difficulties discussed below.

Africa's Leadership Challenges

Poverty in Africa will not be eradicated until African leaders work together to address the continent's underdevelopment. Africa has only achieved political independence, not economic independence. African elites are competing for government leadership posts to control current resources and exploit the economy. Many individuals in Africa see government posts to be a way out of poverty. Because most people desire to get out of poverty, this leads to political tensions and violence (Boone, 2017, p. 77). Politicians' sole way to profit from the economy is through the government. Before political independence in African countries, people were united against the colonial government.

Liberation movements in Africa mobilised all oppressed people in Africa and around the world, intending to free people from all forms of oppression and enslavement (Williams, 2017, p. 33). When liberation groups in Africa took over from colonial regimes, some people benefited while the majority did not. Africa is still economically enslaved, and many people, particularly in rural regions, do not recognise independence, believing that freedom exists only in books. Chronic poverty exists throughout Africa and

cannot be eradicated under the current structures in place (Guariso & Rogall, 2017, p. 2).

Most African countries were unable to sustain their economies and deliver public services with available cash, relying instead on loans from Western countries. Even political actions are controlled by those who own the economy, and therefore African leaders only have power over the government. Financial help offered by Western countries is exploited by African politicians, who misappropriate or launder money, and use funds for personal gain (Moscona, 2019, p. 5). People elect business-minded leaders, but once in power, they immediately exploit the existing resources. Political corruption in Africa is dominant and most leaders manipulate voters to vote for them and afterwards, they continue exploiting the economy like others. Africa certainly needs leaders that will change the economic situation in their respective countries. Whenever there were leaders in Africa that wanted to change the status quo, political violence started. Political violence in Africa is a mechanism to disrupt the attempts to change the economic situation (Duursma, Twagiramungu, Gebrehiwot & De Waal, 2019, p. 10).

Africa is still suffering from past crimes, and politicians and liberation groups in Africa extort votes by blackmailing citizens over the power they wielded in liberating their country. The significance of African liberation movements to the attainment of political independence acts as a rallying cry for voters. It is crucial for Africa to allow politicians with a strategy to improve the continent's economic predicament to assume leadership positions. In reality, however, Africa is grappling with the issue of having people in positions of leadership who lack ideas for improving the continent's economic

plight, while those who do have ideas are not in positions of leadership (McGuirk & Burke, 2020, p. 3941).

These leaders are not completely blind to the fact that corruption exists in Africa, but they are also carrying on from where past leaders left off. Many Africans consider Africa's freedom to be a misfortune. They see it as a curse since it gives some individuals the power to dominate and economically oppress others (Reno, 2019, p. 150).

In Africa, independence brought with it a slew of unpleasant actions and revealed the hidden personalities of most liberation leaders. Many African politicians were exposed as pro-Communists and anti-elite and the capitalist system after independence. They modified their approach and behaviour after gaining power. The majority of leaders kept a safe distance from the people they led and hired bodyguards to protect them (Ojakorotu, 2018, p. 368).

Another element that was introduced by leaders after independence in Africa is nepotism. Nepotism contributes a lot to the present level of poverty in Africa. The rightful skilled persons are not given opportunities for employment or businesses due to nepotism. Nepotism has led to the collapse of many government institutions in Africa (Okon & Ojakorotu, 2018, p. 30).

In Africa, nepotism is common, and the practice of placing friends and family members in government positions is on the rise. People from the same ethnic group are more likely to work together. Nepotism is ubiquitous in Africa, and it has become accepted in most countries. African leaders do not have a vision for Africa; instead, they are focused on how to best utilise existing resources, with no plans in place to mobilise resources for Africans. Freedom fighters were not taught how to preserve and expand the national

economy in liberation camps. Leaders and freedom fighters in Africa fight amongst themselves. Every leader in Africa leaves a government position with a lot of money that he or she did not have before being elected into a leadership position. The lifestyle of government leaders is not equal to the salary they are earning. The leadership position in government becomes a point of influence and a source of receiving kickbacks (Wig, 2016, p.10).

Corruption

The lack of anthropology is one of the most noticeable elements of the recent boom in social science. According to a World Bank analysis from 2006, anthropological research on corruption accounts for only 2% of the relevant scholarly literature. As I will show below, the isolation of this drop in the ocean has its rationale, and ethnographic representations of corruption are desperately needed, as not only scientists, but politicians and think-tank groups decry it (Andvig, 2001). For one thing, corruption is a social practice rather than a story (Kerby, 1991), and ethnography can fill this gap, especially given current criticisms of the usefulness of large-scale, quantitative analyses and the necessity to supplement them with qualitative research. Having said this, there are several problems that anthropologists confront in the study of corruption. First, there are basic ethical concerns that fieldworkers raise when dealing with the study of such practices, stemming from issues such as the anonymity of informants, the use of gathered data, and the role of the anthropologist as an “intruder” in the social reality he is observing (Atkinson & Hammersley 1983; Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

Second, while most social scientists agree that corruption causes harm, it is not always clear what corruption entails. Anthropologists have

long been uncomfortable with western-centred notions of corruption, which is evident in their unwillingness to employ or even engage with the concept. Third, contrary to what most modernist literature claimed a few decades ago, corruption is not an inherent problem. Today, there is a growing realisation among experts and politicians that foreign aid, development programmes, international relations, and global capitalism nurture and generate corruption. In an increasingly blurred political arena, ethnographic fieldwork is not an easy undertaking. The very nature of fine-grain ethnography develops in the constant interaction of the researcher with local inhabitants, the construction of reference points, and mutual trust with groups and personal networks with whom he shares a significant part of daily life. The ethnography of trans-local places is a much thorny effort, despite the several (and also partly successful) attempts in recent times (Melhuus, Mitchell & Wuff , 2010). Again, not only is the focus of investigation enlarged and difficult to grasp, but access to information becomes a delicate matter of difficult resolution.

Types of Corruption

Political corruption: It is the form of corruption that occurs in a democratic government's three arms, namely the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. Corruption at this level is terrible since public funds are involved. Contract inflation, embezzlement, and theft of funds are all examples of public corruption in the executive branch, as are the involvement of personal and primal attachments in appointments and contract awards. Owing to high-profile bribery scandals, Nigeria's Federal Cabinet has recently been in the news (the formal minister of petroleum Alson Madueke and others). When the judiciary turns a blind eye to a clear case of crime, tries to

downplay the gravity of a crime, or commits a travesty of justice in the name of a political agenda, the judiciary becomes vulnerable. The Federal Court of Appeal has been in turmoil for some time, culminating in the suspension of its president for suspected collusion in election cases involving certain western states, in which the president was believed to have acted in the interests of a political party (Ketefe, 2012).

Bureaucratic corruption: In Ghana, corruption still prevails at the highest levels of government. It is made up of technocrats, civil employees, and government policy implementers. The leadership and people from Ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) are among them. This level of corruption is the worst because these government offices are in charge of allocating, releasing, and spending money. The staff of MDAs are in charge of developing and presenting unit or project financial needs, as well as transferring and performing payments. Corruption is widespread right now (Buhari, 2015). We have seen ministers and parastatal chiefs busted and hauled in front of competent courts and tribunals on account of high-profile stealing and fraud. Bureaucratic corruption also manifests in favouritism and nepotism in appointment, promotion, and reward systems in public offices. Some persons get rapid promotion and rewards based on family, friendship, ethnic or religious affiliations to the boss while some never get promotions because of such frivolous considerations.

Military corruption: This was apparent in Nigeria during the military administration. The military saw itself as a corrective government in the face of poor leadership and escalating corruption, which was ironic. When the army attacked in January 1966, corruption was their original intention. We do

know, however, that the July counter-revolution was an ethnically-motivated coup aimed at avenging the deaths of certain northerners during the first coup. As corruption seeped in, the professionalism that had served as the fulcrum of the institution's "corrective" idea began to crumble. By 1971, allegations against General Gowan's military ministers and State governors had surfaced. It got worsened with the Babangida and Abacha regimes which came under the spotlight as the two most corrupt leaderships in the country (Folarin, 2014).

Other forms of institutional corruption: Institutional corruption can be found in media and entertainment industries as well as in labour movements. In the media, the graft or "brown envelope" syndrome is well-known, in which news reports are only published if certain individuals or groups involved in the story pay; when image polishing is done for those who can afford it; or when negative stories are put away after money is paid to destroy them. Those auditioning for musical or cinematic roles in the entertainment industry may be required to "sort out" or "settle" individuals with money or sexual gratification in order to get cast in films, whether they are good or not. Labour groups are sometimes compromised by the government not to embark on industrial actions or to betray the cause of the movement by "sorting" out labour leaders through the fattening of their accounts (Folarin, 2014).

Presidents, ministers, members of the legislature, governors, and other high-ranking officials are involved in the former, whereas civil servants are involved in the latter. The distinction between upper and lower levels is mostly based on distinctions in the political duties or tasks of public officials,

as well as the standards that regulate their behaviour. Thus, "political corruption" usually refers to corruption that occurs during the policy-making process, or the input side of the political system in Estonian terms, whereas "bureaucratic" or "administrative" corruption refers to policy implementation by lower-level officials, or the output side of the equation (Bardhan, 2006; Scott, 1972). Because of their different functions within the system, these two forms of corruption also violate different norms. "Bureaucratic corruption" involves the violation of first-order norms (the written rules and laws that are the product of politicians' decision-making), whereas "political corruption" committed by policy-makers entails the violation of more nebulous second-order norms (the often-unwritten guidelines determining how politicians should make decisions, such as impartiality and fairness (Warren, 2004).

A second taxonomic method distinguishes corruption based on transactional features. Along these lines, several schemes have been created. One straightforward way concerns the direction of corrupt influence. It differentiates between "bribery" and "extortion". Bribery occurs when social interests utilise extralegal payments or bribes to influence the substance or implementation of state policy. This type of unethical influence can take on the features of "state capture" on a larger, more systemic level, where an entire agency or organisation functions on the premise of social interests. Extortion, on the other hand, is the use and abuse of state power by public officials to obtain extra-legal fees or rents in exchange for performing a legal or illegal service.

Extortion shifts power from the state to society, whereas bribery shifts power back to the state. When drug traffickers have half of the police force on

their payroll, it's a lot different from when cops rob small thieves or demand "bribes" from residents for actual or imagined crimes. Syed Alatas (1990, as cited in Heywood, 1997, pp. 425–26), proposes a second, more detailed strategy based on the characteristics of the corrupt transaction. He differentiates six types of corruption. "Transactive" corruption involves the mutual arrangement between a donor and a recipient; "extortive" corruption implies some form of compulsion usually harming a party; "defensive" corruption refers to the act the victim of extortion is compelled to engage in; "investive" corruption involves an act with no immediate payoff, but an understanding of favour sometimes in the future; "nepotistic" corruption relates to family members being appointed to positions in the government; "autogenic" corruption entails one person acting alone with no official-citizen exchange; and "supportive" corruption refers to acts designed to protect and strengthen existing corruption.

A typology based on the relative magnitude and frequency of the acts is the third method based on transaction characteristics. This contrast is often described as "grand" vs "petty" corruption. On the one hand, "grand corruption" refers to big sums of money and infrequent transactions, whereas "petty corruption" refers to smaller, more routine payments. This distinction is similar to those rooted in the institutional position of the state official involved, with "grand corruption" more likely to occur among high-level government officials with limited public interaction, while "petty corruption" is more likely to occur among low-level bureaucratic workers who interact with the public regularly.

Political Corruption and Weak Government Institutions

Ineffective institutions result in ineffective government. As a result, when government institutions such as the judiciary and legislature are inefficient, a country's accountability and justice systems suffer. It is the government's job to ensure that its institutions are well equipped to carry out their responsibilities. According to Silence (2004), “democratic institutions contribute to ‘developmental governance' in Sub-Saharan Africa, in forms such as coherent policy formulation, effective public administration, and reduced corruption" (p.163). The government's ability to fulfill its objectives is aided by functional and effective democratic institutions. Ineffective government institutions, on the other hand, lead to social evils such as corruption.

Weak government structures are blamed for the widespread corruption in postcolonial Sub-Saharan African countries. Majority of Africa's first post-colonial presidents inherited inadequate government structures, which they ironically relied on to stay in power. The offices of such leaders enjoy constitutional supremacy on this basis, allowing them to legitimately exert total authority over all government institutions. As a result, the president has legal authority over who should run all government institutions. The concentration of power in one office necessarily undermines the significance of checks and balances in governance, allowing corruption to flourish.

In some cases, political elites who followed the colonisers collaborated with them solely to draft new constitutions that would ensure the colonisers' indirect influence on economic, political, and administrative matters (Mulinge & Lesetedi, 1998, p. 22). Because the government’s powers are virtually

vested in one office of the president, who can influence the institutions to his or her advantage, the constitutions constructed with the support of the colonisers offered the developing political elites a platform to engage in corrupt acts with impunity. The constitutions' liberal tone is reflected in their failure to designate terms under which one might hold the presidency post, which led to leaders declaring themselves presidents for life (Mulinge & Lesetedi, 2002, p. 58).

The Nigerian Constitution of 1999 and the Lesotho Constitution of 1993 are examples of constitutions that concentrate authority on the president and prime minister, respectively. The Prime Minister of Lesotho has the unilateral ability to select and dismiss persons who manage other government institutions, according to the country's constitution. With the return of democratic governance in Nigeria in 1991, the President Olusegun Obasanjo-led government was expected to involve citizens in the process of developing a democratic constitution, but this did not happen. Instead, Obasanjo continued to operate under a military-crafted constitution that allowed the executive branch of government to exert significant influence over the judiciary, particularly through budget control (Mbaku, 2008, p. 443). When members of the court have a strong commitment to the president, impeaching or dismissing them is difficult. This is because such members of the judiciary have been known to set fire to their profession's guiding principles and beliefs to further the rulers' interests. According to Mbaku (2008, p. 437), the majority of African states have failed to reform their judiciaries since independence, and presidents still have the right to select and dismiss judges. The executive's

takeover of the judiciary not only renders the court ineffectual but also transforms it into a tool only serving the interests of politicians.

If the judiciary's independence is eroded as a result of its subservience to the executive, all those who disagree with the executive will be unlikely to receive justice from such a court. As a result, accountability mechanisms become fragile, allowing elite politicians to enrich themselves and their affiliates using state resources in an illegal and corrupt manner. Many African political systems, according to Cranenburgh (2010, pp. 448-449), foster an uneven power concentration between the institutions of government, particularly between the executive and the legislature, as evidenced by African presidents' significant veto authority. In many African countries, the president's powers undermine the role of other institutions such as the judiciary and the legislature. If the balance of power between the executive and the legislature tilts in favour of the executive with clear efforts to integrate rather than separate their authorities, the legislature's monitoring role in executive operations becomes ineffective (Cranenburgh, 2010, p. 449). Compromising the legislature's monitoring role weakens the accountability system and allows the executive to use excessive powers, which can lead to abuse.

The leaders who wield this excessive power go so far as to financially induce entities like the military and the police to block any threats to their stability (Mbaku, 2008, p. 436). This is shown in these groups' absurdly increased budgets and the buying of additional weapons as a means of intimidating people who could raise views contrary to the prevailing political

leaders' activities. Some incentives also accrue to security agency heads and members who aggressively show their support for the administration.

Not only may the colonisers' imperial reign be linked to the formation of political corruption, but the colonial heritage can also be linked to the perpetuation of political corruption in independent African countries. Iheukwumere and Iheukwumere (2003, p. 54), contend that the fact that African despots like Mobutu Sese Seko and Sani Abacha found a haven for the billions of dollars they looted from their countries in western institutions shows that the West tolerated their corruption. These dictators laundered billions of dollars from their countries into the western financial institutions while their populace was faced with severe poverty. It may be posited that if the same despots were required to rigorously account for the funds they invested in western banks that could have abated their looting (Iheukwumere & Iheukwumere, 2003, p. 55). Failure to make African leaders account for the huge sums they invest in the financial institutions of the western countries is tantamount to encouraging them to loot from the public purse.

Bureaucratic Corruption in Post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, political and bureaucratic corruption are interwoven. This is because technocrats are frequently used to carry out corrupt actions on behalf of politicians. Because corruption is so contagious, some technocrats see it as an opportunity to enrich themselves. Technocrats are familiar with the operations of government because they are in charge of the administrative machinery of governments. This provides them with an advantage in identifying weak areas that they can exploit. This leads to the conclusion that if political corruption is widespread, bureaucratic corruption is

likely to follow. The underlying cause of this predicament is that the inability of government machinery to function correctly produces a climate conducive to corruption. The underlying reason for this situation is that the failure of government machinery to operate properly creates an enabling environment for corrupt practices to take place (De Graaf, 2007, p. 51). If the organisational culture is permissive in the public sector, bureaucrats will struggle to find value in shunning corruption. Similarly, if for bureaucrats to survive they have to be subservient to corrupt politicians, they will hardly find value in maintaining professional standards.

Mulinge and Lestedi (2002, p. 58), show a relationship between political and bureaucratic corruption, with favouritism and nepotism determining who is employed, fired, promoted, or given a government tender in the former. Bureaucrats who have benefited from the corrupt political system are expected to be loyal to corrupt political leaders and carry out their agenda through government administrative systems manipulation. This explains why partisan civil service exists throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Owing to the expectation to prioritise politicians' agenda above their professional duties, politically affiliated civil servants are prone to breaches of professional standards related to service delivery. Under a partisan public service, the citizens often find themselves at the receiving end of disservice from the civil servants. Owing to weak and permissive constitutions, politicians in Africa find it easier to post their allies and cronies in key government institutions.

According to Yeh (2011, p. 631), the recruitment of bureaucrats sponsored by immediate post-colonial authorities in Sub-Saharan Africa was

politically driven to seize every major government institution, including the civil service. The ruling class' goal with this strategic maneuver was to avoid roadblocks in the implementation of their agenda. According to Yeh (2011, p. 632), corruption has reached epidemic proportions in majority of African countries because the institutions entrusted with enforcing accountability systems, such as the police and the courts, are corrupt themselves. Citizens lose faith in government institutions in this environment and turn to corruption as a legitimate means of obtaining services.

Bureaucratic corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa is linked to high-context culture, in addition to being a direct result of political corruption. A strong sense of communal bonds is usually regarded as the defining characteristic of cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa. To maintain identity with the community in the African culture, an individual must adhere to communitarian norms and patterns of behaviour. An individual's fortune should be shared by all members of the community on this basis. Few members of the community who occupy key posts in the public sector are expected to use their positions not only in favour of the immediate and extended members of their family, but to include even the members of the community. It is a common expectation in African cultures that a successful member of the family must extend his/her success even to unknown relatives. Kinship is therefore one of the primary determinants in deciding who should get a job or be awarded any lucrative opportunity in government (Mbaku, 1996, p. 104; Timmy, 2005, p. 385; Werlin, 1972, p. 253).

Even though nepotism and favouritism are considered serious sins in western bureaucratic practice, offering a job to a family member is considered socially obligatory in Sub-Saharan Africa (Werlin, 1972, p. 253).

Political Patronage in Sub-Saharan Africa

Political patronage is common in Sub-Saharan Africa, as it is across the world. It is a frequently chosen relationship inside a polity that is designed to keep political leaders in power. Mwenda and Tangri (2005, p. 449), state that, post-independence African leaders have used a variety of strategies to stay in power, but have largely chosen a system of state patronage as the most feasible way to encourage people to vote for them.

In both emerging and established countries, the use of political patronage varies depending on the context. According to Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002, p.1), all nations have formal and informal governing systems. The former is enshrined in constitutions and all applicable legal frameworks that have been laid down and are following the constitutions, whilst the latter is based on unstructured and unwritten decision-making processes in running the government machinery (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2002, p. 1). We frequently see malpractices like corruption when the informal systems overwhelm the formal ones. Even while it is socially acceptable in many communities to hire relatives based on the adage that "charity begins at home", it undermines the merit-based system and violates recruitment standards (McCourt, 2000, pp. 6-7).

The main issue arises when informal governance systems take precedence over formal ones. Because there are no rules guiding behaviour under informal governance systems, anything can be left to the discretion of a

political leader. Most researchers believe, according to Van de Walle (2007), that informal institutions such as “big man politics”, “personal rule”, “politics of the belly”, or neopatrimonialism underpin the political atmosphere in African countries (p. 1). All of these phrases are used to describe a type of governing system that primarily benefits politicians by preserving their power over the people. As such, they are against the key tenets of democratic principles, which have as their key focus the empowerment and wellbeing of the people.

Tangri (1999, p. 7), asserts that political patronage not only informs governing paradigms in Africa but has also influenced economic management on the continent since independence. Patronage has been used by the majority of African post-colonial regimes as a key technique for maintaining government incumbency. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the desire to hold a political position has become a key priority, and this has always been a source of severe conflict. Those who gain political power use a variety of strategies to keep their positions of power. This includes resorting to authoritarian means and later to patronage as a non-coercive form, which is characterised by the distribution of benefits and resources through preferential treatment in favour of those who support the political leader (Arriola, 2009, p. 1339; Tangri, 1999, p. 10). Since independence, the prevalence of political patronage in Sub-Saharan Africa constantly intensified and drastically stifled economic performance.

To avoid being overthrown, African political leaders can utilise state resources to enable what Arriola (2009, p. 1340), referred to as intra-elite

accommodation, in which the political leader enlarges the cabinet to include persons who could destabilise the government.

President Museveni of Uganda, who realised that winning elections over ethnically diverse electorates was not guaranteed, accommodated the interests of powerful elites in his regime and significantly incentivised them so that they could not counter his political strategies, followed a similar pattern (Godfrey & Yu, 2014, p. 59). Even though political patronage adds to the country's financial hardship, leaders see it as a feasible alternative because it ensures relative stability for their regimes. Another conspicuous example of African leaders manipulating patronage powers at their disposal is when Daniel Arap Moi sustained his Kenyan presidency in the early 1980s through the restriction of active participation in political activities by usurping the control of Kenya African National Union (KANU) and sacking those members who had been loyal to his predecessors (Arriola, 2009, p. 1345). This scenario epitomises how political patronage engenders a sense of absolute entitlement to government powers.

Post-coloniality and Political Corruption

According to Robb (1992), the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century appears to have been the very first historical foundation for the formation of corruption. The financial boom that preceded this historic event was directly responsible for the emergence of white-collar crime, which includes corruption. According to Robb, the industrial revolution spawned a complex economy marked by an increased reliance on finance and investment, as well as massive banking networks, stocks and credit, and a convoluted legal system. These elements, combined with greed and unpatriotic leaders, in a

way, brought about increase in lawyers, financiers, and other professionals, which boosted white-collar crime's growth and potential.

However, corruption appears to be a societal phenomenon profoundly ingrained in the archives of colonization in Sub-Saharan Africa. In line with Osoba's (1996, p. 372) view, the practice is seen as a by-product of British, French, and other rulers' features of deceptive antisocial behaviour. During the colonial period, this habit was established in the mindset of the colonial people, and it was carried over into the post-colonial age. This was unavoidable since colonialism was a natural extension of the new economic system and the difficulties that accompanied it emerged as a result of the capitalist industrial revolution. The quest for economic gain, or what Nabudere (1981, p. 7), refers to as "free trade imperialism", including the push for new markets and raw materials for European industries accompanying the industrial revolution, fueled the scramble for and the subsequent partitioning of Africa into European spheres of influence during the Berlin International Conference of October 1884 and propelled the eventual colonisation of most of the continent (Freund, 1984, Nabudere, 1981).

There are three key ways in which colonialism's historical event might be linked to the rise of corrupt practices in Sub-Saharan Africa. First, as Robb's reasoning (op. cit.) implies, corruption thrives in a well-developed monetary economy characterised by unambiguous interest differentiation. A detailed examination of pre-colonial African economies demonstrates that the newly acquired lands did not have significant monetary economies. As a result, previous economies lacked the financial and economic infrastructure required for corruption. Consequently, the new economies, promoted by

colonial governments, had to nurture the conditions for the evolution of structures that were conducive to corrupt practices. The introduction of a monetary tax– namely, the hut and later poll tax– was a very significant way by which colonial governments fostered the growth of corruption. Having found no meaningful monetary economies in their newly acquired territories, most colonial governments, particularly those of British origin, introduced compulsory tax payable only in cash for purposes of meeting the cost of administration and generating cheap African labour necessary for the establishment of productive economic activities.

The formation of a British protectorate in Bechuanaland (now Botswana) in 1885 was followed in 1899 by the imposition of a hut tax (later modified to head or poll tax) to fund the protectorate's administration (Tlou & Campbell, 1984). Taxation was used in settler colonies like Kenya and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to force Africans to offer themselves as cheap labour, which was desperately needed in the emerging white settler economy (Collier & Lai, 1986; Stichter, 1982; Van Zwanenberg, 1975). In reality, wage labour was alien to Africans, and most of them were unwilling to work in white settlers' farms and mines. It was however not the introduction of taxation *per se*, but how the tax itself was collected, that encouraged corrupt behaviour.

The analysis of the political plays selected for this study presents a great exposure of corrupt practices in the political realm through the imagery and art employed by the playwrights. These practices are, by all indications, an exhibition of post-coloniality as they exist owing to western governance's influence during the colonial era. Additionally, the political policies in present

times result from the West's economic and political power over the African continent (and other, as they put it, Third World countries who were formally colonised).

The Concept of Satire

In the Renaissance, satire was a popular mode of expression in both prose and verse. The rising craze for the classics, which brought satirists like Horace and Juvenal back to prominence, influenced the development of Renaissance satire. Satirical works were written in neo-Latin and vernaculars, in prose and verse, during the Renaissance. Dialogues, correspondence, and mock encomia were common forms of prose satire. Satirical capitolos in rhyme became popular in verse satire, and such poetic forms began to appear in collections of works by many authors. Satire was also systematised from a theoretical standpoint during this period in several treatises on the genre's nature. Despite its popularity, satire experienced a drastic downfall at the end of the sixteenth century. From the section titled African leadership to this point is a historical overview of the situation. This overview reveals the background or backdrop for which political corruption emerges, a situation prevailing in present day African governance.

Satire as a Weapon

There is no generally accepted definition of satire. It signifies at one level, a kind of literature and on the other, a tone which clearly expresses itself in many literary genres. Abrams (2005, p.167), however defines satire as "the literary art of diminishing a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking towards it, an attitude of amusement, contempt, indignation, or scorn". It differs from the comic in that comedy evokes

laughter mainly as an end in itself, while satire derides, that is, it uses laughter as a weapon and against a butt existing outside the work itself. On the other hand, Moody defines satire as "any form or piece of writing that is deliberately and humorously critical in intent" (Moody, 1968, p. 208), whereas Barnet, Berman and Burton (1976, p. 2669) argue that "satire is a work ridiculing aspect of human behavior and seeking to arouse in the audience contempt for its object". Similarly, satire is "a work that mocks or ridicules the vices, sins, and absurdities of persons and individuals, of class and institutions of countries and civilisations". In general, a mode of writing that utilises with and humour to criticise or ridicule human institutions and behaviour with a view to correction or improvement (Jack, 1935, p. 174).

On the whole, however, in terms of its semantic implication, there is no generally accepted and all-embracing definition of "satire". Each writer and critic sees and defines it in a way that suits his mind.

Etymologically, the word "satire" has its root in Latin. It was initially called "Satira". Later, it became "Satura" meaning "medley" or mixture. According to literary history, satirical usages were part and parcel of folk culture in many ancient communities in which the art flourished, especially in Greek culture where it is said that they were specifically located in Grecian fertility rites. Literary history also indicates that it was in 7th century B.C. Greece that satire recorded its first victim. The satirist was Archilochus and his targets were his defaulting bride-to-be and his prospective father-in-law.

From the dawn of time, the satirist has viewed the globe as a battleground in the ongoing conflict between good and evil. He sees the

universe as chaotic and self-destructive, whether he is posing as a down-to-earth realist speaking to his deaf peers or as a god despairing of man and civilisation. On one plane, he wants to fight evil, while on the other, he wants to restore order. His usual aims have been timely and immediate, with symbolic and far-reaching remedies. It is a reality that satirists who condemn vulgarity and destructive pride are not very tolerant of such flaws in man, preferring to destroy rather than understand them.

All said, the satirist exposes vice and folly both in man as well as in society as a whole. In doing so, he can effectively use several literary and rhetorical devices, which range from dramatic incidents, beast fables, sarcasm, irony, mockery, or anything that would make the object of attack disgusting, distasteful, or ridiculous.

Satire has therapeutic properties for some people. In a remark, Bernard Shaw, for example, supports the therapeutic use of humour. Shaw states that "if I make you laugh at yourself, remember, that my job as a classical comedy writer is to criticise morals, and that if I ever make you feel foolish, remember that. That I have corrected your folly with the same action" (Barnet *et. al* 1972, p. 54).

Alvin Kernan identified some qualities such as the satiric speaker, the scene, and the storyline of satire in his seminal study on the subject (Kernan, 1959). Kernan's work, which is concerned with satire in general but has particular significance in the study of several Renaissance satirists such as Ludovico Ariosto, has dispelled a widespread propensity to understand the satirist's persona as an actual self-portrait of the author. Instead, the satirist must be viewed as a poetic device deployed by the author. All satirists share,

in fact, some common characteristics: the satirist always portrays himself as a simple and humble man longing for a less quieter, and more natural way of living. He is also portrayed as a moral man, disgusted by the corruption and loss of morality that surrounds him, who is compelled to write precisely to denounce the dissolution of the contemporary world.

Invariably, the scene Kernan sees in front of his eyes is one of anarchy and depravity. The satirist's world is perpetually in a state of chaos, populated by people who are typified by stupidity, ignorance, and immorality. As a result, one of the first acts of every satirist is to draw a line between himself and his contemporaries, pointing out how he does not share their way of life or approve of their behaviour. In keeping with his portrayal as a simple man, the satirist claims to write in a simple, clear style; a style, moreover, that avoids any embellishments because its sole purpose is to express the truth. The satirist depicts himself as the only voice of truth–more precisely, as the only defender of truth in a world that uses language only to deceive and falsify reality.

According to Ruben Quintero's definition, the satirist's function is that of a "watchdog", someone who warns the rest of the world of potential risks but is not required to do anything to prevent them (Quintero, 2007). A satire is always intended to be a collective to vices, errors, and wrongdoings that the satiric speaker observes in his environment. Because of this, the satiric speaker in the early modern period has been compared to a doctor, and satire becomes the bitter medication that he uses to try to treat society's ills. Satirists always use a tone that expresses or at least allows to express strong emotions like fury, contempt, and dissatisfaction, but to write satire, the satirist must have a

lingering hope that things can be altered, especially because of his intervention. The cure of satire consists in exposing its subject to public denigration, thus motivating this subject to correct their habits.

The image of the satirist as a doctor acting against vices was preceded by the belief that satire and the satirist had magical powers. Robert C. Elliot, an anthropologist who has studied satire, has discovered that humour was regarded as having magical qualities in a range of ancient societies (from the Arab East to Ireland). During fertility ceremonies in ancient Greece, the magic of satire was believed to be able to banish evil by the power of its curse, thus saving the earth from infertility. Moreover, in different cultures, works of satire were often believed to have the power to create actual harm to the satirist's enemies, the ones he seeks to satirize to effect change. In ancient Irish culture, satirists were deemed able to provoke the death of living beings simply with the power of their verse while the Arabian tribes used to employ satirists in battle, having them ride with the army and cast invectives on the enemy (Elliott, 1966). Even when satire and the satirist had lost their mystical attraction in later cultures (such as the Renaissance), the genre and its creator may still be dreaded. Pietro Aretino, the famed Renaissance Italian satirist known as the "scourge of princes", used the popularity and causticity of his satirical works, as well as the dread of defamation they instiled in potential targets, and to elicit gifts and monetary rewards from the powerful.

Political Satire

The continent's enormous socio-political issues are rarely ignored by African writers. This concern is expressed as such by Ogunba (2009, p. 21), who states that "when the writer in his society can no longer function as a

consciousness, he must admit that his sole alternative is to refuse or retire to the role of postmortem chronicler and surgeon". In African society, the artist has always been a recorder of his culture's manners and experiences, as well as a voice of vision in his own time. The dynamic demonstrates how dramatists are a part of their societies and so have a better awareness of what is going on around them since they serve as the conscience of the society. They are dedicated to bringing order back to their communities, which have been ravaged by a variety of socio-political and economic issues.

In general, the satirist exposes immorality and folly in individuals as well as society as a whole. He can do so by using literary and rhetorical tactics such as dramatic episodes, beast stories, sarcasm, irony, mocking, or anything else that renders the target of the assault unpleasant, distasteful, or ridiculous. Satire –"the art of laughter with blades"– is a social art because it mocks, critiques, and ridicules men's actions and societal problems to purify society. This art form has been used by artists for a long time. Proverbs and folktales are commonly used to mock and criticise men's and society's unwholesome attitudes, even in traditional societies. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1972), has also noted that:

> Satire takes for its province a whole society, and its purpose, criticism. The satirist sets himself certain standards and criticises society when and where it departs from these norms. He invites us to assume his standards and share the moral indignation which moves him to pour derision and ridicule on society's failings. He corrects through painful, sometimes, malicious laughter" (p.55).

Drama as a Tool for Political Critique

"Drama" is derived from an ancient Greek word that means "act" or "deed" (Halliwell, 1986). According to Halliwell, Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher, created the term "poetics" in his seminal work "The Poetics". The term "drama" was coined by Aristotle to describe poetic texts that were "performed" in front of an audience in a theatre. He defines distinct types of poetry in this essay based on the main features he believes could be recognised in their development. According to Green (1987), Aristotle is claimed to have classed a variety of styles of composition into this genre of drama, including comedy and tragedy. Aristotle regards comedy to be a form of drama because it depicts activities that made the audience laugh, and tragedy to be a form of drama because it depicts acts that made the audience feel sorrow or horror. Bywater (1962), illustrates in great detail how Aristotle's poetic genius develops these compositions. They differ in three aspects: they imitate various objects, employ various tactics, and display themselves in various ways. The copied objects, according to Bywater, represent operations involving either good or evil agents. As a result, the fundamental contrast that divides humans based on their display of virtue and evil generates the diversity of human character. Some artists use the medium as a form that incorporates rhythm, vocabulary, and harmony. They can be used on their own or in specified combinations. These doppelgängers may symbolise human personalities, as well as what they do and suffer from. The final distinction in this art is how each type of object is depicted. One can speak in a narrative one moment and assume a character the next. Imitators can dramatise the entire story as though they were doing the things indicated. Horace, the Roman theorist, gave a new

perspective on these poetry forms when he proposed that their function was either to please or to instruct. Many of Aristotle's terms for categorising Greek drama are still used or discussed today, while different definitions and advancements in drama are taken into account in addition to his initial judgment of drama.

The African Writer and the Political Crises in Africa

Politics is a vital component of people's lives, both as individuals and as nations. It touches on the life of mankind in a broader sense, aside from other social factors like religion and commerce, which also have political relations. Politics, being the most essential element impacting all aspects of human life, is also the cause of major human disasters. The African writers, playwrights, and poets examine the nature, operations, and effects of society's political crises using their works as discourse technique. In this function, the African authors react to the traditional African communities social image of the sage, visionary, or elder, who should call the society to order if it goes astray. According to an African saying, "a fly that has no one to advise it, follows the corpse into the grave". Regardless of how insane events, characters, and actions are, writers are concerned about order, stability, equity, and progress. Their cultures lacked them in sufficient quantity as a result of the warfare and volatility that followed their difficult entry into the world as established by European domination and civilization. For example, the ending of *A Man of the People* in a military coup demonstrates the logical correlation between art, vision, and objective deduction, leading some reviewers to incorrectly conclude that Achebe foresaw Nigeria's military coup in January 1966.

Chinua Achebe's political tirades include *A Man of the People* (1966), *The Trouble with Nigeria* (1983), *and Anthills of the Savanna* (1987), all of which deal with Africa's political crises. Finally, Achebe's *A Man of the People* is a critical assessment of the challenges that occurred throughout the democratic process, as well as the corruption that afflicted newly founded African nations' political governments. Achebe addresses governance difficulties and why Nigeria, like many other African countries, is unable to grow politically in *The Trouble with Nigeria* (1983):

> *The Trouble with Nigeria* is, simply and squarely, a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with Nigeria's character. There is nothing wrong with Nigeria's land, climate, water, air, or anything else. The Nigeria problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which are the hallmark of true leadership (p. 76).

Another Nigerian writer, T.M. Aluko (1970), is more interested in social reform than politics. Even when writing about corruption, such as in *Chief the Honorable Minister* (1970), Aluko is more concerned with the tainting impact of traditional life, which he says is predicated on corruption and a "lack of certain principles" (Taiwo, 1976), than with governmental control itself. This is in line with Kinsman and Foreman's (1965), study, which linked government corruption to tradition and character.

The political rhetoric of Soyinka's (1960), play, *A Dance of the Forests*, was a response to the national exuberance that welcomed Nigeria's independence. The goal of this play, which debuted on the eve of September 30, 1960, was to warn the population of the country's high hopes for

independence. To demonstrate that the people's future cannot be different from the past and present, the author linked the past (the so-called great empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and others) with vast undetected corruption to the current generation's corruption and tragedies. To make this connection, the author uses the concept of reincarnation to explain how some of the ancient criminal figures have reincarnated as modern-day evildoers and corrupt people.

Politics has become a sure way for many people, particularly political leaders and literary writers, to improve the lives of their people, but it frequently turns out to be a completely different ball game. Many experts have attempted to explain the concept of politics and how it is negatively affecting people, particularly in Africa, as a result of various maladies linked with it.

Nyong'o (2002), attempts to define politics by stating that it is contextual. That is, it occurs inside a specific environment, and it deals with relationships among social forces as they seek to modify their environment to fit their needs, wants, desires, aspirations, biases, and ambitions. He goes on to say that conflict is a social phenomenon in politics and that opposing social forces compete for the acquisition, utilisation, and distribution of contested resources, whether material or symbolic.

Ogungbesan (1974), believes that politics has had a significant influence on African writers because the African intellectual is a member of the political elite. He goes on to say that the writer is a touchy subject in his community. As a result, African literature has tended to reflect the continent's political phases.

According to Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987), African literature deals with genuine political and economic problems. Literature is a potent weapon in the ideological war, in the battle for images, in the battle for how we see ourselves in the struggle for communal and individual self-definition.

Ayi Kwei Armah (1973), claims that the colonisation of African literature is already underway to expose us to African politics. Novelists are more concerned with exposing the endemic corruption and incompetence in African political and government circles than with cultural and sociological issues.

According to Amase, Alexis and Kaan (2014), Africa's political issues have become more complex and complicated over time. The emerging African writer must continue to develop new styles to battle this hydra-headed beast. Amase *et al*. (2014), go on to state that they are aware that the writer may have to wade through crocodile-infested pools to reach this goal. African writers must accept their position as the voice of the voiceless and the emancipator of the people, regardless of the great challenges that lie ahead. After all, the pen is more powerful than the sword throughout history.

The Relevance of Pre-colonial Leadership and Governance to 21st Century Africa

While great attention has been focused on creating strong governance and leadership institutions in Africa based on Western/foreign leadership ideals, less emphasis has been placed on how Africa's pre-colonial leaders might serve as good role models for African leaders in the twenty-first century. Given how much development and governance thoughts are influenced by Western models, it is unfair to overlook Africa's past leadership

achievements and lessons for today's Africa. Non-Africans have developed much of Africa's knowledge, and attempts by Africans to write about Africa from an African perspective have been dismissed as nationalist historiography geared exclusively at resurrecting the dead past. Indeed, as Africa's prosperity is unrelated to its history, concerted efforts have been undertaken to urge Africans to forget about their past and focus on the present and future (Obiyo, 2011). Even when certain lessons from Africa's pre-colonial leadership are gleaned, they are frequently disregarded as being only relevant to the conditions of the time and not to the complex difficulties of the twenty-first century:

> True, there are many examples of traditional leadership and government in pre-colonial Africa that have changed over time, producing institutions and leadership styles that are adapted to the reality of the moment. The dispute continues over whether there were social and cultural norms, political institutions, and procedures, as well as philosophical underpinnings of government, in pre-colonial Africa that could be relevant and applicable in modern Africa. Pre-colonial Africa, for example, was mostly based on non-monetary, tribal economies. The kind of training required to reign in such pre-colonial African economies had to be distinct from the realities of leadership qualities required in the second half of the twentieth century. In pre-colonial Africa, political entities were mainly racially homogeneous. For the most part, Africa's new leaders inherited an amalgamation of various, sometimes conflicting tribes that had been coerced into one geographic entity whose limits were determined by colonial powers in

> Berlin in 1884–85. … For the newly independent states, solving this challenge necessitated an entirely new set of leadership abilities and governance institutions (Mkapa, 2010, pp. 25-26).

While such views may contain some truth, they run the risk of oversimplifying the complex circumstances in which pre-colonial leadership and governance systems arose. Similarly, such ideas lead to the mistaken conclusion that pre-colonial leadership and governance institutions can teach 21st-century leaders nothing worthwhile. Despite the huge differences in pre-colonial and twenty-first-century Africa's situations and conditions, this study claims that there are various lessons that modern African leaders can learn from to handle the continent's current leadership difficulties. It is also states that rather than going to the East and West for leadership recipes, present African leaders should first dig into Africa's previous leadership triumphs and challenges, building on these and other relevant recipes to be able to address the continent's challenges.

There are countless examples of pre-colonial African leaders who were capable of building kingdoms and empires and protecting them, albeit not without struggle. Other leaders have established their states by participating in the infamous slave trade and slavery. Whatever the situation, these leaders showed a high degree of thinking and planning to seize opportunities for social advancement. Current African leaders can learn a lot from the emperors of the time, specifically for the three major empires of West Africa: Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. This is because pre-colonial leadership and institutions had a high level of expertise in empire and kingdom building (Falola & Aderinto, 2010).

All three empires rose, developed, and consolidated as a result of their involvement and control over trading activities in the Trans Saharan Trade. These empires succeeded in trade not because they had valuable trade items, such as gold, but because their leaders played a major role in creating a favourable environment for foreign traders to come and trade with them. While the Trans Saharan Trade is the most well-known, emperors and kingdoms also fostered intra-regional trade, which laid the groundwork for the inter-regional Trans Saharan Trade. Apart from the exchange of goods, such trade activities were significant because they provided a steady supply of money by taxing all goods shipped through the empires (Craig, Graham, Kagan, Ozment & Turner, 2012). Among other things, taxes supported the emperors in providing crucial public goods and services, such as defending trade routes from thieves who may loot traders (ibid.). Leaders had an equal part in creating conditions that let Muslim traders feel comfortable doing business in the region, as well as attracting foreign expertise, technology, and information that they used to construct their society and people. Mansa Musa, for example, brought numerous Muslim academics, artists, scientists, and architects with him when he arrived from Mecca, fostering the spread of Islam and making Timbuktu famous for its madrasas and libraries (Craig, Graham, Kagan, Ozment & Turner, 2012).

It is also notable that pre-colonial African leaders were never despotic. Traditional Africa has significant democratic elements that might be linked to modern democratic concepts (Chimakonam, Agu & Agbo, 2014). Even though the king or emperor had vast powers in all scenarios, these powers were usually balanced and checked since citizens were involved in the day-to-day

administration of their empires, both directly and indirectly (Ayittey, 1992). Pre-colonial African leaders/kings were thus required to serve their people and obey conventions and traditions. If certain conditions were satisfied, a king would be overthrown by the same people he led whenever he failed to obey the conventions and traditions. Ayittey (1992), notes that:

> To begin with, only those who enstooled him could destool him. As a result, only members of the ruler's counsel could file formal grievances and initiate the destooling process. Ordinarily, council members acted in reaction to popular opinion from villages, districts, or the entire state. People would either leave elsewhere (vote with their feet) or rise in open rebellion if the council failed to act. Second, destoolment proceedings could not be led by future heirs to the stool. Members of the royal family were forbidden from participating in these proceedings in Ghana's Akan states. People have the right to enslavement and destoolment (p. 61).

In all of these situations, the idea of natural justice was upheld, as the king was often allowed to defend himself before being ousted. Kings, chiefs, and emperors were thus more than rulers; they were also leaders (Ayittey, 1992). All of this helped to keep kings' powers in check by establishing a system of checks and balances and ensuring the preservation of democratic standards.

One implication and lesson is that African democratic government precedes Western-based governance paradigms. It also means that present African leaders should not waste time attempting to domesticate Western-style democratisation because they can learn more from what African leaders did

before colonialism. According to certain academics, to some extent, pre-colonial Africa had a democratic political order. Traditional Africa worked based on consensus and unanimity rather than the majority principle. As a result, an all-encompassing attitude emerges. As a result, the existing Western-style liberal democracy must be reformed by adapting and upgrading Africa's traditional democratic system to build a viable democratic alternative that will function in Africa (Chimakonam, Agu & Agbo, 2014, p. 141).

It is crucial to remember that power belongs to the people, not the leaders and that the purpose of leaders is to lead their people to wealth, freedom, equality, and growth rather than to govern. Furthermore, incumbent leaders' impunity and crimes should not be tolerated. Rather than serving corporate interests, leaders should learn to recognise and pay attention to the needs and ambitions of their citizens. They must therefore lead and rule with their people, rather than attempting to impose judgments or believing that they know more than they do (Smit, 2010). Their leadership will be legitimated, and disagreements and development difficulties will be handled, if they recognise and act on this.

The necessity for Africa to develop robust and long-lasting governance and leadership institutions that can outlast the lives of leaders in the 21st century is crucial. This is significant since many African countries lack strong, long-term institutions capable of surviving external and/or internal challenges. Famous West African empires thrived and prospered mostly as a result of their leaders' abilities to economically and territorially extend and protect them. The leaders were critical in managing trade across their empires, which

supplied them with much of the revenue they needed to expand (Konneh, 1998).

As empires disintegrated one after another, the strong leadership and governance features that had helped them expand and entrench themselves were ineffectual. Deaths of key commanders, conquests, failure to maintain control over expanding territory, and the loss of authority over trading activities all contributed to the collapse (Decraen, 1962; Goodwin, 1957; Iliffe, 1995; Levtzion, 1963). Current African leaders must view this as both a challenge and an opportunity to establish long-term leadership and institutions that will outlast their own lives. Because "ensuring that a country will continue to function efficiently and effectively in the event of a crisis with the incumbent President delivers great value to inhabitants" (Mawere, 2009, p. 77).

Despite this promise, transitioning Africa's leadership remains a difficult undertaking. Many good leaders have failed to put in place mechanisms to ensure that their countries continue to function properly long after they have died or left office. Citizens and politicians in Tanzania, for example, constantly lament the loss of what Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the country's first president, worked so hard to achieve. This demonstrates Nyerere's failure to develop leadership and governance institutions that would have ensured that his accomplishments were retained and passed down to successive administrations. For Mawere (2009), "many African Presidents feel the continent would never produce another Nelson Mandela" (p. 14). They are continually educated that they are the continent's messiahs and that any change will put the continent's progress on hold. The

fall of the great pre-colonial African empires should serve as a wake-up call to Africa's leaders in the 21st century, reminding them of the importance of establishing leadership and governance institutions that will outlast them and ensure that the goals they pursue are passed down from generation to generation.

Post-colonial Texts and Political Power Struggle

According to Foucault (1994), "it is one thing to articulate and take up a stance on the political struggles in the midst of which one finds oneself situated historically, but it is quite another to seek an epistemic standpoint outside those ongoing conflicts from which that stance can be validated" (p. 109). Thus, it would seem that what Foucault realises is that "power is not something possessed or wielded by powerful agents, because it is constituted by those who support and resist it. It is not a system of domination that imposes its rules upon all those it governs, because any such rule is always at issue in on-going struggles" (Foucault 1994, p. 109). Further to this, Foucault seems to have formed a conclusive view:

> Power is dispersed across complicated and heterogeneous social networks marked by ongoing struggle. Power is not something present at specific locations within those networks, but is instead always at issue in ongoing attempts to (re) produce effective social alignments, and conversely to avoid or erode their effects, often by producing various counter-alignments, (Foucault, 1994, pp. 109-110).

To be sure, Mbembe is not alone in these kinds of re-readings of power relations in post-colonial Africa. Fabian has made an important reference to the Congolese idiom that says "power is eaten whole" (Fabian,

1990), but it is a truism to be found in many parts of Africa. Bayart and Hibou assert that "the goat eats where it is tethered" (Bayart & Hibou, 1999, p. 9), in reference to Paul Biya's Cameroon expression, "I chop you chop", as happens in Nigeria. We see it in Francis Imbuga's (1976), play, *Betrayal in the City* where one character strategically named Tumbo (i.e., stomach) articulates this same mentality, as the "eat and let eat" philosophy, which is better expressed in a common Kenyan idiom, "a man eats where he works" For the authours, it partly leads to the hilarious sub-title for his book, "Politics of the belly", itself a Yaounde (Cameroon) saying. It is an approach to the Post-colonial African State, write Bayart and Hibou, in which "any actor, worthy of the name tries to get a mouthful" (Bayart & Hibou 1999: 89-90).

What all these popular assumptions are underscoring here, is the fact that even amongst the subjugated, so to speak there are dimensions of the performance of power, which often take the form of "the grotesque and obscene" form (Veit-wild, 1997), including the employment of pain between and among all these classes of people. One other post-colonial reader, Angelique Haugerud (1995), has for her part made reference to the equally hilarious "theatre" of recent Kenyan politics where *wanainchi* (the people) do often go the absurd length of actually swearing before powerful politicians about things they do not really believe in. Mbembe refers to this as *Simulcran*; that is, the strategy of pretense perfected by the hitherto presumed subjects as a way of negotiating their space. In the literary and dramatic texts that I look at in this thesis, there is perhaps no better illustration of this mentality than one BinBin in Imbuga's (1984), *Man of Kafira*. But the point at this juncture is that it is once again about the management of multiple identities;

transformations, co-options, and if necessary, "subjects" do not hesitate to engage in what Mbembe inimitably calls "the act of mutual zombification of each other" (Mbembe, 1992, p. 4).

Empirical Literature

The issue of political corruption has emerged as one sure manner that many people, particularly political leaders and authors of literature, look up to improve the lives of their people, but it frequently proves to be an entirely different situation. However, many scholars have in their small way explained the concept of politics and how it is affecting people, especially in Africa, negatively, owing to some ills associated with it.

Achebe's (1966), *A Man of the People* is a narrative work that uses political satire to reveal the complexities of democratic politics in a Nigerian context. At the heart of this narrative is a clear denunciation of a bastardised political system in a perverse socio-cultural and economic environment similar to what pertains in Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968), Ahmadou Kourouma's *The Suns of Independence* (1970), and Amu Djoleto's *Money Galore* (1975), among many others. *A Man of the People* was written in 1966, but its main themes; politics, corruption, and underdevelopment in Africa remain relevant to the continent's current socio-cultural, economic, and political environment.

According to Wyk (2007), the current status of Africa is a holdover from a colonially imposed structure t the colonialists' centralised State system, which spawned an authoritarian political culture based on ethnicity, was embraced by Africans. After achieving independence, this system resulted in the oppression of the majority of the people. This has compelled many writers,

through their writings, to interrogate and examine these acts of impunity and disregard for humanity and the love to ascend the highest political office by hook or crook. They do this as they seek justice for their people as portrayed by Djoleto through the agitation of the tanker drivers in *Money Galore* as well as agitations from the trade unions in Achebe's *A Man of the People.*

From a political economy viewpoint, Hadenius and Teorell (2007), has surveyed the literature on corruption, including case studies from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. He came to the conclusion that corruption should be studied as an institution as it has developed into one. The researchers have adopted a similar focus on institutional theory as a result of our archive-based research, as well as our reading of the literature from African history and anthropology. According to our examination of corrupt trades in colonial and post-war West Africa, where they have grown highly structured (Apter, 2005; Hasty, 2005; Piot, 2010; Smith, 2007), corruption has indeed turned into an institution, at least in Ghana and Nigeria. By concentrating on tracing an institution's history, we contribute to a field that governance academics are now again interested in (Miller, 2000; Pierson, 2000).

Colonialism is only briefly mentioned by Victor LeVine (1975), in his article on corruption in Ghana. LeVine (1975), however concentrates on the actions of Ghanaian politicians in the 1950s and 1960s. Although Robert Tignor (1993), acknowledges that some corruption existed during colonial administration in Nigeria before independence, he does not attempt to connect this corruption to the institutional framework of the time. The study found a sizable number of examples of corrupt behaviors throughout our research on

many facets of colonial and postcolonial Ghana and Nigeria. The study also came across a very distinctive evolution of the vocabulary of corruption. In contrast to what the present literature suggests, the pattern we discovered in the archives suggests a far stronger structural link between corruption during the colonial period and subsequent postcolonial corruption, leading us to conceptualise corruption as an institution in the African context, explaining its generalised (De Sardan, 1999), and pervasive nature in private and public affairs.

Unlike what is suggested by the present literature, the pattern we discovered in the archives points to a considerably stronger structural connection between corruption during the colonial period and subsequent postcolonial corruption. He contends that every character in the book's fictional world is complicit in the corruption the author critiques in some way. Nyarko-Mensah (2022), explores concepts like hypocrisy, dictatorship, immorality, and dishonesty. He uses quotes from the text to illustrate how these unethical behaviors present themselves among people and in some institutions in his writing. Nyarko-Mensah brings up the subject of the text's style once more. He mentions the usage of scriptural allusions, situational irony, and flashback methods.

Teiko (2011), discusses the topics and characters in his review of *Money Galore*. He dissects the primary concepts and provides a thorough analysis of the personalities. The review discusses the text's political content and how Djoleto uses it to describe the characteristics of African politics. He also describes the novel's story structure in graphic detail. He affirms the usage of satire in his writing style as he draws to a close. He satirises the

corruption problem, which in reality should be treated extremely seriously because it can result in the complete dissolution of a nation or a civilisation.

Independence has not changed much for Africans other than a corrupt political system, social inequity, and a host of other issues like famines in the slums, anarchy, businesses that steal from the government, smugglers, and bad management in all state institutions. Because of this, corruption was a topic that postcolonial writers frequently addressed in their works. They challenge the postcolonial state, try to educate the populace, and lead people out of the cave so they might see what was hidden in the darkness. Their works demonstrate how dishonest politicians deceive the public by sowing seeds of doubt to win their support and then take advantage of them to increase their wealth. Thus, authors in these nations advocate for change and protect the rights of the underprivileged masses. For instance, Achebe (1960), A *Man of the People* is a post-colonial novel that speaks about the Nigerian socio-political conditions. Throughout the novel, Achebe criticises the decadence of social values. He criticised bribery, incompetence, and governmental apathy in the neo-colonial period.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o gave the topic of corruption a lot of attention in Kenya, especially in *A Grain of Wheat* (1967). The latter talks of misrepresenting the well-known popular resistance to colonialism. The idea that eliminating colonizer corruption depends on the public's willingness to oppose it in all of its forms is discussed in wa Thiongo's works.

Research Gap

Based on the literature, the study delves into reviewing the pillars of post-colonial literature as well as the critiques of post-colonial theory. The

literature conceptualises the theoretical framework which is positioned in the review. The study also reviews literature on the variables of political corruption, political power struggles in post-colonial Sub-Sahara Africa as well as satire as a literary genre. The literature finally reviews empirical studies on the topic. The study indicates that postcoloniality theory has not been used in analysing the issues of political corruption and hence, the study sought to fill the gap by using postcoloniality theory to unveil the devastating effects of political corruption in the post-colony by critically examining and anaslysing how the playwrights portray politics in the post-colony.

CHAPTER THREE

FORMS OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN THE POSTCOLONY

Introduction

Political corruption is the abuse of public office or resources by elected government officials for personal gain. It is also the use of political office to enact laws that only favour illicit acts. This chapter presents the forms of political corruption in postcolonial literature as portrayed in the selected texts. This study finds political corruption in many forms such as graftification, nepotism, moral decadence, disillusionments and maladministration of public offices.

Forms of Political Corruption in the Post-colonial African Socio-Political Environment in the Plays

Gratification is one of the forms of political corruption exhibited in the the selected plays. The study briefly explains graft as a form of political corruption; an unscrupulous use of political authority and power for personal benefit. This occurs when funds meant for public projects are intentionally directed to personal accounts for personal benefits.

Femi Osofisan exhibits graft in *Altine's Wrath* through Lawal who siphoned funds meant for the construction of quality roads into his wife's account which he created for her. Altine uses thumbprint for her account's transactions. He gets these funds through the kickbacks he takes from the contractors. As Mbembe (2001, p. 148), stipulates that there is "orgiastic enjoyment of power and the use of political office to siphon money from public account'. The extract below throws light on Lawal's graft:

> "Madam if only you knew what you're fighting against! ... If you only know what you are been asked to sign! Twenty percent of the ownership... [She allows her thumb to be inked and stamped on the three copies of document" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 27).

The play also exhibits graft when the monies meant for the poor landowners were not issued to them by authorities. What is meant for compensation for the citizens who have lost their property is taken by politicians who blame the losses on each other or false bureaucratic processes. The extract below throws light on how the poor landowners suffer from gratification :

> Well, go to the local government. We went there, Sir. They sent us to the Town Council. And the town council sent us to the Ministry and - At the ministry, they sent us to governor's office… At the governor's office, they said the money had already been paid out. (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 17).

Thus, where gratification is at play, smart political gimmicks and deceit are the order of the day as Femi Osofisan further depicts gratification in the ten per cent kickback to Lawal in the award of contracts to equally corrupt contractors. This is shown in the contract agreement between Alhaji Maikudi and Lawal Jatau; which later brings a disagreement between them. Lawal insisted on twenty per cent from Alhaji Maikudi and the same individual, Lawal tells his business associate frankly as quoted below:

> Rubbish! Tell him its complete rubbish! What decade does he think we are living in? Who, in any ministry whatsoever, does he think will accept ten percent nowadays? Ten percent indeed! It's

> not even enough to pay the junior boys their share, the boys who will be carrying your files to and fro! *(Altine's Wrath*: p. 24*).*

Another form of political corruption evident in the play is fraud. Fraud is "an intentionally deceptive action designed to provide the perpetrator with an unlawful gain or to deny a right to a victim". We can see instances of fraud in *Altine's Wrath* when Lawal perpetrates this act by fraudulence by acquiring the land of Mr. Onene and Mallam Audu who live in a village called Tudun Wada, in the name of the government, without compensating them: "Tudun Wada? The Land acquired for the..... They will be adequately compensated. It was a government decision. And when it comes to government decisions, I just execute" (*Altine's Wrath*, pp. 16-17).

Lawal forges the certificate of the feasibility study to help cover up for his fraudulent awards of contract which exhibits an act of extortion. Extortion comes from the word 'to squeeze; and refers to "the act of obtaining something, such as money from an entity whether a person, group, corporate or institution through threats, violence or the misuse of authority (Grenz and Smith, 2003). Fraud includes financial crimes such as forging cheques and inflating costs. It occurs also when "funds raised for such activities as famine, relief, and bursary funds for poor children's school fees, and funds to assist the disabled within society are not put to the intended use. Nepotism occurs when someone appoints relatives and friends to positions of authority or awards them contracts. It often leads to the dominance of one ethnic group over another, which has negative implications for nation-building" (Kunhiyop, 2008). In the political sphere, it manifests itself in election rigging, the

purchase and sale of votes and the falsification of election results. The quote that supports this assertion is seen in the extract below:

> You know for instance that you'll not need to pay for any feasibility studies anymore. I'll just pass you the consultant's report to copy and submit". Lawal portrays fraud again when he uses the thumbprint of his illiterate wife to cover up for his stolen money. "Bring your hand. How clever indeed! A dumb font! And if anybody starts to probe tomorrow... (*Altine's Wrath*: p. 26).

Another form of political corruption evident in the play is bribery. Bribery is the act of giving money or something of value to someone to get them to do something you want them to do for you, especially, that thing which they are not expected to do. Bribery in the political sense refers to the illegal act of giving money to people in an official position like politicians, or government officials in order to get them to change a decision in the giver's favour. Femi Osofisan portrays the act of bribery in *Altine's Wrath* through Lawal who uses to solicit bribe from contractors such as Alhaji Maikudi and firms such as Waterson Associates. Lawal takes ten per cent (10%) from his business partners which he later changes to twenty per cent (20%). This change brings about a misunderstanding between him (Lawal) and Alhaji Maikudi. Evidence from the text is quoted below:

> Rubbish! Tell him it's rubbish! ... Who, what ministry whatsoever, does he think will accept ordinary ten percent nowadays? … He knows! Of course, he knows! You both knows that in my position as PS I am selling myself cheaply by agreeing to come in with you for twenty persons (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 19).

The corruption of African leaders and people working in political positions in the African nations that are located in the post-colonial environment, as exposed by Femi Osofisan in his play, *Altine's Wrath* leaves the African roads in a deplorable State. The ten per cent (10%) bribery the State's Permanent Secretary, Lawal collects in *Altine's Wrath* happens even in our current environment. The contractors that pay huge parts of the money meant for the construction of a better infrastructure as bribes do not engage the skilled professionals who they will have to pay much for, nor will they buy quality and efficient materials for the projects. As a result, contractors construct inferior infrastructure, leaving the African post-colonial environment in a seriously underdeveloped state. To Onyiloha (2015), Nigeria is on the verge of a systemic collapse if indices of corruption continue unabated and such a reality, no doubt, has cast Nigeria in a bad light among the union of nations. Nigeria is dreaded among other nations because of its irredeemable carriage of corruption in almost all facets of life. The military, the political class and the general attitude have all been identified as some institutional frameworks fuelling a meteoric rise in the cases of corruption in Nigeria. This is evident in the way Lawal contracts companies in the provision of infrastructure for the people and the denial of livelihood of Mr. Onene and Mallam Audu.

Lawal's illegal acquisition of the properties of poor citizens such as land is an instance of corrupt practices. These poor citizens derive their livelihood from these very parcels of land, through farming and other economic activities which turns to leaving these citizens in poverty. Politicians

and government officials get richer illegally, hence the gap between the rich and the poor gets wider.

Gratification makes politicians lose their good ideology of fighting for the rights of those less privileged. The quest to amass wealth for themselves makes them care less for others and the nation at large. This could be seen in the expression coming from Lawal's old friend or schoolmate: When we were in school you fought against this kind of thing! You were one of the champions of the poor, of the masses, the underprivileged…, In school! In school! Will you grow up? (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 19).

The corrupt practices like fraud in the African postcolonial environment make systems and administrative structures fail to work, hence the underdevelopment in Africa. Femi Osofisan also exposes this fraudulent act in his play *Altine's Wrath* using Lawal where Lawal awards the contracts falsely and issued the consultant's report on the feasibility study to a clear indication of conflict of interest. Femi Osofisan exposes this in the following lines: "You know for instance, that you'll not need to pay for any feasibility studies anymore. I'll just pass you the consultant's report to copy and submit". (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 25). Using his play, *Altine's Wrath*, Osofisan portrays how the forms of political corruption affect the economic structures of the Postcoloniality experience in the African environment.

Osofisan also uses his play *Midnight Hotel* to expose graft as a form of political corruption in his play. The writer uses Awero, a Member of Parliament, to expose graft as Awero speaks about unseen characters using their office to take sex as a form of bribe to award contracts.

> "All the male Members of Parliament are doing it, even to their nieces and cousins! Everyone in our Contracts and Awards Committee is taking some member of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it "Sampling the goods" so why should I be different" (*Midnight Hotel* pp. 22-23).

Osofisan uses both Awero and the unseen characters to expose graft and corruption. Abiodun (2014), exposes the link between the power of politics and the corruption of wealth, on one hand, and the negative role of people on the other. He again argues that people endorse corrupt politicians to gain personal favours. For Abiodun, the novel condemns "the African politicians' negative tendencies" and "the ordinary people in different African societies, for their seeming endorsement of corrupt politicians.

The playwright also exhibits bribery as a form of political corruption by using Bicycle, the assistant waiter, and Mr. Alatishe, the failed politician who gives and accepts bribes. Mr. Alatishe has to give some amount of money to Bicycle to be able to get him room 7 which is already occupied by the Proprietor. We observe this in the conversation between the two men in the extract below:

> **Bicycle**: I swear to you, we no get a room again. And Sir, dis na hotel, no be Africa. Alatishe: (Giving him money). Take this. Bicycle: (Taking it after coaxing). Ah be good man, Sir! But na true I talk. Except …… oh yes, of course! We get one room, one big room if you go fit to manage……. (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 38).

Bicycle, an attendant at the hotel seen to paddle about by the corrupt inmates and his master, swears there is no room but changes his mind

immediately when he sees money and remembers there is room to give. This man Bicycle, is moved by corrupt driving forces surrounding him at his workplace which turn out to influence him.

Another form of political corruption the writer seeks to expose is moral decadence. According to Muraino and Ugwumba (2014), moral decadence is the process of behaving in a way that shows low moral standards, a gross reduction in the moral values among individuals or a group in a particular society. Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* deals with a lot of issues of moral decadence such that Members of Parliament lost it as far as morality is concerned. The Members of Parliament take one opposite sex or the other, irrespective of even family, through illicit affairs as confirmed by Awero, the female Member of Parliament.

> I'm telling you it's a regular practice in parliament. All the male Members of Parliament are doing it, even their nieces and cousins! Everyone in our Contract and Awards Committee is taking some member of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it sampling the goods (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 22-23).

Moral decadence is so rampant that illicit affairs are accepted by those who should know better. The writer portrays moral decadence in society through the conversation between Jimoh and his assistant Bicycle. This is illustrated in the following extract:

> **Bicycle**: A woman! Jimoh… er a woman! Naked! As naked as Kere fish! From here to dere! (Indicates from head to toe). Jimoh: (Bursts out laughing). And is that all? Ha ha! Is that all you saw, bush men? Bicycle: I tell you, sah Jimoh, de women, she was nakedly naked!

> **Jimoh**: … Look were, Bicycle, how many times will I remind you that you are no longer in your village? This Lagos man and in Lagos, sex is business! Quarter–naked women, half-naked women, fully naked women, women about to be naked; women who have always been naked; women who will die naked – all is money in the city! Big money! Wait! (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 12).

Another instance of moral decadence is seen when Bicycle tells the headmaster that all the rooms are occupied. The headmaster tries to make his under-aged daughters seduce Bicycle by smiling at him. "Girls, courage! It's much worse than I thought … Tact, that's what we need. Try smiling at him, let's see" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 41).

The headmaster is so desperate for a room in the hotel that he tries using his under-aged girls. He should also remain calm when the soldiers that are supposed to protect the girls' bid end up defiling them as the following extract depicts:

> **Bose**: Papa Alatishe: My God, Bose! What … what happened to you? Bose: The soldier, he was so kind! Papa how easy it is to earn money in the city! We should have come long ago! Alatishe: You! And Catherine? Agnes? Bose: Upstairs with the other soldiers. We'll be so rich! (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 78-79)

Osofisan seeks to point out the ill notion that when you are honest and upright, you cannot be successful. This is confirmed by the conversation between the father and daughter above. The writer also uses Awero to exhibit this in her conversation with Suuru. "God, are you so naïve? No wonder you

are not a successful prophet. … Absolute discretion, just what we need". (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 24).

Teiko (2011), carefully examines and reviews the element of morality in Djoleto's *Money Galore*. He focuses on how Djoleto portrays some issues connected with morality and his artistic vision for society. Djoleto's *Money Galore*, seems to be vociferous in pointing out to society its immoral acts and behaviours. His approach in satirising the ills among the clergy, politicians, businessmen and women, ordinary people and even the youth is perhaps what links to the discussion of political corruption in this postcolonial era.

Osofisan portrays gross misconduct in public administration coupled with misappropriation. The playwright uses the characters of the Members of Parliament, the Headmaster, the Proprietor, the Soldiers, and the Clergy to exhibit these vices. The aforementioned vices seem to attain a state of legality in our society. The Members of Parliament are in public administration yet they use their position to terrorise those whose interests they are supposed to serve. The soldiers misconduct themselves by defiling the minors they are supposed to protect, whereas the Pastor misbehaves himself by agreeing to follow another man's wife to a hotel to be "sampled". The headmaster fails to protect his under-aged daughters, who fall victim to defilement and he initiates this when he first asks his daughters to smile at a man to be offered a room, in the hotel. "Girls, courage! It's much worse than I thought. Obviously, the boy is one of these aliens we hear so much about, from across our borders. Tact, that's what we need. Try smiling at him let's see" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 41). Neimneh and Abussamen (2017), state that Achebe's *A Man of the People* is written to expose the relationship between education and politics. They further

add that this group of intellectuals, who received a Western education and got assimilated into every English-like way of thinking, came to Africa to apply what they have learnt in a newly independent Nigeria.

The writer exhibits misappropriation by using the headmaster who uses his school's fund as a deposit for his political ambition. This, he narrates in the following lines and the "song of the lost deposit". "You know Madam since the new government came in, it's been hell for me. They took over my school and my land and here I am, jobless, homeless, and hungry! Yes madam! It's as bad as that! I even lost my deposit" (*Midnight Hotel*: p. 46).

The playwright also looks at promiscuity and favouritism in his play *Midnight Hotel.* Osofisan portrays these vices using the Members of Parliament, the Clergy, and the Soldiers. He portrays the Members of Parliament to be promiscuous, in that, they take one opposite sex or the other through a sexual escapade called "Sampling the goods" to be able to award contracts. Contracts that are supposed to be awarded based on merit are rather awarded based on who is "sampled" best, hence favouritism. The Members of Parliament favour their sexual partners rather than the best contractor. "You're afraid because I've brought you here, isn't it? You are so naive that I wonder why I'm even helping you. How do you think contracts are awardable? By prayer, isn't it?" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 22).

Suuru, the pastor also exhibits promiscuity by agreeing to follow another man's wife to a hotel to be "sampled" for contracts. This shows how promiscuous our society is, to the extent that the clergy that is supposed to inculcate good morals into the society are themselves perpetrating the very vices they should be correcting. The playwiright portrays the society to be so

promiscuous that they have a "song in praise of sampling the goods" (*Midnight Hotel*: p. 23). Osofisan also exhibits promiscuity by using Jimoh who shows indifference, when his assistant, Bicycle, trembles when he sees the naked woman:

> **Bicycle**: A woman! Jimoher, chief, a woman! Naked As naked as Kere fish! From here to dere! (Indicates from head to toe). Jimoh: (Bursts out laughing). And is that all? Ha ha! Is that all you saw, bush man *(Midnight Hotel*, p. *12)?*

Jimoh also indicates that in the city, sex is business and he does this by further reiterating the promiscuous nature of our society. Just like dat! Ha ha ha! Look here, Bicycle, how many times will I remind you that you are no longer in your village? Ehn? This is Lagos, sex is business! Quarter–naked women, half-naked women, fully naked women, women about to be naked; women who have always been naked; women who will die naked–all is money in this city! Big money!" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 12).

Political corruption has become one of the problematic plagues that affect the political and socio-economic conditions of nations globally. Femi Osofisan seeks to expose how these endemic plagues take their forms in the post-colonial African socio-political environment in his play *Midnight Hotel.* This is also evident in Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel*, where the receptionist, Jimoh garnered a chieftaincy title from the people of Ifetedo without the people finding out about his moral standing in the city. These corrupt practices put Nigeria and Africa in a bad light in the eyes of the world. Corruption damages the development of a nation. The resources that are supposed to be

used to benefit the masses end up in the pockets of a few corrupt entities living the larger group in need and in poverty.

Since Post-colonial African era, corruption has been an issue for concern because it diverts already inadequate funds, hinders economic progress, and impedes policy changes required for development. Without a doubt, corruption has permeated African society. This canker has gone so bad to the extent that whichever way one sees corruption, it involves a violation of public duty or deviation from high moral standards in exchange for personal pecuniary gains. Some of the effects of corruption are loss of revenue or funds diverted from their intended use, increases in the cost of doing business, and waste of resources hence radically reducing revenues accruing to the State. Corruption, therefore, deepens poverty and makes it difficult for ordinary people to make headway in their efforts. This further puts the poor in a powerless position of not being able to resist the demands of corrupt officials. Owing to the explanations of this work, it is clear the perspective of Osofisan regarding corruption has brought to the fore the various ills facing Nigeria as a nation as far as corruption is concerned. The assertion that literature is the mirror of society has been proven once again by the examination of Femi Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* as a reflection of the moral, social and political decadence of Nigerian society and Africa as a whole.

Ogbeche Frank Ogodo (2013), demonstrates how corruption affects all facets of society, including political institutions not leaving out the security and law enforcement agencies, as well as the terrible toll it has on our daily lives. The main problem throughout the play is corruption. In Jacassa, corruption is evident wherever you look, even in unexpected areas. Chief Ade-

Amaka is at the vanguard of this wickedness, stealing and abusing public office at pleasure. Chief exhibits wickedness by turning Aloho into a drug peddler without her consent. The quote that supports this assertion is seen in the extract below:

> **Chief Ade–Amaka**: (To Aloho) you have your papers and the briefcase. Be smart and confident on the journey… Remember, I don't tolerate failures, but I have away I reward hardwork and success, so be careful. (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 47)
>
> Custom Officer: I mean these raps. What are they and what are you doing with them? (*Harvest of Corruption*, p.48).

Chief Ade-Amaka further exhibits stealing by falsifying figures of the number of contracts the ministry awards and illegally authorising Ochuole to apply, sign, and collect himself a huge sum of money meant to procure things for the State. The playwright exhibits this by using the Registrar of the court in his address of the charges in court. The following excerpt contains the quotation that backs up this claim:

> **Registrar**: That you Chief Ade–Amaka … on the 21st of May, 1997 falsified figures thereby altering the original amount purportedly to be contracts awarded by your ministry to the tune of one point two billion naira… That you Chief Ade-Amaka on 3rd June 1997 illegally authorized Miss Ochuole … to apply, sign and collect the sum of five point eight million naira to purchase capital items for your office, a purchase which never took place. (*Harvest of Corruption*: pp. 94-95).

Chief Ade-Amaka also exhibits fornication and abuse of public office by sleeping with the young ladies he employs such as Ochuole and some ladies (Ochuole) recruits for him, not leaving out Aloho. The excerpt below has the quote that corroborates this claim:

> **Aloho**: "Ogeyi, you may not understand my position. I was even lured into having affairs with Chief. Ever since my detention, I have been feeling funny and I am sure I am pregnant" … (*Harvest of Corruption,* p.59).

Aloho's gullibility and desperation, Ochuole's role as the chief's mistress, Madam Hoha's participation, Justice Odili's involvement in the Police Commissioner's extortion of the chief, and even Ayo's demand for a bribe are all examples of how corruption is not just a problem for those in positions of power. It seeps into every aspect of the lives of those who sow it. Public employees in Nigeria have nearly always been viewed as corrupt, just like in the play. In one case, a head of staff stole an astounding 1.2 million naira that was intended for the purchase of weaponry.

The epitome of corruption is Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka. To continue doing evil, he further recruits individuals into his crooked system. Ochuole, Madam Hoha, and Aloho are on his immediate team. In the form of the Police Commissioner and Justice Odili, he also has legal advocates under his armpit. There is a long list of boys who also work for him and occasionally receive stipends. Even though the Chief holds a prominent position in the Federal Republic of Jacassa's cabinet, he engages in unscrupulous behaviour that is unworthy of someone in his position. He is said to engage in the falsification of financial figures such that the sum of one point two billion naira is

compromised. Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka "illegally authorised Miss Ochuole to sign and collect the sum of five point eight million naira to purchase capitalitems for your office, a purchase which never took place" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 95). During a search by a group of law enforcement officers: "huge quantities of narcotics presumed to be cocaine were seized" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 95) in the Chief's home. He downplays the interests of society while using his enormous resources to influence some legal representatives, such as the commissioner of police and Justice Odili, to act in his favour.

Chief works in concert with Madam Hoha of Akpara Hotel which is a warehouse for Haladu's nefarious activities: a crime which has been effectively covered and protected by very highly placed government public officers (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 98) such as the police commissioner and a justice of the law, Justice Odili. He uses these men and others to ensure that the law does not take its normal course. On the pan of Miss Ochuole Odeh, she helps in recruiting girls pushing cocaine for Chief. A large sum of money owned by the Ministry has been siphoned through her (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 101). Additionally, Chief abuses his position by having a child with Aloho, his Protocol Officer, whom he demands must report to him. He does not just send her to carry cocaine for him; he also knows her sexually, which causes her to become pregnant for him.

However, he and his cronies are ultimately caught by the law. The Chief is found guilty and given a sentence of twenty-five years in jail with work after a thorough legal defence. The presiding judge had used the following phrases to describe him before the sentence: The likes of you should hide their faces in shame. You are a disgrace to the Government that saddled

you with a ministerial responsibility (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 118). The Commissioner of Police and the Chief Justice are equally said to be a big disgrace to our noble profession" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 119). The Judge accuses them of having been blinded by "greed and avarice and you have to pay for your sins (*Harvest of Corruption*, p.119). Each is sentenced to twenty years imprisonment with hard labour. In the case of Madam Hoha and Ochuole, the Judge accuses them of being obsessed with love of money and the appetite to pursue it *(Harvest of Corruption*, p. 120*)*. Both of them are ordered to serve ten years each with hard labour. Thus, the play makes the point that those who sow evil reap evil, after all when you plant, you should be prepared to harvest! (*Harvest of Corruption*: p. 120).

Harvest of Corruption is comparable to the rest of the globe, especially in Africa, where governmental and social corruption is the norm. To contend with the powerful men and women in official positions in Africa, social and political institutions are weak. Men and women who are in positions of power abuse their privileges and abuse the law to benefit themselves at the expense of the general public, who pay taxes. The aberration in public governance exemplified by Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka, Minister of External Relations, is where one guy utilises his privileged position to line his own pockets by enlisting the aid of a cast of characters who are also the benefactors of the corrupt system. He steals or transfers millions into his personal account at the expense of the ruled, who live in abject poverty. Not as fortunate as her previous university roommate, Aloho, Ochuole's companion, has remained jobless for several years after graduation. Ochuole, a civil servant, is a round peg trying to fit into a square hole. No wonder she mocks the civil service as:

Time wasting as civil servants keep marking time without provisions for tomorrow on their timetables (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 12). On the other hand, the likes of your Chief will never regret their retirement because of the chain of companies they float. Ochuole who is lucky to have a job has no faith in it. "Bo!" she tells Madam Hoha, “let's leave civil service for the real civil servants, not me (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 13).

Chief can deceive Justice Odili and the Police Commissioner thanks to his wealth. Jacassa is collapsing, but they are unconcerned. They only care about and are influenced by what is in their pockets, which Chief Haladu’s easy generosity has greased. The two officers already mentioned are content with the current situation as long as they also organise the payment of a number of youths who serve various functions and so support the corrupt system of the Chief. Madam Hoha, Ochuole, and Aloho readily make themselves available for the Chief’s obnoxious acts, apart from from Justice Odili and the Police Commissioner who are strategically utilized to hinder the law. The Chief gives everyone money or assistance packages, but when their "house of terror" falls, everyone also gets the punishment they deserve. Aloho’s punishment in this instance is unexpected death and her parents' displeasure with how she lived during her brief stay in Jabu, the capital of Jacassa.

The playwright has just chosen to highlight one form of moral crisis in an African country namely, “pen robbery”. However, there are a host of other social vices in the background, each of which can as well yield a play. Others include the drug problem, to which the Chief sends Aloho, who is promptly captured, advance fee fraud (also known as 419), cultism, oil theft, armed

robbery, a lack of mutual trust, piracy: political assassinations; obtaining by tricks (OBT), smuggling and kidnapping; prostitution; and human trafficking, among others. All of these crimes are committed to get quick money, subvert societal order, and elevate mediocrity. In all of these instances, formerly responsible individuals, to whom leadership is given, break the social contract and put their own interests ahead of those of the community. *Harvest of Corruption* is the playwright's attempt to alert society to the growing social unrest and the appearance of undesirable ideals in a once-orderly societal structure.

The security and judicial sectors of society encourage government corruption, as has already been mentioned. The police commissioner would sooner take a bribe than uphold the law. He robs Chief of money and makes sure that Chief's unscrupulous dealings are never exposed. In a similar spirit, Justice Odili also secures the Chief's regressive interests, even though the proof is obvious enough. This is supported by Aloho's acquittal. Thus, as upholders of the law prioritise their own self-serving interests, corruption spreads to various spheres of Jacassan society.

The moral laxity and decay of characters are at the root of all these corrupt behaviours that permeate many facets of Jacassan society. Most characters lack strong moral conviction and are primarily motivated by meeting their current wants. Ayo, a clerk in the Chief's ministry, only provides Inspector Inaku with crucial information after being promised half of the payment. Ayo desires to make as much money in a day as he does in a month. Ochuole and Madam Hoha are morally reprehensible individuals who

openly support Chief's dubious behaviour. Therefore, it is clear that moral decay underpins all of these other manifestations of corruption.

In a nutshell, various types of corruption are pervasive in *Harvest of Corruption***.** The top members of society and their subordinates perpetuate corrupt practices. The security and health sectors are also guilty, but underneath all these corrupt activities is the moral decadence of characters in the play. Ogungbesan (1974), believes that the African writers have been very much influenced by politics, probably because the African intellectual is a part of the political elite. He further explains that the writer is a sensitive point within his society. Thus, African literature has tended to reflect the political phases on the continent.

Conclusion

The chapter has examined evidences of the forms of political corruption in the plays. Crucial leadership irresponsibility and selfishness brood characters whose actions affect majority of the citizens of African countries. Interpreting the plays in line of political corruption leads to the exposure of rot both under cover and what seems to be a broad day light norm of the political leadership in most African countries. The next chapter discusses the impact of political corruption on the lives of characters.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION ON THE LIVES CHARACTERS

Overview

Postcoloniality theory necessarily positions itself in critical opposition to global inequalities. This chapter of the study discusses how political corruption affects the lives of characters in the selected plays. Characters in a play are the persons the playwright uses in bringing out the actions that create the storyline. The speeches, activities, behaviour, and what other characters say about a character bring out what kind of person the playwright wants to portray as the epitome of reality in the play. The study discusses moral bankruptcy and poor administration, the exclusion of qualified individuals from political appointments and job opportunities, electoral malpractices and the denial of basic human rights and freedom as effects of political corruption on the lives of characters.

Impact of Political Corruption on the Lives of Characters in the Selected Plays

Lawal is the most prominent character the writer uses to expose the ills of corruption in the play. Corruption makes Lawal lose his ideology of fighting for the less privileged back at school. Political corruption brings about poverty and inequality in Lawal's case, and makes him so rich that he has the least respect for those through whom he enriches himself. He portrays this in the following statements: "What, sits down in my presence! That's absolutely out of … well, well, … Okay for your sake. But not in my chair! They can use the poufs or sit on the floor." (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 16).

The impact of political corruption on Lawal makes him so powerful that he even loses respect for women. He expresses this when Aina tries to express her opinion on his new turns.

> Rotten indeed! And that to me! Listen, men like me, we control this place! You hear that? We turn, and the entire society turns with us! We snap our fingers, and women far more important than you fall on their knees in obeisance! … I own companies! Lands! Houses! Cars! Horses! I employ hundreds! Women like you and better than you kill themselves to get into my bed (*Altine's Wrath*, p.19).

This power makes him treat his wife, Altine, like a house help: "[Giving her Miriam's coat] Take this and hang it. You hear? Go and hang it. [Demonstrates] Hang! [As she is leaving] Wait! Where are you going? Have I finished yet? Food! And fast!" (*Altine Wrath*, p. 6).

Abrams (2005, p. 246), summarises that the challenge of classical canonical writing to seek fairness and justice is a major trend of the postcoloniality agenda. Particularly, Osofisan seeks to use his play, *Altine's Wrath*, to address fairness and justice among every individual in a particular society. Truly, almost all of Osofisan's plays depict the unfavourable dynamics between the rich and the poor in society by using animals and predatory as metaphors. The wealthy and the ruling upper class, who are represented as voracious, insatiable, monstrous, barbarous, bestial, and diabolical, take advantage of their privileged positions to abuse, dominate, control, and oppress the poor with fierce cruelty. Because of their harsh policies and authoritarian attitudes, the affluent fully dehumanise the poor under their care. The impoverished are also portrayed as pawns in the hands of the "gods" who

can slay them for their meat at will and as prey in the hands of the rich. The underprivileged are treated pitilessly by lusty boys who treat them like flies.

The impoverished are perpetually at the mercy of the wealthy since they are entirely dependent on them to survive. The dramatist uses the perfect metaphors in describing them to show their socioeconomic brittleness, financial ruin, and physical defenselessness and vulnerability. Only by examining these predatory dynamics between the rich and the poor can we awaken our radical instinct and revolutionary consciousness.

The use of these metaphors gives a concrete image and the predatory relationship between the rich and the poor. The rich, are the lions, the vultures, the hawks, the sharks, the wolves, and the jackals in the society who devour all the resources of the land. On the other hand, the poor antelopes, goats, mosquitoes, rats and cockroaches are left with the crumbs or even nothing. The metaphors are apt, and, therefore, used as the stark reality of the oppression and the exploitation of the people, stir the audience's psyche. The audience becomes sympathetic to the cause of the downtrodden.

In *Altine's Wrath* (1986), the playwright uses monkey and goat as animal metaphors for the rich and the poor respectively. In the play, Lawal who is a Permanent Secretary in a government ministry represents the rich and the elite. He oppresses his wife, Altine, who typifies the poor and the downtrodden. Political corruption has both a negative impact and a positive impact on Altine in the play. The negative impact is how power drives her husband, Lawal, to relegate her to the background and maltreat her. We can see these negative impacts in the following extracts where Lawal asks Altine

to serve his mistress, Miriam, calls her animal, hits her at the least provocation, and calls her illiterate.

> Take this and hang it. What, where are you going? Have I finished yet? Food! And fast! … Why are you staring like an idiot? The least you can do is say good evening to her? Go on greet her! [Altine stares silent, Lawal angrily hit her. I say greet her you dumb female goat! Down! On your knees! [Altine falls and crawls as he kicks her. She drools in the mouth] *(Altine's Wrath, p. 6).* You see the kind of home I have! On one side a stark illiterate of a wife" (*Altine's Wrath*, p.7).

Spivak (1985, 1999), draws out the connections between the silencing of "Other" women, who are often spoken for, about and against, and also their marginalised position within global economies. Through the postcoloniality theory agenda, which seeks to revolt against the oppressor, Altine uses all her suffering to ensure her benefit. The marginalisation and suffering she endures pushes her to secretly educate herself. She also uses the education she obtains to make a plan for herself by transferring the amounts of money her husband has saved in her account. We can confirm this in the following statement:

> I thank you very much. I thank you! To think that, if not this, for the pain and humiliation and the betrayal… ah! [She breaks down suddenly and begins to cry] … Those bitter tears I cried acted like a drug that cleared my head… The adult education classes were just across the street. I went and enrolled… That's how I came to know quite early that I had no future in your house, and I made my plans (*Altine's Wrath*, pp. 32-33).

The underprivileged in society and those working for or under certain rich political leaders are not treated well. Sometimes, the nature of treatment meted out to such people makes them feel less human. This extends to the government-employed working class of the corrupt African states. Most of such classes of people work under fear and pressure with meager salaries that do not take them home. Ahmed, Lawal's house boy, in *Altine's Wrath* is the epitome of such people in the African states under corrupt political leadership. The impact of political corruption on Ahmed leaves him to become a shadow of himself. Lawal treats Ahmed as though he is less human: "You see the kind of home I have! ... And on the other, an imbecile of a houseboy! Who will believe this outside?" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 7).

As a result of the political power Lawal has, he sees Ahmed as an imbecile who cannot reason on his own at all. He thinks Ahmed's only usefulness is to be at his (Lawal's) beck and call. When Lawal asks Ahmed to take the luggage of his mistress, Miriam, to his bedroom. Ahmed tries to object to Lawal, suggesting that Altine, Lawal's wife might take offence: "Sir ... But, madam.... wetin madam go do no go vex say that…?" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 4). But Lawal makes rubbish of his suggestion which is even very true: "Will you shut up your mouth! Go at once and do what I told you, you heard me!" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 4).

Ahmed suffers humiliation, reduction to less than a human, and oppression in the house of Lawal. This shows the impact of political corruption as Lawal and his likes feel they have absolute power as political leaders to rule and enrich themselves to the detriment of the ordinary citizens. Metaphors employed by politicians seem to gain wide value and acceptance

by people; that is, people in power get to impose their metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 157).

In recent times in Africa, politicians display excessive money from corrupt practices. Such money is mostly used to finance luxurious lifestyles and immoral practices. The half-baked literate ladies whose lifestyles are equally influenced by postcoloniality, throw away their morality and take advantage of the corrupt leaders to extort money from them. The likes of Miriam, Lawal's mistress in *Altine's Wrath*, are all over the African corrupt society. They entice these political leaders to neglect their wives for them to extort money and enjoy luxurious lives.

Miriam also shares in the impact of political corruption in that she loses her sense of humanity when she engages in extramarital affairs with Lawal. Her obsession with Lawal and what he stands for blinds her to the extent that she does not care about what happens to her fellow woman. Miriam expresses this in the following statement: "And me what am I waiting here for? My whole future is at stake too! If she gets away, I'm finished. All Miriam's expression of love for Lawal seems to be because of his ill-gotten money. *(Altine's Wrath*, p. 12).

Fortunately for Africa, there are still some youths who stand for equal rights, justice, and patriotism. Such people seek justice for the poor and agitate for change inthe postcoloniality effect that has birthed political corruption on the African continent. Aina is such a personality in *Altine's Wrath,* who is amazed at the sudden change in Lawal's activism for equality and justice.

The metaphorical impact of political corruption on Aina Jibo, an old schoolmate of Lawal Jatau is that she loses a friend she thinks she can trust.

Aina thinks Lawal is still the person she knew at school. Postcoloniality brings another impact of political corruption that makes Aina in *Altine's Wrath* disillusioned and disappointed in Lawal. Aina becomes disappointed at the level of corruption in her country when she returns from abroad: "What do you mean? Don't they have a right to own land? My God, Lawal! Are you… is this the same Lawal I knew? What happened to you? You've grown completely rotten!" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 19).

Politicians use metaphors in order to control the emotions of the listeners since metaphorical language is more of a motive than literal language. They create vivid images that increase the potentiality to share emotions and they employ this potentiality of metaphor to reassure the audience or to increase anxiety and raise anger (Landtsheer, 2009, p. 63). Political corruption also has an impact on Mr. Onene and Mallam Audu. They are both victims of land seizure by Lawal due to his politically corrupt intentions and acts. He takes their land illegally in the name of the government without compensating them. This leaves them in excruciating pain because their only source of livelihood is taken from them. The experience leaves them in abject poverty as Lawal himself refers to them as poor: "I know all about it. The poor people always have a long catalog of complaints" *(Altine's Wrath*, p. 17).

This impact leaves them in penury as the following excerpt suggests*:* "Sincerely they have driven off their lands. Their houses we demolished, their farm and crops destroyed by your bulldozer" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 16). The impact of this pain turns them into murderers, and they have to poison bananas for the household of Lawal as an act of revenge: "Ah, madam! Don't worry.

We knew it would turn out this way, and we came prepared. ...Our fathers knew how to get rid of pests, and so do we. Malam, bring out the fruits" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 16).

The playwright uses monkey and goat as animal metaphors for the rich and the poor respectively. Lawal exploits the peasant farmers like Onene and Audu. The poor are described as goats meant as both beasts of burden and as meat for the playful, laissez-faire and lazy monkey. Goats as domestic animals in African societies are seen as irritants that must be chained, beaten to submission or butchered for meat. This reflects the experience of the poor in the hands of the rich in Nigeria. The use of predatory metaphors here to depict the oppression and the exploitation of the poor by the ruling class in the Nigerian society is appropriately depicted in the way Lawal behaves towards the poor and vulnerable in *Altine's Wrath*.

Bribery and corruption go hand in hand. In societies where political corruption rules, individuals are often granted contracts in particular fields they have no expertise in. Such people pay bribes with the promise of offering a percentage of the proceeds from the contract. Such contracts mostly are either never done, never completed, or done soggily, even though payments are made by the government. Alhaji and Lawal exhibit this corrupt act in *Altine's Wrath*.

Alhaji Maikudi has a corrupt network with Lawal which involves bribery. Alhaji reveals that he has no technical know-how but his job is to lobby and pay bribes to corrupt politicians to award his company contracts: "I swear to you! I got into the company simply as an errand boy!... Believe me, that's all I am. I don't know a single grain of sand-dust about machines or the

technical aspects of the job… I can pursue the minister in charge of a project from here to any part of the world". (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 24).

Osofisan portrays in his play *Altine's Wrath,* a clear metaphoric distinction among characters that affect them negatively owing to political corruption. Political corruption brings economic loss, inefficiency, poverty, inequality, personal loss, intimidation, and inconvenience to the victims who are often the less privileged in society. All others may suffer one negative impact or the other, except for those within the corrupt network. Those who run corrupt cartels like Lawal, Alhaji Maikudi, and their associates rather enrich themselves and become very powerful. Metaphor, to Osofisan, is therefore a formidable and indispensable literary apparatus for lampooning and chastising the oppressive structures in society. In such a way, the society is enlightened, and the true conditions of the masses are exposed with a view to provoking them to stand in unity for their liberty and total emancipation. Metaphors have therefore been adequately deployed by the playwright to strengthen the theme of oppression that is prevalent in his plays. Postcoloniality theory has the potential to provide a careful grounding of the specificities of the local and to embed phenomena in a variety of social, cultural, historical and political contexts through which a transfigured and better future might be brought into view (Quaysonq & Goldberg, 2002).

Osofisan uses a unique characterisation to portray metaphorically that political corruption has a direct impact on characters. Characters to look at are Jimoh, Bicycle, Asibong, Awero, Suuru, Alatise, Alatise's daughters, Songmaster, the soldiers, and the whores. Jimoh, the Chief Waiter and a receptionist, is obsessed with power; hence, he bullies everybody who refuses

to attach the title, Chief, to his name. The chieftaincy title is one he gets without proof that he deserves it. His obsession could be seen in the following lines: "… An honorary chieftaincy title, not like the traditional family ones which any idiot can inherit …" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 16). Jimoh loses moral standing due to corruption. He prefers money to morality. This, the playwright exhibits in the discussion between Bicycle and Jimoh: "… This is Lagos man, and in Lagos sex is business! Quarter–naked women, half–naked women, fully naked women, women about to be naked… all is money in this city! Big money!" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 12*).*

All Jimoh wants is just to gather the positions and do nothing. He becomes excited and accepts to run the errand owing to another chieftaincy title Awero promises him: "Please go yourself, Chief, it's a matter of life and death. And according to the regulations in parliament… Please go quickly. (Jimoh hesitates) I promise I'll reward you well. I will recommend you in our next sitting for another chieftaincy title may be in Kano!" *(Midnight Hotel*, p. 38). Jimoh becomes delighted because he hears of another chieftaincy position. He is a Southerner but wants to go as far as Kano in the North just to have a title: "(Delighted) In Kano! Right, Madam Honourable! I'll see if the store is open. (Going) in Kano! I'm going to be an emir! Oh I can't believe this! In Kano!" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 38).

Jimoh is linked to political corruption as a result of his over-ambition and obsession with power. Most African will-be leaders are power seekers and over-ambitious owing to the postcolonial influence to get rich quickly through corruption when political power is gained. Some will fight and defend bad governance because they are promised ministerial positions (or any other

opportunity) should the government retain or wins power. Jimoh also exhibits bribery by running errands for Awero after the promise to be an 'emir' of Kano.

The playwright presents Bicycle, another character representing the metaphor of political corruption and moral decadence in the play. All caution of morality is absent in the Hotel. Women no longer cover their nudity and sex happens to be business and big money as Jimoh the Chief Waiter says to Bicycle, his Assistant. Bicycle also becomes a victim of seduction when he tells Alatise and his daughters that there are no rooms available. Alatise asks his daughter to smile at him, but the seduction does not work. This is an indication that he denounces immorality as a simple village "boy" (as Jimoh refers him). But he succeeds finally, using money to bribe him. The implication of Bicycle's act shows that his character and love for bribes is high and hence, he is metaphorically linked to the instances of corruption manifestation in the play. This can be seen in the following conversation:

Bicycle: Sorry, Sah. No place at all – at all.

Alatise: Girls, courage! It's much worse than I thought. Obviously, the boy is one of these aliens we hear so much about from across our borders. Tacts, that's what we need. Try smiling at him let's see. The girls come forward, smiling. Bicycle recoils in horror.

Bicycle: Na wetin? Na bite una want bite me now. Alatishe: What did I tell you, girls? He's not familiar with our customs. Stand back and leave him to me…

Bicycle: I swear to you we no get room again. And this na hotel no be Africa.

Alatise: (Giving him money) Take this

Bicycle: Taking it after some coaxing. Ah you be good man, Sir! But na true I talk. Except…… Oh yes of course! We get one room, one big room, if you go fit manage…… (*Mid–Night Hotel*, pp. 41-42).

Another impact on Bicycle is that he allows himself to be bribed with money.

The playwright does not pretend that everything is fine with the nation in the play. The negative effects of corruption hurt the nation's ability to develop economically. Asibong seeks graft to the extent that he restructures the original 3-room hotel eventually to 36 so he could earn more at the expense of clients and workers whose take-home pay could not actually take them home. The postcoloniality agenda of fighting against exploiting our own people for selfish gains, trying to cheat society and humanity, Asibong also has a fair share of metaphorically being directly linked to the issues of political corruption in the play.

The playwright makes a sociopolitical point by portraying Asibong as the proprietor of the hotel known as Midnight Hotel. This study has stated previously that the hotel is a symbol of Nigeria, a nation that has gone through many stages of state development. The hotel's owner, Asibong, has hearing impairment, and, as a result, he metaphorically represents the previous Nigerian governments that have been inconsiderate and deaf to the needs and problems of the people. In addition to Asibong's carelessness with his hotel, he exhibits carelessness with his marriage and home. His wife, Awero, practises infidelity in the arms of another man whom she is trying to "sample" for a contract. We can see this in the following lines:

> … All the male Members of Parliament are doing it, even to their own nieces and cousins! Everyone in our Contracts and Awards Committee is taking some member of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it sampling the goods. So why should I be different. (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 22-23).

Because of the qualifications of Bicycle and Jimoh, who were hired to supervise the operation and administration of the hotel, this study contends that Asibong is careless in the management of the hotel. These Asibong personnel are woefully unreliable and incapable of running the hotel. This scenario is a satirical depiction of Nigerian governance, where individuals without the necessary credentials are given positions of authority to manage the affairs of the nation. The failure of Jimoh to uphold the oath of confidentiality required by his position as a hotelier is justified by this study. Asibong checks into the hotel, and Jimoh starts to divulge the identities and secrets of his prior guests. The text that follows demonstrates that:

> **Asibong:** I should bloody well think so! Are you receptionist here?
>
> **Jimoh:** A room, sir? Something … quiet, isn‟t it? I know your type, sir, and I know just what will please you. Please bring your woman in, sir, don't leave her outside. There's a small hidden room at the back where the Governor of Donme State entertains his women whenever he‟s in town and doesn't wish to be disturbed. In there, sir, your woman may scream all she likes without anyone trying to – (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 15).

This study concludes that Jimoh is uneducated, illiterate, and unaware of the job's ethical requirements based on the aforementioned excerpt.

Although his behavior gives the play a comedic aesthetic, the extract also criticises Nigeria's corrupt government as a governor neglects his duties in favour of womanising in a hotel.

According to Wilson and Carston (2006), metaphor shows how the addressee understands metaphors by creating meaning from the words used figuratively (p. 404). The playwright metaphorically presents Awero, Mr. Asibong's wife, a politician and a Member of Parliament as directly involved in graft and corruption, infidelity which is in contrast with the figure woman. Graft and corruption is evident in the sense that the contract application has to go to the whole committee of parliament on contracts for proper competition but rather she is favouring someone who might not qualify for the contract. Awero is favouring the fellow because of her selfish interest in "sampling the goods" hence she is directly linked to graft and corruption. Political corruption has influenced Awero to the point that she desperately practises infidelity. The playwright shows Awero ridiculing herself as a result of political corruption. She seems to be "power drunk" to the point that she will want to take anything and everything to parliament. When Suuru faints, she laments and says, what if he dies because they are yet to pass a law against death.

The study addresses these kinds of attitudes of corruption the figure women are indulging in during the postmodern era. The Postcoloniality agenda seeks to use playwrights and academicians to expose these acts through their writings. The quest for wealth and greed are the effects colonisation has by exploiting and oppressing our own people to live ostentatious lifestyles: (Shutting the door, as she returns to the room) God! What a mess! Suppose he dies! Suppose he goes and dies! And we haven't

passed a law against death yet in parliament! Oh dear! *(Midnight Hotel*, pp. 38-39).

Evils like governmental corruption, moral decay, and religious charlatanism that plague the Nigerian society and psyche are effectively shown through the characters in *Midnight Hotel*. In the pretext of "tasting the goods", Awero, a female member of parliament, insists on having sex with Pastor Suru, a prospective contractor. Awero brings Pastor Suuru, a zealot and hypocrite who has a Swiss bank account and is a friend of her husband, to the Midnight Hotel to sample him.

They chance on Alatise, a close family friend and headmaster, who has arrived at the Hotel with his three children. The Hotel is a heaven for covert immorality and a metaphor for corruption. Awero also bumps into Asibong, who just so happens to have arrived at the hotel that evening to examine housing agents. Awero is unable to sample Pastor Suuru owing to the unpleasant interruptions of the hotel staff, and the unexpected appearance of Alatise and Asibong.

When the speaker believes that a literal description is insufficient, they can employ metaphors to express strange situations and emotions. Additionally, they can be utilised to showcase the speaker's originality and wit. They can also be used to manipulate or persuade others by bringing up details that would not normally be important. By carefully examining these patterns of metaphor use, Cameron (2007), demonstrates how we can better understand social interactions and the situations in which they occur. Suuru is another character the study focuses on in examining how political corruption is metaphorically linked to him. Suuru happens to be a Pastor who should

guide the citizenry to do the right thing. He should encourage the citizens not to practice vice but his quest for riches blinds him and make him fall prey to temptation. Suuru allows himself to be tempted by the juicy benefits of the contract and therefore, allowing himself to be "sampled". Suuru has to tell a lot of lies to get himself off the hook– first to Alatise and finally to Mr. Asibong.

The way politics should be practised in our society has not been the case. Most people agree that politics should be conducted in a way that will bring the benefits of democracy closer to the populace, especially the grassroots. The situation in Nigeria is the opposite, with politicians using politics to boost their personal wealth. The conversation between Suuru and Awero is a blatant indicator of this claim:

> **Awero:** You're afraid because I've brought you here, isn't it? You're so naïve that I wonder why I am even helping you. How do you think contracts are awarded? By prayer, isn't it?
>
> **Suuru:** I'm not saying that ...
>
> **Awero:** I'm giving you a big chance by bringing you here. As the only female member of the building committee in the House of Assembly. I'm giving you an unfair advantage over other competitors to prove your competence. And here you are trembling, when I am not.
>
> **Suuru:** Well... you know, Honourable, it's just that, that ...
>
> **Awero:** For Christ's sake, what's wrong with you? I'm telling you its regular practice in parliament. All the male MPs are

> doing it, even to their own nieces and cousins! Everyone in our contracts and awards committee is taking some members of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it 'sampling the goods'. So why should I be different? Mister, we have a song about it. (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 12 – 13).
>
> **Suuru:** Well, Awero ... you're sure I'll get that contract?
> **Awero:** Why not? Once you cooperate and I sample. (she goes to him, he recoil instinctively) once you stop making a fool of yourself!
>
> And not only Abuja, the new capital, I assure you. Depending on you, your company can bag ten, fifteen contracts in a week! Our committee has far-ranging powers over contracts from Aladja to Ajaokuta to Warri, to Apapa, you name it! All those places where we're carrying out our Grey Revolution. (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 40).

One may claim that Suuru (Pastor) and Awero are metaphorically compared to political prostitutes, which represents the current social trend in our culture.

Mr. Alatise is also a character political corruption has been linked to as portrayed by Femi Osofisan in the play. Alatise who happens to be a former head of a school also suffers the impact of political corruption such as embezzlement, misappropriation and over-ambition. Alatise misappropriates the funds meant for the development of the school to achieve his ambitious political gain. He fails to achieve his ambition. Debts become too high for him

to pay which makes him run away from his home rendering him homeless. Mr. Alatishe further experiences the negative effect of political corruption when he loses his daughters' dignity to the soldiers through defilement which made him attempt to take his own life: Parliament! I say I lost the elections or don't you understand? We've nowhere to go (*Midnight Hotel*, p.41).

Alatise also confirms his lost and homelessness in the following lines. You know Madam, since the new government came in, it's been hell for me. They took over my school and my land and now I am jobless, homeless and hungry… I even lost my deposits (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 46).

The conversation between Alatise and Bicycle, during which Alatise introduces himself and explains how he loses the governorship through cheating, illustrates the different shenanigans that defined politics in our culture, where we now have nominated candidates rather than elected politicians:

Bicycle: Yes, sir. I be him assistant. You want room?

Alatise: Yes, we'll need rooms for the night.

Bicycle: For you and your wives?

Alatise: My daughters, boy! I am a Christian!

Bicycle: (laughing unbelieving) Yes, sir. I know your daughters dem!

Alatise: Look what's wrong with this boy? You don't know me? Mr. Jerome Paulinus Alatise, former headmaster and proprietor of Paulinus Grammar School, Odogbolu near Ijebu-Ode: executive director of Paulinus Enterprises, and defeated gubernatorial candidate – defeated through rigging, mind you – of the Nigeria for Paradise Party at the last elections!

I made some of the most resounding speeches, you must have heard of me! (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 28 – 29)

The metaphorical link of political corruption on the daughters of Alatise, Bose, Catherine and Agnes are that of victims of circumstances. Their father who should protect them rather wants to use them to get what he needs desperately. Their father tries to make them seduce Bicycle for a room: "Girls, Courage! It's much worse than I thought. Obviously, the boy is one of these aliens we hear so much about, from across our borders. Tact, that's what we need. Try smiling at him, let's see." (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 41). Another impact these underage girls suffer from political corruption is be abused by recalcitrant soldiers who should protect the girls. This is confirmed in the short conversation below:

Alatise: You! And Catherine, Agnes?

Bose: Upstairs, with the other soldiers. We'll be so rich!

Alatise: Go into your room. Go and start packing your things!

Bose: You are not pleased. And it was all for you.

Alatise: Pastor, you, see? I've ruined them! Ruined my own daughters. (*Midnight Hotel*: p. 43).

The soldiers and the whores who happen to be unseen characters totally lose it. Their moral decadence leaves much to be desired. One of the prostitutes calls Bicycle when she is aware she is "nakedly naked". The political corruption that allows for people to trade their bodies for money without any laws to curdle this menace is to be blamed for this social vice. The soldiers also demonstrate moral decadence as they are directly linked to political corruption. They are security apparatus that are supposed to be

protecting the citizenry but they are in a hotel drinking their lives out and defiling the very people they are supposed to be protecting.

The songs in the play made direct reference to immorality, exploitation, political corruption, poor economic management, and revolt. The song master's welcome song immediately exposes the spiritual somnolence, political aridity, social banality and moral decadence of Nigeria, which are represented by the *Midnight Hotel*. All of the songs in the play pose thought-provoking queries, mock the abject degeneracy of the country, and offer philosophic observations on the state of affairs. For instance, "The Song of the Lagos Woman" discusses how corruption has permeated every facet of society, leading to immorality, greed, and the accumulation of wealth that is then used for desire, vanity, luxury, and unsuitable behaviour:

She goes to
Europe frequently
And when she comes down from the skies
The men of customs prudently
They turn away their probing eyes.

But she'll never tell oh no,
That the price she paid you know
For this her thriving trade
Was a little escapade at the Midnight
Hotel
For that is where the oil boom goes
She goes to social occasions

Her arms and feet all draped in gold

Her skin of strange pigmentations

She has her lovers manifold.

But she'll never tell oh no

Thai the price was paid you know

For this superb parade

In a little escapade

At the Midnight Hotel

For that is where the oil boom goes (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 14).

The song, "Sampling the Goods", further emphasises the issue of governmental immorality and political corruption:

The world's a market, they say And so is parliament so don't bring us your lament Unless you're willing to pay

Chorus: But please, take off your clothes and do not waste my time.

I want to sample your type

We made our own investment

When we came to campaign

So there's no need to bargain About our reimbursement

Chorus...

You cannot like government

If it not efficient;

How shall we give example If we refuse to sample?

Chorus... (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 24).

In this song, the playwright, through the postcoloniality agenda, reduces the status, mindset, and behaviour of our politicians to those of simple market ladies whose main goal is to profit from their investments. The issue of the spiritual dryness of our politicians is effectively brought home in this song. For instance, "Song of the Fairy Mother" emphasises the social issues plaguing the Nigerian society, such as electoral fraud, legislative mischief, poor management, and incompetence:

said what's – her name

And these lanes they won the vote, and

Ding – a – ling – o

They sit in parliament

Ding – a – ling – o (all our wealth these

fairies)

Impound

Ding – a ling – o

They stack all our funds

In foreign account

They eat in our name and

Ding – a ling – o

They drink in our name and

Ding – a – ling – o

While we shrink, these faries

Are round

Ding – a – ling – o

Ding – a – ling – o (*Midnight Hotel,* p. 68*)*

Finally, in a song titled “The Song of a Faraway Land”, Osofian outlines the Marxist path to redemption from this hopeless and depressing position in which the country is currently mired:

Once it was in a faraway land in a once-familiar state

A once-familiar lime

The people had no peace

The people had no rest

For their leaders were always at war

Their leaders were always at war All these leaders knew was to wreck the

land

And to such killing and looting

And dance around and give no ear,

While the people groaned everywhere

Spoken by song master;

We’ll chase away these exploiters, the people said:

But look at who they put in their place!

Chorus:

Oh the winners are laughing now And storing riches In banks abroad:

But they forgot

They forgot the shah of Iran

That the Season can change at noon And bring an evening of rain-oh

So let the winners go laughing on

Let the winners go laughing on

Thus it was in a faraway land

In a once-familiar state A once familiar time

That thugs came to power.

And the people lost their rights

As the agents of terror seized the land

Bringing sorrow and pain on the land

Till the people woke up

And they got their guns Against these liars and looters – They learnt at last to pay the price:

Will you follow when it's your turn?

Chorus...

No people can have peace

No people can have rest

Till the struggle for freedom is won

So the story just goes on and on

And the story goes on and on *(Midnight Hotel*, p. 86).

A close examination of this song reveals the play's main idea and drive. The descriptive song narrates the history of populist exploitation and political dishonesty. People begin to slumber; therefore, politicians' awful crimes and evil deeds grew. They begin a revolution against the liars and looters as they awake to demand peace, nevertheless. The playwright offers a

strategy and a road map in this song to overthrow the exploiters. By stating that the only path to peace is a revolution, the postcoloniality agenda and radical viewpoint are amply displayed in this song of the playwright.

In portraying the impact of political corruption on the lives of characters in the *Harvest of Corruption*, the playwright connotatively relates the main character's name, Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka to three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. This signifies that corruption does not lie with one person or one ethnic group but it cuts across all the facets of society in Nigerian and Africa as a whole (Omeje, 2008, p. .91). The historically unequal and exploitative intercourse between the metropole and the hegemonic elites in the postcolonial states constitutes the "external social relations of postcoloniality" (ibid.). Chief Ade-Amaka as a metaphorical character stands in for the ethnic group leadership that have also been influenced by political corruption in Africa.

Metaphorically, "corruption" makes Chief Haladu Ade–Amaka a moral decadent. A metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to a person, idea or object to which it is not literally applicable. A metaphor is one of the tropes, a device by which an author turns, or twists, the meaning of a word (Moeinzadeh, 2006:10). Chief is linked to corrupt practices to the extent that he forgets about morality completely. This political power gives him the opportunity to have a lot of money which he derives from the theft of public funds and drug peddling. The money at his disposal makes him have all the political and civil institutions in his pocket: "I did my homework, my Lord. I do not know why that good–for–nothing Custom Officer who has been on my payroll for God knows how long

suddenly decides to leave his duty post…" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 49). And this is metaphorical of how most politicians in Africa behave.

Chief's moral decadence makes him waste money because he gets it effortlessly, and lives a promiscuous life. His wasteful and promiscuous lifestyle is portrayed in the conversation below:

> **Chief Ade-Amaka**: Aha! As for cash no problem. Please send us two bottles of big stouts. Chilled please and two mortars of ishi – ewu the usual, you know!
>
> **Madam Hoha**: (Cuts in) Ah! Chief you are not being fair. What about me?
>
> **Chief Ade–Amaka**: …Just serve yourself. Whatever you want and add the bills.
>
> **Madam Hoha**: You join your girl. She is dying to have you already. (Raises her voice) Ochuole take things easy o! I beg you. There he is. He is all yours. Chop am if you like… (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 14-15)

He goes on to give her a lot of money when Ochuole feigns annoyance and demands money. Chief practises all kinds of vices, from extramarital affairs to bribery and drug peddling. Political corruption makes Chief Ade-Amaka abuse the public office he occupies by using government employees on the government payroll for his private gain both for sexual pleasure and to peddle drugs. The political powers granted to African leaders give them privileges they often abuse. As a result of this, amendments of constitutions, 'pivoted protocol', and certain unlawful acts and corrupt practices are rampant

in African political leadership. This is what Chief Ade-Amaka, as a metaphorical character, exhibits in the play, *Harvest of Corruption*.

Though the various public servants Chief use pay by incarceration, Aloho is not lucky, and she pays the ultimate price by losing her life. Her death is a metaphor of so many people who die for politicians during campaigns, rallies, demonstrations, and corrupt acts that make politicians become powerful and rich. Chief Ade-Amaka is unrepentant in corruption as he thinks he will forever have everybody as part of his cartel. Luck, however, eventually eludes him when the postcoloniality agenda activism in Jacassa rises to put a stop to his evil deeds. He loses his prestige and ends up punished to suffer twenty-five (25) years of incarceration. The postcoloniality agenda seeks to control the economy, control of authority, control of gender and sexuality, and control of subjectivity and knowledge are the four interconnected domains described by Quijano (2007, p. 168-178). The use of the postcoloniality theory therefore is meant to address these acts of corruption and indiscipline among top government officials.

Ochuole is an old schoolmate of Aloho who happens to be a Chief Administrative Officer attached to the Minister in the Ministry of External Relations. Looking at the conversation between Aloho and Ogeyi about their former schoolmate, Ochuole, shows that Ochuole was directly linked to the act of corruption even far back in her school days. The ladies exhibit this in their conversation below:

> **Aloho**: … I ran into Ochuole at Secretariat (purse). You remember her? That girl who was almost making herself a nuisance in the campus.

Ogeyi: Yes! Yes!!... Ochuole, who won't know her. Yes!

Aloho: She is the one I met and she had offered to introduce me to her Minister and she assured me of a job. She …

Ogeyi: And she what? (Claps her palms together) Say again, have you forgotten her lifestyle? And why should you get yourself mixed up with Ochuole of all people, why? That girl who has soiled the reputations of all decent girls in this Jabu. Is that the girl you ran into? I won't allow you to associate with her. (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 18).

In the above conversation, it is clear Ochuole is morally perverse. The impact of political corruption on the life of Ochuole does not negatively affect her alone but affects any other person that comes into contact with her. The impact of political corruption makes her morally corrupt. She prostitutes herself just to have money and other goodies of life. Ochuole's love for money makes her do anything including luring innocent girls into drug peddling and prostitution. She does not care about jeopardizing the lives of others.

Ochuole's moral decadence makes her an accomplice in many of Chief Ade-Amaka's evil dealings including signing and collecting money meant for the state for their (Ochuole and Chief Ade-Amaka) private pockets. The impact of political corruption on Ochuole makes her think she can do evil with impunity and go scot-free because of the support of the "powers that be". Finally, nemesis catches up with her and she pays dearly for it. Postcoloniality therefore becomes a "condition of pessimism" (Appiah, 2013, p. 353) or what Ghosh (2007, p. 105) states in the following words: "postcolonial essentially describes you as negative". Hence, Ochuole is directly linked to vices that prevent the development of the nation.

> That you Chief Ade-Amaka on 3rd June 1997 illegally authorised Miss Ochuole a Chief Administrative Officer attached to you to apply, sign and collect the sum of five point eight million naira to purchase capital items for your office, a purchase which never took place". (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 94-95).
>
> …Miss Ochuole, your love of money and appetite to pursue it is indescribable… You are hereby sentenced to ten years with hard labour (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 121).

In most African States, the youth who are easily enticed by worldly desires are used as accomplices by the politicians to accomplish their corrupt and immoral practices just as in the case of Ochuole in *Harvest of Corruption.* Miss Ochuole as a metaphorical character represents some university students and the elite youth (especially ladies) whose desire is to get the luxury of life and get rich through their immorality, and loss of patriotism. The political leaders also take advantage of these youths' vulnerability to use them for their selfish motives.

Aloho is a former schoolmate of Ochuole who visits her best Christian friend, Ogeyi. Aloho is a metaphorical character and is representative of upright ladies whose hardship in a politically corrupted environment tends to become a cause of their regrettable moral failing. The impact of political corruption makes it so difficult for the morally upright to maintain their uprightness amidst economic hardship and among other associates who are politically corrupt.

Metaphorically, political corruption makes Aloho a victim of circumstance. Several years of unemployment make Aloho dine with the "she-

devil" in the person of Ochuole and her Master, Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka. Aloho's desperation in search for a job clouds her judgment, making her gullible to the pranks of Ochuole and Chief Ade-Amaka. She falls a victim to drug peddling unknowingly. Aloho directly coming into contact with Ochuole who is already corrupt makes her a victim of political corruption as bad company corrupts good character:

> **Aloho**: … She assured me that her Oga will employ me. Ogeyi I am going. Right now I want to get a job and I will try to be careful about it, … I am tired of searching for a job. (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 8-9).

Aloho lost her moral standing as a result of the pressure from political corruption:

> **Ogeyi**: Calm down, Aloho, the world has not ended you can still pick up the pieces…
>
> **Aloho**: Ogeyi, you may not understand my position. I was even lured into having affairs with Chief. Ever since my detention, I am feeling funny and I am sure I am pregnant…
>
> **Ogeyi**: Preg… What? … Aloho! Are you so daft? After all my warning to you… Just under three months in Jabu and you have ruined yourself like this. Aloho why? (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 59)

From the above conversation, it is clear the impact on Aloho is so great that she ruins herself in a matter of three months. The impact of political corruption on Aloho is so great that she becomes a fornicator, and a drug peddler; she also gets pregnant out of wedlock, and becomes an abortionist. A lady that was once so decent suddenly becomes morally deviant. This is

metaphorical of the real-life situation of young ladies in Africa who have equally suffered the effects of corrupt political leadership in African States.

Based on a conceptual synthesis from a variety of relevant studies, Daniel Bach (2011), has re-theorised the familiar concept of neo-patrimonialism to portray some meaningful distinctions among African postcolonial states. Neo-patrimonialism is a post-Weberian concept originally coined by Eisenstadt (1973), to describe the confusion observable in many developing countries between the public and private spheres; between the public officer and the office holder in a State that is at least formally endowed with the Weberian modern legal-bureaucratic institutions. However, beyond the façade of the public bureaucratic institutions, the day-to-day running of state affairs, including the formulation and implementation of government policies, are conducted through informal cliente-list networks (often rooted in clannish, ethno-cultural and other primordial tendencies) ultimately linked to a few powerful state office holders. For that matter, we can see Aloho, a metaphorical character, as a replica of denial of accessibility to work and its eventual circumstances which most youth in Africa experience because of political corruption, bureaucracy, and nepotism. Neopatrimonial rule is widely believed to be the core feature of politics in Africa and central to the crises of postcoloniality.

Justice Odili (a.k.a. Chief Justice) is a judge in one of the courts at Jabu a city in Jacassa. He is a significant character not because of the amount of attention he receives, but rather because of the part he plays in the corruption that engulfs and destroys the development of the nation and the masses. Justice Odili allows himself to be used by Chief Ade-Amaka, in his cartel of politically corrupted individuals. Political corruption has a great link to Justice Odili to an extent that he lost his sense of judgment as a judge. He could have used his position to get rid of criminals from the streets of society, but because he is directly connected to corruption, it clouds him to do otherwise. The following conversation between the Chief and Justice Odili shows he is bent on protecting the criminal so far as he can always grease his hands with a bundle of naira notes:

> **Chief Ade-Amaka**: … My Lord I have come with a little kola for you. I know that you would like what I have brought for you… Meanwhile, here is a little cash for your fuel (he opens his portfolio and brings out bundle of naira notes and hands them over to Justice Odili who receives it with a show of gratitude). My Lord, more will come so long as you continue to protect me…
>
> **Justice Odili**: I can't thank you enough. (Smiling broadly). Once again, you are welcome but all…, I can say is that you should be careful… (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 30).

The impact of corruption on Justice Odili makes him leave criminals like Chief Ade-Amaka off the hook to keep on destroying innocent girls like Aloho and others not mentioned.

Justice Odili seems to be enjoying his ill-gotten gains to the extent that he resorts to blackmail to earn more. Justice Odili is a metaphorical character revealing the many judicial workers in Africa who shield political corruptions and pass unjust judgments because of bribes from political leaders, politicians, and the rich in most African countries.

> **The Judge (Justice Odili)**: Chief, this is not an easy case but I shall try as usual and you have to be reasonable this time… if this girl squeals, you are in for it.
>
> **Chief Ade–Amaka**: That's no problem. (Sensing the trap of blackmail but could do nothing about it). I shall come to the house with five hundred thousand naira this evening.
>
> **The Judge**: That's all right. In fact, I will discuss with her lawyers and the case will be dismissed for want of evidence. The amount should be raised to one million naira, to take care of all the people involved in the case…
>
> **Chief Ade-Amaka**: (Fuming) You old crook! (But calms himself) I shall bring the money in the evening (highly irritated). (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 50-51).

The Judge who holds a reputable position in society disgracefully loses his position because he chooses to become somebody's puppet because of corruption. Finally, the judge is judged and ends up with those he judged in incarceration. This is in line with the disillusionment of the African people with their leaders that began earlier in the 1960s. Colonial injustice was perpetrated against the African people. But the leadership which assumed power after independence,, continued with the same denigration and

oppression of the people. It was more painful when the atrocities being committed by the very leaders who claimed to have brought freedom to Africa (Ayittey, 1992). Justice Odili in the play, therefore, seems to be the representation of some corrupt judges who deny the citizenry justice because of bribery and corrupt practices influenced by the political power holders.

Sawant (2011), corroborates the assertion by Said (1978), that we have to distance ourselves from subjectivity and engage in activities that would enable us to avail ourselves to see things as others might. This, in effect, creates the avenue for learning from each other to foster change and development. ACP Yakubu, an image of postcoloniality agenda, is seen as a prominent figure since he leads the charge against the Chief's impunity both at his place of employment and during the legal proceedings. ACP Yakubu stands tall amongst the many officers of the police force labelled as corrupt. The impact of political corruption on The Assistant Police Commissioner (ACP) is a positive one. The political corruption that engulfs the nation of Jacassa provokes a sense of patriotism and uprightness in him to the extent that he chooses to go against all odds, even his Boss, to fight for the cause of Justice. The suppression of a tremendous wealth of indigenous cultures under imperial power is brought to light by postcolonial writers. As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2003, p. 2) rightly point out, all post-colonial cultures are still exposed to overt or covert forms of neocolonial dominance, and independence has not fixed the problem. This is evident in the quotation below:

Commissioner: Commissioner calm down. Let's take the allegations one after the other… Something will be done. And you know these things take some…

Yakubu: (Frowning). Sir! Take some what? Can you imagine what the public opinion…

Commissioner: (Heated up too). Public opinion my foot! (Stands up) Commissioner, look, I know my job and I won't have you … come here to bamboozle me in a show of holier – than – thou attitude (sits down)

Yakubu: (Calmly) Sir! I cannot be intimidated. I know my job too and I know my limitations as well… (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 62-63).

The cases of impunity against the state being committed by those who should shield her from such heinous crimes worry ACP Yakubu a lot. He wonders why one person in one ministry alone will embezzle a whooping sum of one point two billion naira (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 22).

The fact that one person in a ministry seems to be untouchable after his sexual escapes with young girls, embezzlement of state funds and drug peddling baffles him: "How can all these be happening without anybody having the willpower and the moral courage to stand up and say No! I just cannot believe it… With all his escapades with the young girls in his ministry? The smuggling and the drug racket being associated with him and now this big one!" (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 22-23).

Justice Odili's acquittal of Aloho in the cocaine matter appalls ACP Yakubu so much that he calls him "old crook of a judge" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 55).

Through postcoloniality agenda, the playwright uses ACP Yakubu to leave no stone unturned as he did not spare the justice system as well as that post-colonialism is a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction. Mbembe (2010), asserts emphatically that "as far as Africa is concerned, colonialism is over" and that "Africans are now the free masters of their own destiny". Seeing Africans as masters of their own destiny, Mbembe largely blames African leaders for the crises of postcoloniality. He depicts most of the African post-independence leaders as "potentates" wielding "necropower" – i.e. "sovereign power deployed for maximum destruction of persons and for subjecting vast populations to a social existence of death scrapes or conditions of living dead" – and 'operating through capture, looting and predation' (ibid.).

Yakubu fights until he gets justice for his dear nation, regardless of intimidation from people in higher authority than himself. It is noted that: "Have we come to a point where any money-bag or highly placed individuals will and can toy with the judiciary and get away with any crime committed no matter how heinous that crime maybe?" (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 56-57). ACP Yakubu metaphorically, represents few service men who stand for fairness, accountability, and justice in the already deteriorated African political governance.

The literature written by African authors since Africans independence may present a very different picture of an African politician. He is now a villain rather than a hero. He offers and accepts bribes, embezzles public funds for his own benefit, manipulates elections, imprisons his opponents, and does whatever he can, both legally and illegally, to maintain or advance his position

instead of being a patriotic nationalist. He represents the public as an elected official, yet his main priority is taking care of himself. Almost all African writers portray African politicians in this fashion, but Nigerian writers have historically been more critical of the leaders than writers from other African nations (Lindfors, 1994).

Other scholars like Tejumola (2005), have argued that postcoloniality might be inapplicable to Africa because the continent has not in reality surmounted or transcended coloniality. The study identified Ogeyi as a postcoloniality activist. Ogeyi is a born-again Christian, a friend, and a confidant of Aloho. The impact of political corruption on Ogeyi is that she loses a friend, a confidant and a sister to the (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 19). She tries her best to persuade her friend Aloho to disassociate herself from the evil people but she fails and loses her friend.

> **Ogeyi**: … Have you heard of the Harvest of Corruption? … The Harvest is not always a pleasant one for the sower … (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 10-11).
>
> **Aloho**: … I think I have started the harvest of corruption which you mentioned before, and I have the feeling that I am going to reap it in hundred folds… (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 59).

Ogeyi loses her friend to the *Harvest of Corruption* but she does not lose the battle. She collaborates with others to serve justice to both her friend and the nation. In a similar vein, Fanon, Muiu and Martin (2009, pp. 201-202) see African youth and women as key agents of the political change and socio-economic transformation in Africa.

The Commissioner of Police is the Police Commissioner of Jabu. He is the substantive commissioner that ACP Yakubu assists. The commissioner like any other member of Chief Ade-Amaka's cartel sells his conscience to corruption. He collects bribes from the Chief and overlooks his corrupt practices. The commissioner embarrasses himself by trying to stand in the way of that justice that his assistant tries so hard to fight for :

> **Commissioner**: (Stands up) I warn you to steer clear of that ministry for that matter or you will be bitting more than you can chew. If you insist, then don't be surprised at what hits you. Get that into you arrogant head, OK?
>
> **Yakubu**: (Calmly) Sir you cannot threaten me and do not bother at what hits me but I shall ask you … Sir, do you have any skeleton in your cupboard?... (He salutes and storm of the office).
>
> **Commission**: Commissioner! Commissioner!! Please wait. I want to … I mean to … (*Harvest of Corruption*: pp. 63-64).

Tried as he may, justice is served and he harvests his corruption in prison. In certain official positions, administrative and law enforcing officers shelve the evil acts of politicians for favours and selfish monetary gains through bribes and gifts just as the commissioner in *Harvest of Corruption.* The Commissioner is metaphorically representing the many service officers who condone and connive with politicians in their corrupt practices in contrast to ACP Yakubu who stands in for the few good ones. Mbembe (2010), asserts emphatically that "as far as Africa is concerned, colonialism is over" and that "Africans are now the free masters of their own destiny". Seeing Africans as masters of their own destiny, Mbembe largely blames African leaders for the

crises of postcoloniality. He describes the majority of post-independence African leaders as "dictators" looting their own people and wielding the "sovereign power deployed for maximum destruction of persons and for subjecting vast populations to a social existence of conditions of living dead".

Constable Ojo is one of the police officers that work with ACP Yakubu. He dislikes the level of moral decadence in society as much as ACP Yakubu. The impact of political corruption on the Constable is the arousal of patriotism. He detests the corrupt practices so much that he wishes that Aloho and the cocaine-pushing case that is thrown out of court could be readdressed. He thinks when their investigations start from the cocaine case the face behind it will be punished: "I think something went wrong somewhere and I am of the opinion that we start from that angle. If one gets hold of the bastards, they will certainly squeal especially when the heat is turned on them" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 57).

The text shows two Customs officers, one happens to be on the payroll of Chief Ade-Amaka, and the other happens not to be on the chief's payroll. This is exactly what is happening in the working environment of the African civil and public service. The two custom officers represent the genuine service men and those pushed in to serve in the public administrative work by the political leadership owing to bribery and/or affiliation with them in line with politics and corruption.

The political corruption engulfs and is directly linked to the one on the payroll of Chief. He protects him (The Chief) and his ill business at the airport. He does not see anything wrong with the corrupt and illegal business so far as it puts money in his pocket. A custom officer who is supposed to

expose and check things that go in and out of the country is now working hand in hand with the corrupt politician. African nativists, nationalists, and Afro-Marxists frequently foolishly "blame everything on the (colonial) past", according to Mbembe (2010), who compares this discursive tendency to "an ongoing process of sorcery or witchcraft". It is clear he steps out a little before Aloho's arrest: "I do not know why that good-for-nothing Custom Officer who has been on my payroll for God knows how long suddenly decides to leave his duty post at that material time after all the pre-information given him" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 49).

The second Customs officer exhibits no traits of connivance with the corrupt practices that's why he causes the arrest of Aloho: "Madam stop pretending. They are substances, which I am suspecting to be cocaine and you will be in real trouble with the law… Follow me or do you want me to call the police? (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 48-49). The two custom officers represent the beneficiary of corrupt workers and the clean law-abiding workers who do not condone crime in our society. Some of the most contentious issues in the discussion of postcoloniality center on whether or not Africans are in control of their own destiny and how much they may be considered to be in control at certain points in the postcolonial era.

Inspector Inaku is a detective in the Criminal Investigation Department of the Jacassan Police Force. He is influenced by the rot going on in Jacassa. With his determination to seek justice for his nation, he goes outside the box to bribe Ayo to secure his evidence. The impact of political corruption on Inspector Inaku is that of patriotism of postcoloniality. He seeks to fight the bad people in order to obtain justice for his nation. It is the evidence he gets

from Ayo that helps the justice fighters to nail Chief Ade-Amaka and his cohorts. One can still find hope in a societal change for Africa as some personnel administrative leaders like those epitomised by Inspector Inaku and ASP Yakubu are still just and patriotic. With a strong passion for African progress, Achebe posits that the question of leadership is "pre-eminent, in my view, among Nigeria's numerous problems" (*The Sun Newspaper*, 2010). He, thus, charges that the youth should rise and bring about a new order through revolution. In a similar tone, Soyinka has condemned the succeeding dictatorial and undemocratic regimes in Africa in general and Nigeria particularly (Soyinka, 2007). He records Ogeyi's testimony and he believes the testimony can be of help to their cause even when his boss does not believe in the story initially. This idea can be seen in the following excerpts:

> **Detective Inspector Inaku**: Sir, this is serious and more than rape. What we have been having sleepless nights over, has suddenly drop from the blues.
>
> **Yakubu**: Yes, yes what dis she say? Anything new?
>
> **Detective Inspector Inaku**: She came with information about Chief Ade–Amaka, … the relationship between him and his Protocol Officer who she said he impregnated.
>
> **Yakubu**: How does that concern us, Inspector? (Bursts out) I just cannot understand you people! He we are racking our brains on more serious issue and suddenly you start talking about boyfriend girlfriend pregnancy issue… (*Harvest of Corruption*: p. 81).

No society has achieved its aspirations of development without a sound cultural base. This point has been strongly stressed by Osabu-Kle (2000), who

contends that only a culture-sensitive political model will bring peace and harmony to African politics. The Madman who seems uncoordinated also speaks to the issues taking place in Jacassa as though he is sane. This also indicates that political corruption in society has really eaten into all the facets of society not even sparing the mentally sick: "… I, no be thief becos I de satisfy for wetin I get… Dis coat (pointing at the tattered coat on him) cost me hundred naira and I buy am for London wen I go dere with the president (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 23). The Madman's comment above even suggests that it is the people connected to the president or government that steal. The Madman speaks of moral decadence, improper running of the affairs of the country, sanitation issues and thievery. The Madman's comments indicate that the system is more insane than he is. That impact of political corruption in Jacassa makes even a Madman to lose his peace and give a solution to so-called sane people: Yes! I wan run dis country well. No stealing. Saintation? Yes! Evronmeta. Yes! Na sanitation we need abi na evrometa by ourselves no de country" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 24). Those who speak of the evils of corruption and immorality in society are considered crazy because they do not conform to or disagree with the evils of society.

Metaphorically, the Madman is a character representing the poor, weak, and feeble who do not have power but seek and speak the truth. In African corrupt society, if you have no power or not rich, your truth is considered nonsense. In other words, you will be considered the odd one out of the corrupt society and therefore "mad".

Madam Hoha is the proprietress of Okpara Hotel and one of the accomplices of Chief Ade-Amaka. Corruption impacts her so much that she

does not have an iota of uprightness in her. Madam Hoha is all right with any bad thing that goes on at her premises so far as it pays her well and makes her wealthy as the description goes in the following line: "… by her appearance, seems to be having a lot out of life… She cuts a figure of well–fed 'cash madam' who has achieved some degree of wealth" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p.11). Corruption and moral decadence leave Madam Hoha with no human feeling at all, as she refers to the young women she and her cohorts hire and destroy as prey: "(Looking up and beaming at Ochuole) The chics! Where is her majesty emerging from? The lioness looks as if she has caught another prey" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 12). Women have their own assemblies, which follow the male pattern. The very powerful political roles of African queens and queen mothers in the indigenous society remain very instructive. While colonial officials portrayed African women as having no role in political affairs, for Maillu (1997, p. 255), this erroneous notion about African women exhibits the European cultural male chauvinism that was carried over to Africa. Madam Hoha is a metaphor of women leaders who have failed African women in the portrayal of their positive impact on raising ladies to be chaste and decent, as it were, during the precolonial eras in Africa. She assumes the title, "Her Majesty" and drags it in the mud as most corrupted women, even mothers, do in Africa. As owner of a hotel, she should have been the one to expose evil acts of perpetrators, if she were patriotic, but she rather shields them. This act portrays her as a metaphor of several hotel owners who accommodate criminals in their hotel rooms due to bribery and wrongful financial gains.

Conclusion

Character sketch examined in the plays unravels the kind of people in leadership and citizens who suffer the effects of corrupt practices exhibited by the political class in Africa. In the plays, one finds various caliber of people that the playwrights use as characters in generalising the social and political patterns in recent times in Africa. The characters in leadership styles are influenced by postcolonial ideologies and are involved in corrupt practices. The spirit of patriotism has died in them. The nature of effects of bad leadership is revealed in the characters who suffered in the plays. Few important metaphorical characters are those who seek for justice and change of this societal malfeasance. In effect, the characters are metaphorical as they are symbols or representations of the very real people in the present situations in Africa. The next chapter discusses satire as a literary stlye to portay the issues of political corruption in the selected plays.

CHAPTER FIVE

SATIRE AS A LITERARY STYLE USED TO PORTRAY POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Overview

Mostly, political leaders see the exposure of their corrupt practices in literary work as an attack on their integrity and therefore, react woefully toward such authors. Satire is one of the techniques used by literary artists in portraying their social themes to protect themselves from political attacks. According to LeBoeuf (2007, p. 1), "satire can protect its creator from culpability for criticism because it is implied rather than overtly stated". Satire is a literary form that allows for the faults of society to be exposed through irony, exaggeration, and ridicule. It can also be explained as a literary work that criticises human misconduct and ridicules vices, stupidity, and follies.

Political corruption is when political decision-makers use political power to make them superior and use it against the citizens by privately gaining wealth and favours to the detriment of the very people who armed them with the power. The playwrights use satire as a literary technique to portray political corruption in the selected plays. Through humour, irony, sarcasm and hyperbole, some of the societal realities such as oppression, exploitation, resistance, self-interest instead of national and capitalism are expose through the characters in the selected plays.

Satire as a Literary Style Used in the Selected Plays

Satire is a powerful artistic technique with the ability to point out deficiencies in the behaviour of humans in a society which leads to those involved becoming absurd or ridiculous (LeBoeuf, 2007). Satire is a powerful

tool in the dispensation of literary work for exposing oppressive leadership, generally corrupt society, and bad governance.

> The best satire does not seek to do harm or damage by its ridicule … but rather it seeks to create a shock of recognition and to … make vice repulsive so that the vice will be expunged from the person or society intended to benefit by the attack. Whenever possible, this shock of recognition is to be conveyed through laughter or wit … (Swift, 1999: 67).

Some elements are looked for in determining a work of art as satire. These elements include attack/aggression, judgment, wit, intent, humour, irony (mostly, dramatic irony) and others. The interceptions and interrelated nature of these elements are not far-fetched in a good satire. The use of wit can bring about dramatic irony which leads to amusement and humoured actions of a player and thereby leads to laughter (humour). The intent based on the judgment of the artist is a crafty way of hiding behind the players in exposing the ridiculous behaviour of society or persons who are to be ridiculed.

In *Altine's Wrath*, Osofisan exposes Lawal in a situation where his desperate need for corrupt engagement with Alhaji even overshadows any other thing like Mariam's surprise visit. His utterances as he heard a knock at the door were: Ahmed! Ahmed! … Go and see who's at the door. Maybe it's Alhaji. … Mariam! (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 1). The only thoughts of Lawal are to get a corrupt engagement in his political position to enrich himself. This dominant idea makes Lawal disorganise and fumble with his reception of Mariam:

> Lawal [confused]. Well…well… Completing with No… no… it's just that..., and sorry, my mind's all cluttered up, I suppose. You see, I was waiting for someone else are typical signs of hypocrisy exhibited and 'business' orientation of his likes (politicians) who try to cover their shame in rhetoric. Ahmed, the house boy, clearly sees the strength of the woman in the house, Altine, who is at the blind side of Lawal and therefore comments; "I know sir… But, Madam... wetin Madam go do no go vex, say that -? (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 2).

The quotation above indicates a typical dramatic irony that does not put the audience in the known but only the two characters: Altine herself and Ahmed, the housekeeper. A dramatic irony makes the actors look stupid in their acts because of their ignorance of the truth. Lawal always sees Altine as an illiterate. As Lawal belittles Altine as such, Ahmed recognises her as the true and able mistress of the house.

The eating of bananas by Altine which is rebuked by Lawal as uncouth, primitive, and a sign of animalistic behaviour is exactly what Onene and Audu see as the favourite of the elites who are politicians. Fruits are cherished by the educated but to Lawal, it is a disgrace to have a wife eat a banana in his house: "Monkeys, even monkeys have more self-respect. I don't know what's wrong with her. I mean, it couldn't be the fact that she's lost her voice, could it? But she just goes on and on, till I'm so revolted I don't eat fruits at all anymore. I just can't! (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 12). The educated cherish fruits. Lawal denounces the banana; meanwhile, Onene and Audu see Lawal and his likes to be elites who cherish fruits.

Aggression is another element of satire evident in *Altine's Wrath.* Demoralising Altine before both Ahmed, the houseboy, and Mariam, his mistress, is a sort of defensive mechanism which Lawal uses to assert absolute control of his household. His beating of Altine and shouts of command at Ahmed create a paradoxical context that he knew nothing about. Altine is not dumbed by his excessive beating nor has Ahmed been tamed from reasoning by his intimidation; they saw him as an "ignorant clown".

This same aggression is extended to Aina, his old classmate, when she approaches him for the land seized from the common people who own the land. Intimidation propagated by political leaders in Africa owing to the position they hold makes them look funny in a way because the people they demean bring them to and off the power you hold. As Audu puts it, "we are as ancient as the land itself. We've grown deep roots…" with support from Onene as "our fathers knew how to get rid of pests, and so do we". Both are in agreement with the fact that it is the people that make and unmake leaders.

Lawal always thought he had succeeded in taming Altine to be dumb and remained illiterate through his intimidation and beatings to take advantage of her. On the contrary, she rather had control of Lawal in her endurance of the pain and disregard she was going through; in her own words, she recalls the evidence of Lawal's maltreatment:

> "Yes… Master. You bought me nine years ago, remember? I was just a slave … to bear you children … and bow meekly when you exercise your lungs by barking. Or if it's your muscle you feel like testing, I lay down my back and take the blows (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 12).

The fact of choosing to be in that state all the while presents Lawal as stupid in all his acts towards her. Where then lies the effect of his intended purpose for taming her? I won't ever disturb your life again! I've won my freedom (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 12).

On the contrary, Altine has not only won her freedom but has taken Lawal's "life"; She reads all the letters that are holding him in his position, including those that require some dubious political corrupt practices that, when leaked, will destroy his political career and ambitions. Again, all of Lawal's fortune is built in her name which he thinks will hide his corrupt practises. Then, how is "Mrs. Harlot" as Altine calls Mariam, going to enjoy her luxurious life with Lawal even if she chooses to stay? … Lawal, you're going to suffer, going to suffer! You'll be reduced to abject poverty, to dust, to nothing!" (*Altines Wrath*, p. 32.). She describes this as illegal gratifications, exhibiting her level of knowledge of the politically corrupt practices and level of literacy. Lawal, in trying to defend himself, rather exposes the generally corrupt politicians by saying, "After all everybody in the government does it!". Lawal's reactions towards Alhaji who puts up a new negotiation of the deal and presents himself as an errand boy makes Lawal a person who is too impatient and unaccommodating to look into details before acting. Just as most politicians, their actions are ridiculed by their outcomes or the truth of the situations.

The movements at the end of the play create a humorous scene where, in the same house, everybody is either looking for a place to pass to hide from the other: a kind of child's hide-and-seek play. The end of the play becomes a paradox explained as the rich political Lawal looks "illiterate" and poor while

the dumb slave of a wife of Lawal seems to have control of all the riches and literate who have gained her freedom.

Corrupt politicians take their prey (citizens) such as Altine, and the land owners for granted in the case of the play, *Altine's Wrath*. They exploit the citizens' ignorance, submissiveness, and incapability in order to maltreat and take the things that belong to the citizens for themselves and others who are their allies. The right of Altine as a wife is taken from her with Mariam becoming the substitute as a result of an immoral greed of Lawal. Also, the land that belongs to the people is forcefully taken from them owing to selfishness, greed, and political gimmicks. The powers that they possess make the blind politicians to believe that no one may win over them if they contest elections. Falsehood fills their thoughts with the belief that their stolen monies from the government can be covered by putting up properties in the name of others, especially their friends and relatives, to cover up the outcome of their corrupt activities. In all these, their follies are exposed by the crafty literary artistry to the realm of ridicule.

The playwright satirises the theme of corruption using Lawal. Lawal exhibits corruption by seizing the land of the poor citizens, Baba Audu and Mr. Onene, without compensating them. Lawal plays political pranks on these men by asking them to go to the government, knowing very well that he represents the government in question. The writer uses dramatic irony to satirise this very act of corruption when Lawal thinks he outsmarts the landowners by asking them to go to the government and subsequently sending them away from his house; the audience gets information Lawal doesn't know about. The very thing he seeks to protect is back to the owners: "Altine is

holding an envelope and she comes and gives it to Aina… All the papers of our stolen land…" (*Altine's Wrath*, pp. 21-35).

This ridicules the intelligence of the politically corrupt when they try to protect their corrupt practices, not knowing it is an open secret in the public domain. Osofisan seeks to ridicule the politically corrupt officials who try to protect the stolen monies by keeping them in tax heavens by using Altine to redirect the position of the stolen money into her personal account. The playwright ridicules Lawal's intelligence here: **"**Oh yes you too Lawal … You will be reduced to abject poverty, to dust to nothing! ... Tomorrow, when you go back to the bank, you'll find out! You won't find a single kobo left there!" (*Altine's Wrath*, p.33**).** The playwright seeks to satirise the greed of Lawal that he will be reduced to nothing and dust after all his efforts to amass wealth.

Osofisan uses satire as a technique to highlight the act of moral decadence that prevails in our society today. The instance of moral decadence in *Altine's Wrath* as political corruption that the playwright seeks to portray lies in the character of Miriam, the mistress of Lawal. There seems to be a fall in the moral standard of society to the extent that, Miriam will agree to come into a matrimonial home of a fellow woman to stay with Altine's husband without the man marrying her. Miriam does this just for the financial benefit as she exhibits in the following line: "What money is this darling? You don't mean you kept all your money in her account?... And me, what am I waiting here for? My whole future is at stake too! If she gets away I'm finished!" (*Altine's Wrath*, pp. 33-35**).**

Audu and Mr. Onene take the power into their own hands to poison the household of Lawal. Osofisan exposes the failure of our systems to work

hence the moral decadence of the citizenry taking power into their own hands: "Ah Madam! Don't worry. We knew it would turn out this way and we came prepare" (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 20). In the quest to take power into our own hands when the system fails us, it makes us rather hurt innocent people like in the case of Altine.

Oppression is another political corruption the playwright seeks to satirise. Altine experiences the highest degree of oppression anyone could experience in marriage. Sacking Altine from her matrimonial bedroom and bringing a mistress and causing Altine to serve the mistress amidst beating and insults reaches the peak of what any human can endure in marriage.

> [Giving her Miriam's Coat] Take this and hang it. You hear? Go and hang it...Wait! Where are you going? Have I finished yet? Food! And fast!... Why are you staring like an idiot? The least you can do is say good evening to her? Go on, greet her!... I say greet her, you dumb female goat! Down on your knees! [Altine falls and crawls as he kicks her. She drools in the mount] (*Altine's Wrath*, p. 6).

The above cited lines lay emphasis on how political leaders gain power and refuse to associate with old friends and acquaintances because they feel they are no longer at their level. All of a sudden, Altine who happens to be Lawal's little heroine who bears all his children is reduced to a maid, a stark illiterate, and even an animal because of Lawal's current status of power. Ahmed, the houseboy of Lawal, also experiences oppression that reduces him to a shadow of himself only to be at the beck and call of his Master. Mallam Audu and Mr. Onene also experience the political corruption of oppression. Osofisan satirises this political corruption by making Altine liberate herself

and liberate the land owners in turn. This signifies that having political power does not mean you will oppress people forever.

Treachery and injustice are the final political corruption Osofisan seeks to satirise. The writer uses Lawal's treachery and injustice against the people of his own household, Altine and Ahmed, his old time good friend Aina Jibo and the poor farmers called Baba Audu and Mr. Onene, to expose the level of treachery and injustice perpetuated by people armed with political power to protect the citizens. Lawal does not spare the State in his treacherous acts and injustice as he collects bribes and supervises inferior contracts. Looking at the above discussion, it is clear Osofisan uses satire as a literary tool to expose political corruption weaved around moral decadence, oppression, corruption, treachery, and injustices.

Osofisan in his other play, *Midnight Hotel*, presents another piece of evidence of satire that does not ridicule only political corruption but also immorality on the part of politicians and religious leaders. *Midnight Hotel* is full of irony, dramatic irony, humour, and sarcasm. These features are used in the play to expose and ridicule the politicians for their corrupt practices, and immoral acts. The play further exposes and ridicules expected upright men in our society. The teachers (headmasters), pastors, and chiefs who, in their quest for honour and riches, join in the corrupt practices of the African political leaders.

The actions in the play begin with Jimoh's insistence on being called a chief. Jimoh's honoured chief title should have retired him from being a hotel receptionist, not to even talk of a type of hotel choked and harbouring immorality, as is the case. In the African cultural context, chiefs are respected

and expected to be devoid of all crimes, immorality, and activities that are regarded as indecent. Bicycle, Jimoh's assistant, is presented as a clown, and with Jimoh, they present several humorous acts in portraying satire in the play: Bicycle: A woman, Chief Jimoh! A woman! Jimoh: You've never seen a woman before? … Bicycle: A woman! Jimoh…er, chief, a woman! Naked! (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 72). This scene does not only reveal the naïve nature of the village boy, Bicycle, but also ridicules the acceptance of immoral acts by some Africans who call themselves chiefs. Most conversations between Jimoh and Bicycle are full of humour.

Mr. and Mrs. Asibong are in contrast from the beginning of the play. Alhaji Asibong is a Muslim, his wife is a Christian, and his best friend is a Pastor (Suuru). Again, Asibong is a business-oriented person who goes to the Midnight Hotel for an inspection of the claimed "ghosts in the hotel" that may cost his business to fall. Mrs. Asibong comes to the same hotel with a pastor to entice him for an immoral act. As is the nature of African politicians, immorality abounds so she takes advantage of her position to have a sexual intercourse with the pastor to grant a contract to him. Honourable Mrs. Asibong may have been aware of the act of immorality as epitomised by Jimoh's indication that other "honourables" with ministerial positions book some of the rooms for their immoral acts and suspicuous deals.

What makes Mrs. Asibong and her type of politicians look ridiculous is the fact that, even in immoral acts, the women rather entice the men into sexual immorality for the men to benefit from contracts offered by the women politicians. Though the hypocrisy in most religious persons in Africa is rebuked, *Midnight Hotel* ridicules Mr. Asibong as a religious man with little

faith in the religion he pretends to believe in. This is realised when, after mentioning Allah and His Prophet Mohammed, he still harboured a fear of the ghost after hearing the noise from the soldiers' room compounded with the darkness of the room he is to occupy. Also, through the part of Pastor Suuru, the zeal for money through dubious means among pastors is revealed. What makes Suuru more of a satiric character is his continual mention of "Jah" and the making of the sign of the cross while he knows that he is into sinful acts against God.

The use of wit is one other element of satire that Suuru uses in turning the attention of Mr. Asibong from the real situation to believing that they, Mrs. Asibong Awero and himself, had no bad intention of coming to the hotel. He presents his story for Mr. Asibong to believe that their actions are for the good of the healthy marriage of the Asibongs. Earlier, Suuru had outwitted the headmaster when he was caught dressed in a singlet with his agbada missing. By these, Osofisan, as a playwright, exposes some religious leaders who use falsehood in extorting money from their congregation. In ridiculing the pastor in the play, everything Suuru has "sinned" to gain is lost, and in its place, he is shamed. In his own words, "…I have just lost a fortune. Millions of monies…" Ironically, when Jimoh comments that sex is the best commerce in the city, pointing to the sexual acts of Alatise's daughters, Pastor Suuru becomes furious and says, "shut your stinking mouth, you devil…" Meanwhile, that is the very purpose for which he came to the hotel at that moment. The pretence of our religious and political leaders when exposed presents them for societal mockery.

There is evidence of sarcasm in the play that makes it a satire. Sarcasm is a speech that means the opposite of what reality is. Jimoh sees the critical nature of the meeting of Mr. and Mrs. Asibong, Pastor Suuru, and Alatise because he knows the secret between Suuru and Mrs. Asibong. So, he moves Bicycle out with the statement, "let's go, Bicycle! It's a family reunion" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 78) . However, in the end, the crafty Pastor Suuru makes up a fictitious story to save the situation though he lost the expected outcome for his sexual adventure with Awero.

On the issue of bribery, Bicycle takes a bribe from Alatise, the headmaster, and ushers him and his daughters into an already booked room; Room 7. Though he insists that no room is available at that time, he is influenced by the bribe to grant a re-negotiation. Bicycle being an illiterate may be pardoned for such an error and vulnerability to bribery which has been a norm in African society, politicians do the same and make unpardonable mistakes that affect the whole society.

In the African political realm, winning an election is a way to fortune and prosperity while losing it brings loss of investment and despair. Some politicians are desperate to win power and therefore, put in all they have, in the form of money to buy votes. When such politicians lose the election, they become miserable and broke. In other instances, the property they acquire during their tenure of office is taken from them either because they wrongfully acquired them or they are now in opposition. This is epitomised by the situation in which Alatise, the headmaster, finds himself in *Midnight Hotel*. Alatise, because of politics, has become so poor that he cannot take care of his three daughters properly. He comes to the hotel with his daughters because he

is poor and has nowhere to sleep in the city. This eventually directs the attention of the daughter to take advantage of the opportunity created as a result of the presence of the soldiers to get involved in prostitution: "Bose: The soldier, … how easy it is to earn money in the city!", and adds later …And it was all for you" (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 80). Also, how excited he is as when he gets cigar and a pyjamas to wear for the night is evident that he cannot afford them for himself.

Alatise, through his numerous uses of proverbs, can be seen as not only a literate headteacher but a custodian of African tradition and culture. On the contrary, he has sold his dignity in his search for a political position to enrich himself through corruption. He takes advantage of the situation of people he meets at the hotel to have affiliation with Honourable Awero. All this is to earn him a place for political gains. He shows concern for the state of Awero and wishes that his daughters spend the night with her. Again, seeing Suuru, he tries to establish how close they are, and even mentioned that he saw him and waved but it was at his blind side.

Another feature that creates laughter is the tension and suspense created in most parts of the play. There are many times Jimoh moves in and out of the room when Awero and Suuru are about to get into their planned promiscuous affairs which interrupts their sexual desires. The suspense created as to whether it is going to be possible or not creates anxiety in Awero and keeps the audience in laughter. There is humour also in the reunion of the Asibongs in their embrace: Asibong: Of course! And I'll prove it. Come- (He takes her in her arms. the door opens, and as Jimoh looks in Awero jumps.) Jimoh: Oh, I'm sorry - Awero: But why, for God's sake, are you always

(Midnight Hotel, p. 43). Awero's statement is made out of frustration which can cause anyone (who is a husband) to ask the question: "How often has this happened?" "And who was involved?" But Asibong, for the effect of the dramatic irony created, calms his wife, Awero, down. Though comic in most parts, the elements of satire are exhibited by the acts and uncovered intended acts of politicians in the play, *Midnight Hotel*. Jomoh refers, on several occasions, to the activities of one or the other regular room that hides their immoral and corrupt activities in the hotel.

The corruption evident in the electoral process and political setup in Africa is epitomised satirically in the situation Alatise, the headmaster, finds himself in the play. First, he loses everything he owns, including his job, for losing an election. Alatise can no longer afford to take care of his three daughters, sleep in a standard hotel, and embrace pajamas that is for public use and cigar with much exuberance. Secondly, Alatise fakes hanging himself on the premise of the immorality he has exposed his daughters to. In the end, he is happy to enjoy the money gained from the prostitution his daughters engaged themselves in as he finally comments that his soul is willing for death but his neck was not ready for death by hanging. And also, his zeal to do anything to keep his three daughters with Honourable Mrs. Asibong Awero to comfort her with the mind of establishing a rapport degrades his status at will. Such a relationship, he believes, will establish a cue to gain political opportunity with the ruling government Mrs. Awero belongs to.

Mrs. Asibong exposes her inexperience in parliamentary proceedings by stating some situations that are insignificant to be sent to the floor of parliament. The play has a lot of satirical elements that expose the politicians'

immoral behaviour and corrupt practices to public/audience (societal) ridicule. Abraham (1981, p.167) states that:

> Satire is a genre of visual, literal and performing arts, usually in the form of fiction and less frequently non-fiction in which vices, follies, abuses and shortcomings are held up to ridicule, often with the intent of shaming or exposing the perceived flaws of individuals, corporations, government or society itself into improvement.

A satire writer uses devices like irony, and exaggeration and likes to make fun of particular leaders, leadership style, culture or tradition or any issues in the society they want to bring to public attention and try to find the situation.

Owing to Ogbeche Frank Ogodo's skill in exposing and criticising the numerous facets of the Jacassan society where corruption thrives, *Harvest of Corruption* is seen as satire. The political system of the society in the play is corrupt. The play makes an effort to highlight the corrupt elements of society such as the Judicial System, Police Force, Customs officers and Executives. The playwright uses satires to expose the Judicial Service using the personae of the Judge, Justice Odili and his dealings with Chief Ade-Amaka.: "My Lord more will come so long as you continue to protect me. This is to tell you that I am not only a great man but a grateful man as well, too good people like you" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 30). It is very ironic for these two corrupt men to refer to themselves as "great, grateful; and good man".

Ogbeche Frank Ogodo also uses a Madman to make fun of a whole system of governance, where Madman points out the vices in the society ruled by so-called sane people and wishes to rule instead:

> … You see, I be rich, I be rich man, (pointing upward to the luggage on his head) but I never steal anybody property… I go go to Mr. President and ask him to appoint me President of des country … Yes! I wan run des country well. No stealing … *(Harvest of Corruption*, p. 23-24).

The writer satirises the Christians. The Christians who should have corrected the ills in society also fall into the very thing they stand against owing to desperation. This shows the damage desperation can do to a person. Aloho's desperate search for a job is what lands her in the murky clay of death:

> But I have gone beyond understanding Christian doctrine. I feel like the black sheep of the family and the faith I proclaim. I lost my senses the very day I met Ochuole… I was desperate and, in my desperation, I fell prey to the glamour of the world" (*Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 60-61).

The playwright builds the entire play on underlying irony. He exposes this when Chief Ade-Amaka speaks very well of himself to the outside world and his Defence Counsel holds onto it in order to save his client's job in the court of law. This is folly because the reader knows all the rot, he does underneath public perception. The Defence Counsel speaks of everybody having been satisfied and speaks well of his client:

> Chief Ade–Amaka: My records as a Public Servant are clean and I am a responsible and respectably married man with children. I have never touched cocaine in my life not asked my Protocol Officer whom I am just hearing is dead to push it. As for the embezzlement allegations,

> well, the records are there for anyone who cares to scrutinize them properly without bias or malice. (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 109).
>
> Adeleye (The Defence Counsel): He is a man who has served the government of his country in one of the most enviable positions of a Minister loyally and efficiently coming the name of this great country across the shores… In his position, he has engaged thousands … no one has had any cause to complain of his conduct. Everybody has been satisfied and his staff in the Ministry speak eloquently of his magnanimity, generosity and charisma (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 111).

Ogbeche uses the verdict of the jury to mock and make ridiculous the assertions of Chief Haladu and his Defense Counsel, considering the judge's announcement. The very first sentence of the announcement goes like this: "I shall not call or address you as Chief because you do not deserve it" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 118). He further reiterates that "I am a sting of the opinion that this country must be protected against unscrupulous Public Officers of your type, who abuse their positions of trust and responsibility thereby betraying the confidence reposed in them" (*Harvest of Corruption*, p.119).

In *Harvest of Corruption*, Ogbeche Frank Ogodo reveals the weaknesses and ridiculous nature of some corrupt African politicians, unravelling when the harvest of their acts is due. At the point when power denies them authority to outwit the law, they reveal to the whole world and, in the case of the play, the audience how meek they can become. Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka, the main character of the play, thinks the political power granted to him can be used to make him rich through dubious acts like bribery, as well

as protect him from being prosecuted. In the long run, however, he pleads to sympathy to rescue him from prosecution.

Though a serious political corruption play, *Harvest of Corruption* has evidence of elements of satire. The play is serious because innocent blood is lost, there is the death of Aholo in her desire to overcome the hardships of the time in a corrupt society and the fact that the people involved in the corrupt acts are duly arrested. However, evidence of irony, sarcasm, wit, and hyperbole are the elements of satire found in the play.

It is very ironic and ridiculous to see Chief Haladu throw out money to police officers when he gets to their outfit to see their commander while Ayo, a clerk in his ministerial office is finding it difficult to make ends meet. This is realised in the play in the way Ayo is dressed in the office. The comparison made between the clerks in the ministerial office to that of a poor teacher is an exposure of how civil servants are undermined in a politically corrupt African society. Ironical is the fact that those who serve the nation are poor while terminal political leaders become rich in no time after winning elections. This incident reveals that the clerk knows that things are not working well which is why, after a small push, he accepts bribes and exposes the documents to the investigators for the Chief's prosecution.

There has not been talk about his family when everything is glooming but at the point of prosecution, Chief Halidu refers to his wife and children to plea for mercy. It is only during such tense moments in the play that he complains of attending the toilet because of a runny stomach. First, when he is arrested in his office and second, in the courtroom when he is being prosecuted. The authoritative minister reduced to a helpless asylum seeker.

The pride and honour he has at the end of the play reveal themselves as a person of scorn and shamefulness. The judge ascertains that he does not deserve the title of Chief anymore and that of the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Justice a disgrace resulting from their greed and avarice.

Satirically, the writer uses the name, Haladu Ade-Amaka to send a message. The writer chose to give names from the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria to one character, which signifies that competition does not lie with only one person, one ethnic group or only the people in high office but it cuts across all the facets of society regardless of ethnicity or authority. Haladu is an Islamic name for the people from Northern Nigeria, Ade is a name used by Yorubas who come from the South-Western area of Nigeria and finally, Amaka is an Igbo-given name from South East Nigeria. The writer uses this character, Chief Haladu Ade-Amaka to run a cartel that represents everything corruption.

Conclusion

Mostly, the political leaders in Africa are so blinded by their acts and postcolonial mnemonics that they fail to watch their backs. As they indulge in a lavish lifestyle and corrupt leadership, they do not re-examine their lives through the lens of morality and patriotism. At the end, their lives become an axiom of ridicule by society. In the plays, there is poetic justice as the corrupt people at the end display their fragility and become depressed in shame. This feature of literature holds a power to redirect the course for societal change in the social and political environment on the African continent. The next chapter discusses post-coloniality as a literary theory to address the issues of political corruption in the selected plays.

CHAPTER SIX

POST-COLONIALITY AS A SPECTACLE IN EXAMINING POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

Overview

The postcoloniality theory reveals characters who have stepped into the shoes of Western colonisers and have now turned to exploit their people. Through postcoloniality theory, some characters are sensitised to stand up and fight corruption despite the obstacles, highlighting that Nigerian society should avoid corrupt political leaders and seek the development of their own country together with fairness and justice to give the poor masses respite.

Postcoloniality as a Spectacle in Examining Political Corruption in the Selected Plays

The postcoloniality theory seeks to reform and restructure the activities of the political leaders by calling on them through dialogue or revolutionary means for a positive change. In *Altine's Wrath,* a delegation led by Aina, a doctor by profession and a former classmate of Lawal is to convince him to release the citizens' own share of the national cake, and their seized lands. The delegation pleads yet he declines by playing innocence. His ego would not permit him to even entertain them, talk less of giving them words of encouragement. Hence, these poor farmers radically revolt by poisoning the banana to get rid of their own countryman who is now oppressing and exploiting his own people. Lawal's attitude shows political corruption in our society today and, how politicians sabotage their people. This incident in the play suggests one of the major causes of political riots and coups d'etat that abound on the African continent. Politicians hoard monies meant to develop

their societies for themselves in ghost accounts, and then, play innocent anytime allegations are raised against them.

The postcoloniality theory exposes Lawal's hidden deeds through the character, Altine, who pretends to be dumb in order to deal with her husband who is making attempts to replace her after several years of sacrifices. With the belief that her wife cannot understand anything any longer, Lawal makes her wealthy by using her particulars for his wealth. After secretly educating herself, Altine exposes her plans to her husband and the supposed new wife as a well-educated lady who is on top of her game. She speaks and reveals her plans of how she played dumb in order to get it all and walk away.

Corruption in post-colonial Africa has been hampering the development of African countries. Corruption happens in various forms, the most noticeable being taking advantage of political office to enrich oneself. For instance, African politicians see politics as the way to become rich and for that matter, many join politics to enrich themselves in the shortest possible time with their ten percent bribery gained from contracts. In the play, *Altine's Wrath*, bribery, and extortion are exhibited by Lawal Jatau, (the Permanent Secretary of a State Ministry) to gain wealth. Lawal Jatau with his position seizes lands from farmers: "Onene: they cut out our land into so many plots. And they gave them to big people. They didn't give any of us even a single one of them." (*Altine's Wrath*: p. 18).

The postcoloniality theory shows how political corruption has increased inequality among people in the community, decreased popular accountability and political responsiveness, and thus produced citizens who are thus more likely to accept (or even demand) hard-handed and illiberal

tactics. The only option left for the peasants is to be starved to death since most rely on the land to make ends meet. Lawal seizes land from the poor citizens without compensating them. Altine, Lawal's wife, suffers emotionally and physically in the house of Lawal who turns her virtually into a house help. Altine educates herself secretly to liberate herself from the shackles of her husband. To achieve this, Altine becomes dumb suddenly. Lawal uses Altine's thumb as a signatory to the account of his "ten percent (10%) profit" from the business of kickback. When he gets political power, Lawal loses the ideology of his school days, which was to fight for the less privileged. Aina Jibo tries to awaken the fight for the less privileged in Lawal by trying to fight for Mr. Onene and Mallam Audu whose land Lawal takes without compensating them.

Political corruption brings about poverty and inequality. Lawal's case of political corruption makes him so rich that he has the least respect for those through whom he enriches himself. He portrays this in the following statements: "What, sit down in my presence! That's absolutely out of … well, well, … Okay for your sake. But not in my chair! They can use the poufs or sit on the floor". (*Altine Wrath*, p. 16).

Postcoloniality as a spectacle showcases political corruption through Lawal, making him so powerful that he even lost respect for women. Lawal expresses this when Aina tries to express her opinion on his new turns:

> Rotten indeed! And that to me! Listen, men like me, we control this place! You hear that? We turn, and the entire society turns with us! We snap our fingers, and women far important than you fall on their knees in obeisance! … I own companies! Lands! Houses! Cars! Horses! I

> employ hundreds! Women like you and better than you kill themselves to get into my bed *(Altine's Wrath*, p.19).

This power makes him treat his wife, Altine, like a house help: "[Giving her Miriam's coat] Take this and hang it. You hear? Go and hang it. [Demonstrates] Hang! [As she is leaving] Wait! Where are you going? Have I finished yet? Food! And fast!" (*Altine Wrath*, p. 6).

In *Altine's Wrath* (1986), Osofisan further depicts the issue of gratification or ten per cent in the award of contracts. This is shown in the contract agreement terms between Alhaji Maikudi and Lawal Jatau, a Permanent Secretary in one of the State Ministries. There is a disagreement between the two over what should be the percentage of the total amount to be paid to the contractor that should go to the coffers of Lawal Jatau. Lawal is insisting on twenty per cent from Alhaji Maikudi based on the initial agreement while Alhaji Maikudi is offering ten per cent. Lawal refuses to accept the ten per cent and tells his business associate frankly:

> Rubbish! Tell him it's complete rubbish! What decade does he think we're living in? Who, in any Ministry whatsoever, does he think will accept ten percent indeed! It's not even enough to pay the junior boys their share, the boys who'll be carrying your files to and fro! *(Altine Wrath*, p.24).

It is ridiculous to see people who claim to be educated confronting each other over a stolen item (bribe/money they do not deserve to have).

As Osofisan illustrates in *Altine's Wrath*, governmental corruption has a significant negative impact on indigenous people, and this impact is exacerbated by the actions of their own blood and fellow countrymen. Political

corruption is a topic covered by the postcolonial theory. The victims of the postcoloniality agenda, who are frequently the less privileged members of society, suffer from economic loss, inefficiency, poverty, inequality, personal loss, intimidation, and annoyance. Except for individuals who are a part of the corrupt network, everyone else may experience some sort of negative consequence. The postcoloniality agenda is shown through characters like Aina Jibo, Altines, and the poor farmers who fight to the very end to see things change so that everyone can have a piece of the national cake. Those who run the corrupt cartel, like Lawal, Alhaji Maikudi, and their associates, prefer to enrich themselves and become very powerful while the poor continue to suffer. In order to make Lawal lose all he has not worked for, Altine uses education which enables her to move the money her husband, Lawal, uses her fingerprint to keep in her name to another account:

> I thank you very much. I thank you! To think that, if not this, for the pain and humiliation and the betrayal… ah! [She breaks down suddenly and begins to cry] … Those bitter tears I cried acted like a drug that cleared my head… The adult education classes were just across the street. I went and enrolled… That's how I came to know quite early that I had no future in your house, and I made my own plans. (*Altine's Wrath*, pp. 32-33).

Lawal's zealous acts of corruption end him up with nothing but disgrace. He becomes helpless in taking back what has been deposited in the account with Altine's name and thumbprint.

The study further explores how political corruption affects national development in the *Midnight Hotel*. Corruption seems to be omnipresent in

ancient societies down to the present age. Despite the various steps every country in the world takes to curb this menace, it remains uncontrolled. The struggle with corruption tends to retard the growth of various nations in the world. This bullet called corruption hits Africa as a continent the hardest because it looks like an inborn thing with African leaders who see leadership as a way to amass wealth. Even though Africa seems to be hit the hardest, it is clear that corruption is endemic in modern governments all over the world, and therefore it is not peculiar to any continent, religion, or ethnic group.

Obasanjo (2003), asserts that it is so bad in Nigeria that she is noted to be one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Nigeria takes one of the front-line positions on the corruption table of Transparency International ranking for the period of ten years (1998 - 2007), ranging from the most corrupt, second most corrupt, third most corrupt to seventeen and thirty-third most corrupt nation in the world (World Bank, 2008). Corruption in Nigeria has become so alarming and difficult to curb that a former president of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo once said, “The truth is that it is much tougher to fight corruption in a developing society than it is in the developed world” (Obasanjo, 2003).

Corruption has become a common phenomenon; it is a common word used by both the youth and the aged. Different scholars try their best to define it in their understanding and based on the information available to them. For example, corruption is a social problem found in various “degrees and forms in all but the most primitive societies” (Staats, 1972). Ekiyor (2009), in his view of corruption defines it as the unlawful use of official power or influence by an official of the government either to enrich himself or further his course

and/or any contrary to the conventions or laws that are in force. It is unfortunate that this menace knows no time, period, or race. It happens at any time or period in a nation's history. It is obvious corruption does not easily yield to definition hence the divergent views on its definition.

Although it is difficult to measure the exact cost of corruption because of its hidden nature, it has been estimated that between 10-30% of the investment in publicly funded construction projects may be lost through mismanagement and corruption (COST, 2012). Looking at the above assertion, it is true that the public-funded contraction project cost a lot of financial loss to the nation through corruption.

This callous and unseen enemy destroys the core of the development of any nation. Osofisan creatively uses his pen to unmask this dangerous phenomenon in a number of his plays and one of them is the subject of Osofisan's work, *Midnight Hotel.* This study seeks to explore how the postcoloniality agenda addresses political corruption and how it affects national development in the play, *Midnight Hotel.*

Using Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel,* we can identify the following ways corruption affects national development. Owing to corruption, contracts end up in the hands of unqualified persons. When people in authority engage in what they termed "sampling the goals" to award contracts, it is obvious that the contracts will end in unqualified hands. The contracts will be given to whoever cares to be "sampled", whether competent or not. A clear indication of contracts awarded to unqualified hands can be seen in the following conversation:

Awero: I'm giving you a big chance by bringing you here. As the only female member of the Capital Projects Committee in the House of Assembly, I'm giving you an unfair advantage over other competitors to prove you competence. And here you are trembling, when I am not.

Suuru: Well… you know, Honourable, it's just that … that …

Awero: For Christ's sake, what's wrong with you? I'm telling you its regular practice in parliament. All the Male Member of Parliament are doing it, even to their own nieces and cousins! Everyone in our Contracts and Awards Committee is taking some member of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it "sampling the goods". So why should I be different? ... (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 23-24).

In the above discussion between Awero and Suuru, the former says she is giving the latter an unfair advantage over other competitors. If contracts are given under these unfair advantages, the nation is sure to be less developed because the work will certainly be shoddily executed. The irony of this situation is that if a woman is willing to "sample" a man with sex for a contract, then the mess with the men occupying public offices will be worse.

The postcoloniality theory in postcolonial politics works for societies based on values of communities rather than individuals, for popular participation rather than centralized control, for empowerment rather than exploitation, and through long-lasting social change in a variety of ways to achieve global justice. Osofisan's attempt to identify his work with pan-Africanism in the 1990s is centred on the happenings in his native land, Nigeria. Pan-Africanism, as understood by Osofisan, is close to the ideals of

the late Ghanaian leader, Kwame Nkrumah "but is only one of the measures necessary for the process of creating an egalitarian, socialist society on the continent" (Osofisan, 2001: 158). The agitation for good governance by democrats served as a form of catalyst, influencing the Osofisan's direction regarding Pan-Africanism. Thus, he wrote *Midnight Hotel* during this period which features women's role and other marginalised community sections in political reforms. If someone takes a look at the literature produced by African writers since independence, it might see an entirely different image of African politicians. A politician is no longer a hero but a villain dishonest. He gives and takes bribes, embezzles government funds for his own personal use, uses trickery in the elections, imprisons his opponents, and does everything he can, legal and illegal, to ensure that he retains or improves his position. He is an elected representative of the people who is concerned almost exclusively with his own welfare. Such an image of an African politician is found in writings from almost all African writers' works, but Nigerian writers have always been more critical of their leaders than writers in other African countries (Lindfors, 1994).

Through the postcoliniality theory, *Midnight Hotel* parodies the hypocrisy and the moral and social degradation of Nigerian societal life. It graphically uncovers the lifestyles of those in positions of authority, exposing the ethical minefield that underlies their actions and deeds in society. How does it make sense that Awero, a parliamentarian, would want her spouse to spend the night outside their house so she could spend as much time as possible with Pastor Suuru, a close friend of her husband. She said the following:

> For Christ's sake, what's wrong with you? I'm telling you its regular practice in parliament. All the male MPs are doing it, even to their own nieces and cousins! Everyone in our contracts and awards committee is taking some members of the opposite sex somewhere or the other before jobs are given out. They call it sampling the goods. So why should I be different? Listen, we even have a song about it (*Midnight Hotel*, p.13).

Another way postcoloniality theory addresses corruption and how it affects development is by exposing that funds that are meant for developmental works end up in the pockets of few in authority, causing a deficit in the economy, infrastructure and overall development. This can happen through embezzlement, bribery, and misappropriation. Considering the explanation the former headmaster, Mr. Alatise, is giving to Mrs. Asibong about his loss and the song he directs the Songmaster to sing. With this song, it is obvious he embezzles the money meant for the development of his school and misappropriates it in politics as a gambling house. He explains:

> **Alatise**: You know, Madam, since the new government came in, it been hell for me. They took over my school and my land, and here I am, jobless, homeless and hungry! Yes, Madam its as bad as that! I even lost my deposit, yes, as the Songmaster will bear witness. Song of the Lost Deposit. (*Midnight Hotel*, p. 46).

This is a loss to the nation rather than a loss to Mr. Alatise because he is a human resource to the nation but he is now unproductive because he loses his

job and he uses the resources meant for developing the school to gamble in politics.

Postcoloniality theory seeks to reveal the lapses in the security system and how it affects the development of a nation. There will be a lot of lapses in a nation's security system when the security personnel drink their lives into a stupor and practice all manner of vices.

> **Asibong**: ... (A sudden burst of singing and laughter from upstairs cuts in, startling him.) Hey listen, what's that noise?...
>
> Jimoh: (Laughing). It's the lodgers upstairs, Sir, Soldiers, here for a week.
>
> **Jimoh**: (Shouting) Hey you up there! Shut it up! Okay? Where do you think you are?
>
> **Voice**: In your mother's arse–hole! (Prolonged laughter) (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 20-21).

Looking at the above-cited conversation, it is clear that the soldiers drink themselves into a stupor and are misbehaving instead of protecting the nation against internal and external aggressions. The nation pays them to protect her but they drink and forget their core mandate. The money which the State uses to maintain the security apparatus could be used to develop the nation. This wastage of state resources also leads to underdevelopment.

Human resource deficit, resulting from immorality, also affects development. The human resource of a nation is the powerhouse of its development. This is because human resources plays a significant role in the economy of a country by contributing to productivity. Harbison and Myers (1964, p. 2), opine that Human Resource Development is "a process of

increasing the knowledge, the skills and the capacities of all the people in a society". Going by the definition of the above authority, then the women indulging in prostitution in the *Midnight Hotel* together with the men that patronise them are wasting the knowledge, skills, and capabilities they are supposed to use in contributing to productivity to develop the nation. This affects the development of the nation.

Children are the future leaders of any nation, and therefore, when the lives of children are destroyed by those who are supposed to protect them, the nation's prospects are destroyed and her development is negatively affected. Osofisan uses Mr. Alatise's children to portray how the lives of children who happen to be our future are destroyed by the very people who are to protect them. The destruction starts with their father who exposes them to a place like the *Midnight Hotel* and the soldiers who also defile them instead of protecting them. These girls are supposed to be in school building their careers for the future but end up in a place like the *Midnight Hotel.* They seem to be enjoying the temporary monetary gain they get from the soldiers who defiled them. Since they appreciate the temporary gain, they will return to that kind of job to maintain their livelihood. In the play, the characters see prostitution to be a better income venture than productivity in the city. This will affect the nation's development because the future leaders who can build their human resource capacities to assist in productivity have been destroyed:

(Bose comes down the stairs, disheveled but excited)

Bose: Papa!

Alatise: My God, Bose! What … What happened to you?

Bose: The soldiers he was so kind! Papa, how easy it is to earn money in the city! We should have come long ago!

Alatise: (Reeling) It's not true! Pastor, it's not true!

Bose: Papa, you'll soon be back on your feet. No more humiliation, hunger, wretchedness. We'll save you. We'll redeem your name!

Alatise: You! And Catherine? Agnes?

Bose: Upstairs, with the other soldiers. We'll be so rich!

Alatise: Pastor, you see? I've ruined them! Ruined my own daughters! (*Midnight Hotel*, pp. 78-79).

The postcoloniality theory seeks to curb all these immoral acts by our leaders in governance by bringing them to book. Taking a cursory look at the facts discussed above, Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* has brought to the fore the various decay in Nigeria as a nation: the gamut of decay and corruption. Therefore, the assertion that literature is the mirror of society has been, once again, proved right by our examination of Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* as a reflection of the social, moral, and political decadence of Nigerian society. In order to curb this canker, postcoloniality suggests that there must be a change and force must be applied (Killam, 1977, p. 85). This is one of the reasons that pushes Killam to conclude the novel with the military coup as a solution for the malaise in his country and as a solution for any situation which is similar to the Nigerian case.

In post-colonial Africa, corruption in whichever way one sees it, tends destroying a nation's growth as far as development is concerned. In 1957, during Ghana's independence, a speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah mentioned corruption as a pivotal disease that was to contribute to Africa's

downfall (Nkrumah, 1957). Osofisan has been able to use his *Midnight Hotel* to portray this pivotal disease that has contributed to Africa's downfall. This downfall is a lack of development economically and in every sphere of development, a nation can think of. Hence, the postcoloniality agenda seeks to use revolutionary literary writers to expose ills and bring the perpetrators to book.

The postcoloniality agenda aims at bringing the perpetrators of corruption to book, giving hope to the marginalized and fighting for the nation's development. The study uses Ogbeche's *Harvest of Corruption* to address postcoloniality as a spectacle in addressing political corruption.

Ogbeche uses his play to point out things Africa should be doing to answer his question. Ogbeche uses characters like ACP Yakubu and Inspector Inaku to showcase answers to this question. ACP Yakubu is scandalised by the report that one person has embezzled: "a whooping sum of one point two billion naira in one ministry alone" *(Harvest of Corruption*, p. 22). The ACP vows to investigate and bring the perpetrators to book including the ministers' sexual escapades and drug pushing:

> What!!! (sits down again). How come all these be happening without anybody having the willpower and the moral courage to stand up and say No! ... I think I should begin to have some private chats with some of the officials of these ministers… Yes, I will send out my boys to nose around *(Harvest of Corruption*, pp. 22-23).

The activities of ACP Yakubu justify the proponents of the postcoloniality agenda as he is ready to fight against the corrupt personnel and bring them to book. Yakubu fights against all odds including fighting and daring his boss,

the Police Commissioner to achieve his goals against political corruption. We can see this in the conversation below:

> **Commissioner**: (*Heated up too*). Public opinion my foot. (*Stand up*). Commissioner; look, I know my job and I won't have you or any other self-appointed Chief Custodian of public opinion come here to bamboozle me in a show of holier–than–thou attitude (*sits down*)
>
> **Yakubu**: (*Calmly*) Sir! I cannot be intimidated. I know my job too and I know my limitations as well… (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 63).

Ogbeche also uses the Madman to drum in postcoloniality as a spectacle in fighting political corruption. ACP Yakubu seems to be dumbfounded after he listens to the Madman critically analyse the ills of society. Yakubu expresses his shock in the following analysis of the Madman's speech:

> (*Sighs*) What a world we are in, a Madman having the sense to analyse the ills of the society so accurately! I believe the Madman himself symbolizes the country which is ridden with madness and lawlessness, a real craze for money that needs psychiatric therapy… (*Harvest of Corruption*, p. 25).

The playwright also uses Ogeyi, Aloho's friend to fight for the postcoloniality agenda. Bothered by the effect of corruption on her friend, she decides to fight for justice by visiting ACP Yakubu because she heard he is a man of justice: "(Addressing Yakubu) Sir, I have a story to tell you. I have come to you because you are my last hope now. I have heard a lot about you". *(Harvest of Corruption*, p. 81).

These acts by ACP Yakubu, Inspector Inaku and Ogeyi really bring the corrupt officials to book to save the nation's money for development as well as saving the marginalised from being abused.

Conclusion

Colonial governance has set a paradigm for political leadership on the African continent. Postcoloniality focuses on the extent of the destructive elements of postcolonial leadership that has brought disillusionment in well-meaning citizens of Africa. Countless factors explain the underdevelopment African countries are experiencing. Significant among them are political corruption, oppression, injustice, moral decadence, poor leadership, and excessive powers in the hands of bad political leaders. The plays communicate to the audience the consequences of these factors on society. Poverty and unfair treatment of the citizens are in sharp contrast to those few privileged corrupt political leaders. Development and the wellbeing of the African citizen are thrown overboard and, in its place, the poor are further oppressed.The next chapter discusses the conclusion, findings and recommedations of the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overview

The study was conducted to examine the ills associated with African politics as portrayed by African writers. The focus of the study is on *Altine's Wrath, Midnight Hotel* and *Harvest of Corruption.* Through textual analysis and post-coloniality theory, the effects of the ills of politics are revealed. The study explores, more particularly, political corruption in the African socio-political atmosphere as revealed in the texts. The thesis examined the rise of political corruption in postcolonial Africa as presented in the selected plays using postcoloniality theory.

Summary of Findings

The findings reveal that political corruption as evident in the selected plays has a negative influence on the general population. Political corruption affects the victims, who are mostly, the less fortunate in society, by causing economic loss, inefficiency, poverty, inequality, personal loss, intimidation, and discomfort. Except for individuals who are a part of the corrupt network, everyone else may experience some sort of negative consequence. Lawal, Alhaji Maikudi, and their allies run corrupt cartels so they can profit themselves with money and rise to great power. *Midnight Hotel* depicts the sociocultural and political circumstances relevant to Nigeria as a nation, and to all of African society. African societies 'sociopolitical and cultural issues are covered in the plays. The goal of Osofisan's artistic tactics is to make the "solution" given by the stage action and the "issue" in the real world more difficult to understand. To bring about the societal transformation that we so

desperately want, Osofisan awakens and enlightens people (his audience). As a result of the dynamic nature of human conditions, the situation of the vast majority of people living on the African continent appears to be worsening every day. Nonetheless, it may be argued that the play's themes are still pertinent to modern African societies, making it a problem for the present. A cursory examination of the aforementioned facts reveals that Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* has brought attention to the various deteriorations that Nigeria, a nation replete with corruption and degradation, is experiencing.

The findings also reveal that Ogbeche uses a postcoloniality theory in his play *Harvest of Corruption* to call for justice. Just like corrupt politicians and state employees, those who commit acts of corruption in Nigeria should be prosecuted and imprisoned. If this happens, those Nigerians who tend to embrace corruption will be deterred from doing so. This call for postcoloniality action has never been more crucial as a result of how entrenched political corruption is in the nation right now. The judiciary who must fight corruption are not immune to it. As a result, many politicians steal from the government because they believe that buying off a judge will always get them out of trouble. All other Nigerians' efforts in the fight against corruption will be in vain if the judiciary is not actively involved in the fight against corruption.

Findings

Forms of Political Corruption in the Post-Colonial African Socio-Political Environment in the Plays

The findings from the study show that corruption is pervasive in the society and governmental system seen as seen in *Altine's Wrath*. Top

government officials are at the very top of the corruption food chain. Political corruption such as graft and corruption, moral decadence, gross misconduct in public administration, bribery, misappropriation, promiscuity, and favouritism are exhibited in the selected plays.

Lawal is portrayed as a “ten-percenter”, a masculine chauvinist, and an oppressor. He lives a crooked lifestyle, obtaining 10% kickbacks from contractors, occupying the land of the underprivileged, and usurping the benefits intended for them. His wife, Altine is subjected to emotional, physical, and domestic violence as a result of his inhumane treatment, which causes her dumbness. Lawal forces Altine to work for his mistress, Mariam, even in her own marital home and demotes her to the status of a house help.

Lawal siphons funds meant for the construction of quality roads into his wife's account which he created for her. He gets these funds through kickbacks which he takes from contractors. The play exhibits graft when the monies meant for the poor landowners are not issued to them by authorities. What is meant for compensating the citizens who have lost their property is taken by politicians who blame the losses on each other or on false bureaucratic processes.

The play further depicts gratification in the ten percent kickback to Lawal in the award of contracts to equally corrupt contractors. Lawal also perpetrates fraud by dubiously acquiring the land of Mr. Onene and Mallam Audu who live in a village. The play shows the devastating effects of corruption on African social, political, and religious life, as it leads to moral bankruptcy, spiritually-bereft characters, and poor administration. Lawal, who

was known to be an activist for equal rights at school, according to his lady classmate, has been corrupted by the political gimmicks of African society.

Osofisan's *Midnight Hotel* is a play that depicts the rampant corruption and abuse of power in Nigerian politics. The play portrays the different types of political corruption exhibited by politicians in the country. Here are some of the types of political corruption portrayed in the play: bribery, nepotism, moral decadence and embezzlement of public funds. The bribery and extortion highlighted in the play reveal the issue of bribery and extortion in Nigerian politics. Politicians are shown using their positions of power to demand bribes from individuals and businesses. Nepotism is another type of political corruption portrayed in the play. Politicians are shown giving preferential treatment to their relatives and friends when it comes to political appointments and job opportunities. This leads to the exclusion of qualified individuals who do not have political connections which in turn leads to poor-performing officials and inequality.

In *Harvest of Corruption*, the issue of embezzlement of public funds by politicians is revealed. Politicians are shown siphoning public funds meant for developmental projects into their private accounts, leaving the people in poverty and underdevelopment. Electoral malpractice is highlighted as politicians are seen rigging elections to remain in power. They are shown using methods such as manipulation of election results. They also practise vindictiveness against their opponents.

Abuse of power is also portrayed by politicians in Nigeria. They are shown using their positions of power to intimidate and oppress the people,

denying them their basic human rights and freedoms. The play also highlights promiscuity in the cities as being a normal phenomenon.

Impact of Political Corruption on the Lives of Characters in the Plays

This study looked into the character, focus, and level of the writers' dedication throughout time. Since Osifisan's and Ogbeche's plays are based on the realities of the suffering people in their native Nigeria, an examination of them sheds light on the effects of poor management of the country's material and human resources. The characters employed in the plays mimic the postcolonial leaders on the African continent. Therefore, it can be deduced that their use is metaphorical.

Their plays condemn social injustice, oppression, dehumanization, poverty, hunger, poor leadership, and impunity in all of its manifestations. Through their dramaturgy, the writers incorporated into their work the socio-economic, political, cultural, moral, and religious realities of Nigeria. According to the study, the playwrights are talented Nigerian playwrights who have a thorough understanding of Nigerian society's history, which leads them to base their plays' themes and settings on the socioeconomic and political realities of the nation. The playwrights' rich Yoruba sociocultural upbringing also had a significant impact on their artistic works. They have constantly demonstrated an intellectual dedication to the freedom of Nigeria's poor, and have dedicated to the country's progressive transformation for the benefit of all.

The character, Lawal is presented as the most prominent character used to expose the ills of corruption in the play, *Altine's Wrath*. The impact of political corruption on Lawal is that he loses his ideology of fighting for the

less privileged and becomes so rich that he has the least respect for those through whom he enriches himself. He also loses respect for women and treats his wife, Altine, like a house help. Overall, the texts show that both Osofisan and Ogbeche uses animal and predatory metaphors to depict the unfavourable dynamics between the rich and the poor in society and awaken radical instincts and revolutionary consciousness towards fairness and justice among every individual in a society.

Midnight Hotel depicts the lives of various characters, including politicians, and hotel staff, whose lives are affected by political corruption. The characters are seen struggling to survive and make ends meet, while the corrupt officials enjoy their power and wealth. The play highlights the devastating consequences of political corruption on society. It shows how corruption can lead to poverty, inequality, and a breakdown of law and order. The play also illustrates how those who stand up against corruption often face intimidation and violence.

Satire as a Literary Style Used in the Selected Plays

This thesis has demonstrated the significance of political corruption in Nigerian drama, acknowledging how some contemporary Nigerian dramatists, including Osofisan and Ogbeche, use art forms in their plays for artistic effects, particularly as a tool to establish and sustain humour as well as to satirise social ills and human foibles. To confront some societal realities like oppression, exploitation, resistance, self-interest against national interest, and capitalism, among others, the writers of these plays heavily employ bitter aesthetics. For example, Osofisan employs the art of abuse to build the tyrannical rule of the elite in society over their people, in part to enable them

to live in a fool's paradise as we see in Lawal, which has a disastrous outcome. As a result, Osofisan uses the art of abuse to both project his characters and punctuate his thematic preoccupations in his plays. Similarly, Ogbeche engages in abuse not just to mock social vices and minimise their perpetrators but also to examine it as a means of neo-orientation for national transformation.

Postcoloniality as a Spectacle in Examining Political Corruption in the Selected Plays

The playwrights are utterly committed to the cause of the oppressed on both social and political levels. Osofisan and Ogbeche intend to expose the social vices committed by the political class. The playwrights in their respective plays show the nature of their commitment to revolutionizing the mind of the poor to the unequal socio-economic and political dispensation in Nigerian society. Lack of commitment and greed on the part of the corrupt political leaders result in class conflicts, the struggle to maintain the status quo and struggle for freedom from the oppressors by the ordinary financially handicapped citizens. The playwrights aim to expose the societal vices committed by the political class in their drama of commitment. The playwrights raise the downtrodden majority's consciousness so that they might all work together to lift the yoke of oppression constituted by the oppressors. They want a well-run and reorganised Nigeria, where equity, fairness, and justice will reign–a situation where no one will rule over another, and everyone will be free to realize his or her full potential. In essence, the playwrights are persistently dedicated to bringing about positive social change in their society in order to close the gap between the rich and the poor. They

intend to do this by creating awareness among the poor. Their plays exhibit how the minority-rich oppressors become the root cause of the poverty engulfing the society by exposing the vices committed by the oppressors. These acts of corruption cannot be seen as coloniality but post-coloniality brought up by colonial rule and the uncouth capitalistic influence on present-day African political leadership.

Conclusion

The playwrights disapprove of social injustice, corruption, and oppression. They note that anyting apart from such disapproval will mean the nation's life will continue to be in peril. Regardless of their position of power and social standing, people like Lawal, Chief Haladu, and Asigbon need to be identified, arrested, and prosecuted. A radical quest may have to be taken to end corruption. This is feasible if we have capable, bold, and incorruptible leaders who are willing to set an example for others to follow. There should be leaders who can maintain their composure and adhere to their oath of office in the face of pressures, perils, and threats from those who want to subvert the wellbeing of society. If these kinds of people are put in power, the future of Nigeria can be ensured.

The playwrights are particularly sympathetic to the plights of the underprivileged in the society. To them, poor leadership is the scourge of people's freedom. Additionally, terrible leaders are more common than good ones in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. Their power to cheat and oppress makes them worse than armed robbers.

The conclusion drawn from the analyses of the plays indicates that since the lives of wealthy rulers depend on the poor, the impoverished masses

should always be prepared to rise to oppose injustice and poor leadership when they occur. The analysis of the chosen plays demonstrates that the people are indeed more powerful than the wealthy since they are larger in population than the wealthy. Since the underprivileged (the masses) are many, they must be aware of this and be courageous enough to criticise their leaders when necessary.

Looking briefly at the facts mentioned above in the chosen plays for the study, it is clear that the playwrights highlight the varied deterioration that Nigeria, a country that is rife with corruption and decay, is facing. Hence, our analysis of Osofisan's and Ogbeche's plays as a reflection of the social, moral, and political degradation of Nigerian society has once again proved that the adage, "literature is the mirror of society", is true.

Through its portrayal of political corruption, *Altine's Wrath* reflects the postcolonial condition in Africa, where corruption is widespread and a persistent problem. The play highlights the legacy of colonialism, which has left African societies with weak institutions, a lack of transparency and accountability, and a culture of impunity among those in power. Overall, *Altine's Wrath* is a powerful critique of political corruption in postcolonial African societies which calls for the need for reform and change.

The play, *Midnight Hotel*, is also a great portrayal of the political corruption in postcolonial African literature. The play serves as a warning about the dangers of unchecked power. It calls for transparency and accountability in governance. It also emphasises the importance of individual courage and determination in the fight against corruption. Osofisan highlights the devastating consequences of political corruption on society in this play. It

shows how corruption can lead to poverty, inequality, and a breakdown of law and order. The play also illustrates how those who stand up against corruption often face intimidation and violence.

In *Harvest of Corruption*, political corruption is depicted as a pervasive and deeply entrenched problem in postcolonial Nigeria. The play portrays the corrupt practices of public officials who abuse their power and position for personal gain. The protagonist, Haladu Ade Amaka, engages in drug trafficking, kickbacks, and other corrupt activities. He uses his position to accumulate wealth and lives a lavish lifestyle at the expense of the poor and the marginalised.

These plays expose the corrupt practices of politicians and the devastating effects of corruption on society. They add to the call to action for individuals to speak up against corruption and fight for justice and fairness in society.

Recommendations

Postcolonial studies have been done of African drama, revealing the influences left on the continent by former colonial Western masters. From the findings, it may be deduced that African drama with political themes have corruption and bribery embedded in them. This study outlines various gaps that need attention for future studies. It recommends that the attention of critics of African plays must be drawn towards the need to expand the use of the postcoloniality theory in the criticisms/ critiques and examinations of the themes of corruption in African drama.

A deeper search into the biography, historical, and political backgrounds of playwrights under study is a starting point for the analysis of

their plays. The playwright's biography, history, political environment, social situation, and media reports are very necessary for the content analysis of plays. These factors help for easy understanding of the situation exposed in the plays. It makes the study and drawing of realistic conclusions feasible. Therefore, such data are critical in studies that involve the theme of political mismanagement using the postcoloniality theory.

The playwrights of the plays under study are Nigerians, which make any conclusion drawn to be objective, paving way for generalisation in their context. It is important that in studying postcoloniality, the colonial masters may have been of the same origin with same or similar policies that have influenced the political set up of the playwrights' chosen setting or country of abode. That notwithstanding, the leadership styles of politicians may differ depending on their specific context of their leadership. For instance, Francophone countries' style of corrupt practices may differ from those of Anglophone countries because of the difference in the colonial leaderships. Thus, a study can undertake a comparative analysis on plays of African countries with different colonial masters. Such a study, when conducted, will reveal the differences and similarities in African political leadership styles as influenced by the various colonial masters.

There have been some studies on current political leadership in Africa as portrayed in African plays. However, little is known of postcoloniality studies into African novels regarding political leadership, mismanagement, and corruption. Novels like Chinua Achebe's (1966) *Man of the People* could be selected for postcoloniality study.

In most cases, African political dramas are analysed with the spectacle of satire and the power-drunk. It is of utmost importance to also view these numerous plays using the postcoloniality theory. This will pave the way to know the influence of the political gimmicks handed over to Africa by Western colonial masters that have turned out to be endemic in the African political leadership style. The similarities in the plays become a strong basis for postcoloniality study. This will help expand the grocery of findings by scholars on the postcoloniality theory and its application in African plays.

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