NIGERIAN FEMINIST AGENDA AND THE DYNAMISM OF REVOLUTION: A STUDY OF SELECTED NIGERIAN PLAYS

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Abstract

Revolutionary dynamism motivated by the various stages of development which the society has undergone over time, has impacted on feminism in Nigeria. Hence, definition and redefinition of feminism have continued to cast doubt on what actually constitutes an acceptable Nigerian feminist agenda. Thus, this study identifies constant proliferation of feminist movements in Nigeria as a factor that weakens concrete definition and realisation of an acceptable Nigerian feminist agenda especially as the achievements of Nigerian feminist playwrights have obviously been dwarfed by discordant tunes of radical and conservative feminist playwrights. This paper examines the goals of various feminist movements in Nigeria and assesses the suitability of their agenda for liberating the female folk from male domination with a view to determining what constitutes an acceptable Nigerian feminist agenda. However, the study reveals that Nigerian conservative feminist writers have achieved a reasonable level of acceptance more than the radical feminists whose approach are separatist. Emeka Nwabueze's The Dragon's Funeral is examined to interrogate the contributions of contemporary Nigerian playwrights towards achieving gender equality championed by conservative feminist playwrights. The study is hinged on the theoretical premise of womanism and motherism as offshoots of conservative feminism that support gender equality rather than a female-dominated matriarchal society. It is in the light of this that the researcher recommends that gender equality championed by conservative feminist playwrights should be the Nigerian feminist agenda.

Introduction

Historically, feminism started as a philosophical movement in the United States of America and the United Kingdom in the 18th century. It is however, a relatively recent movement in Africa, particularly, Nigeria. However, feminist scholars from these parts of the globe and those from Nigeria are unanimous in their informed opinions that women living in Nigeria, where patriarchy holds sway, have some injustices such as oppression, suppression, subjugation and so on, to contend with on a daily basis. Feminism therefore, is generally regarded as a movement that is vehemently committed to confronting patriarchy and challenging the existing status quo with a view to bringing about desired changes in the subordinate position in which the Nigerian woman finds herself in the society. It is committed to promoting equality between men and women with regards to social, economic and political opportunities.

Feminism is however, regarded as a controversial movement that is interpreted and sometimes misinterpreted by scholars of different regions of the world mainly because of the bifurcation of feminist ideology which has also affected the feminist agenda in different regions of the world. Despite its multiplications and based on numerous available literatures from different authorities on feminism, it may be broadly divided into two: conservative and radical feminism. To the radical and separatist feminist, it is an aspiration towards a female-dominated society. Radical feminism is committed to ensuring a radical re-ordering of the society to ensure that "the stereotypical idea of man's superiority over woman was punctured" (Nwabueze, 144). To the radical feminist, society is fundamentally a patriarchy in which men dominate and oppress women. The goal of radical feminism therefore, is to ensure that patriarchy is dismantled and abolished in order to liberate the female folk from an unjust society. Unfortunately, however, the radical feminist agenda which is based on Western ideology is generally regarded as the dominant feminist agenda because of its strict opposition to patriarchy and aspiration towards enthronement of matriarchy.

The conservative or liberal feminism on the other hand, is Nigerian both in orientation and application. To the conservative feminist scholar, feminism is all about equality between men and women in terms of economic, political and socio-cultural opportunities. Feminism in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, is viewed by many as too "Western and too radical" (Utoh-Ezeaiugh, 140). It therefore, obvious that Western feminism is considered "inappropriate and ineffective in solving problems of gender discrimination in the African social sphere. Concepts which are more culture-specific and address women's concerns from a supposed African perspective are womanism, black feminism and motherism" (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 140). Hence, concepts womanism, motherism, Stiwanism and so on, provide strong and incontrovertible indicators that these groups of feminists have achieved a paradigm shift that tilts Nigerian feminist agenda towards the conservative feminist agenda of gender equality rather than the radical feminist agenda of female domination. Therefore, Nigerian feminist agenda is mainly about restructuring patriarchal institutions to favour gender equality that is squarely hinged on androgyny.

The concept of **androgyny** preaches that equality between men and women is possible if they work together to eliminate mundane and socially constructed differences between them. Nigerian feminist agenda therefore differs from the Western radical feminist agenda which champions a female-dominated matriarchal society. In summary, Nigerian feminist theory aims at enforcing women's empowerment, self-actualisation, liberation, equal opportunities and same treatment under the laws of the land and the cultural norms of the people. The idea of gender equality is highlighted by Chimamanda Adichie when she states that:

A Nigerian acquaintance once asked me if I was worried that men would be intimidated by me. I was

not worried at all- it had not even occurred to me to be worried because a man who would be intimidated by me is exactly the kind of man I would have no interest in. (28)

The realisation of this agenda requires tactics, strategisation and conscientisation. Hence Nigerian feminists write books, journal articles, make public speeches and organise rallies as avenues towards accomplishing the Nigerian feminist agenda. Drama and theatre also remain strong instruments that have helped to sustain and will still enhance the realisation of an acceptable Nigerian feminist agenda that champions gender equality. In common usage, **gender** simply means the distinction between females and males on the basis of their distinctive anatomy. Sociological usage is fundamentally different in the sense that sociologists often use "sex" for the biological differences between women and men and "gender" for the packages of social characteristics that are culturally associated with the sex difference.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is regarded as a social organisation that is structured in a manner that ensures the dominance of men over women. Or rather, it is a system of rule by men which ensures the domination of women by men. Thus we can have the patriarchal family, patriarchal societies or a work setting which is run in a patriarchal manner. Until the late 1960s, the term was used to describe societies characterised or marked by male domination of women. Presently, it carries a clear stigma: patriarchal rule is oppressive against women in patriarchal societies. One of Nigeria's quintessential academics, Mabel Evwierhoma, makes an attempt at explaining the term patriarchy. Perhaps her intention is to underline the fact that no one will be discussing feminism if there is no patriarchy as a structure. She states that "...patriarchy is termed the rule, dominance, or authority of the father... In a patriarchal set up,

the word of the father or male elder is law, respected or feared (3). The control as exercised by the menfolk in Nigeria, which various authorities have referred to in their scholarly contributions to the subject-matter of patriarchy, is clearly derivable from, driven and sustained by hegemonic tendencies of the Nigerian male in his uncanny desire to be in charge at all times and play the lord and master over women.

Matriarchy

Matriarchy has different meanings. It can be referred to as a system of rule by women. It is also a social organisation which ensures that descent and inheritance are traceable to the female line. Sociologically, matriarchy is a socially organised system which is based on the principle of mother-rule; it ensures that mothers are at the top of the power structure hence some authorities contend that matriarchy is a system that confers most of the authority and power on women. In such societies, ownership of property is an exclusive right of women. In her contribution to the concept of matriarchy, Fatima Binta Ibrahim identifies matriarchy and patriarchy as sociopolitical realities that "demarcate and spell out gender roles". She maintains that "Matriarchy is the struggle of the female in the unequal class position where she finds herself...Matriarchy becomes the weapon for female politics in the search for a new identity". (476)

In summary, matriarchy is regarded as a socio-cultural system in which females have a major role to play in the economy, governance and even in socio-cultural institutions, even though most anthropologists contend that there are no true matriarchies in the real sense of female dominance.

Dynamism

In a literary sense, dynamism implies the way a group of people behave or react to a given situation and the strategies initiated to tackle the particular situation with a view to making changes positively. In this context, dynamism can be understood to mean the mechanism or strategies that oppressed Nigerian women have adopted to deal with the oppressive situation that they find themselves in. These strategies include but not limited to protests, demonstrations, revolution and even riots against their oppressors. When applied to the concept of feminism in Nigeria, dynamism is concerned with changes arising out of the development of the society. Dynamism also has to do with how the dynamics of the traditional society, colonial, post-colonial up to the post-modern society have continuously influenced and redefined feminism and the feminist struggle in Nigeria.

Womanism and Motherism

The primary focus of Nigerian feminism is the welfare of women and the girl child. However other burning issues of female subjugation led to fragmentation in Nigerian feminist agenda. Prominent among these issues are inequality and marginalisation of women. Nigerian feminist theories came into existence to curb these burning issues. They are reactions against the one dimensional status quo. This study is hinged on the theoretical premise of womanism and motherism. The two theories closely align with liberal or conservative feminism which champions gender equality. Womanism as a feminist movement is associated with Alice Walker. Alice Walker's first conception of womanism can be captured from her definition of who a womanist is. She maintains that a womanist is "A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or non-sexually, appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility... women's strength... committed to survival and wholeness of an entire people, male and female. Not a separatist...Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender (Linda Napikoski, *np*).

It is a movement for the survival of the black race, taking into consideration the ugly experiences of black women hence the much cited phrase credited to Walker that "womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender" thereby suggesting that womanism is the broad ideological umbrella under which feminism falls. The theory has been adopted by the researcher as it has been understood as a movement that is capable of addressing the woman question from the standpoint of Nigeria's peculiar socio-cultural settings. It therefore, can be rightly said that womanism represents Nigerian women's reaction or response to gender discrimination and oppression. Theoretical provisions of womanism are similar to those of motherism even though the proponent of the theory, Catherine Obianuju Acholonu symbolises woman in a mother. Acholonu's thought on motherism is simply equal rights for mothers. According to Acholonu: "the traditional role of the African woman has essentially been that of a matriarch and social nurturer. Motherism would refer to an Afrocentric feminist theory: . . . anchored on the matrix of motherhood . . ." (Acholonu, 1995). Motherism does not subjugate men but seeks to promote and champion a level playing ground where the woman will succeed as a mother. Hence, it is an Afro-centric feminist theory hinged on the matrix of the Nigerian woman as a mother. This concept also gives the woman a central position in Nigerian cosmology as the channel of survival and continuance of race that unite the community. According to Acholonu, motherism is "A multi-dimensional theory which involves the dynamics of ordering, recording, creating structures, building and rebuilding in cooperation with Mother Nature at all levels of human endeavour..." (111).

As feminist theories, both womanism and motherism no doubt, have been appropriated by Nigerian feminists because of the suitability of their feminist ideological viewpoints to the Nigerian feminist agenda. In other words, womanism and motherism rolled into one have given birth to Nigerian feminism, which is concerned with protecting Nigerian womanhood against being debased by the society. Contextual analysis of the ideological viewpoints expressed in the selected play shows that they are strongly supported by both theories. The researcher, therefore, combines womanism and

motherism as propounded by Walker and Acholonu to arrive at a theoretical framework for this study.

Nigerian Feminist Agenda and The Dynamism of Feminist Revolution in *The Dragon's Funeral*

The dominant motif in *The Dragon's Funeral* is women's struggles for liberation from oppression, marginalisation and other forms of social injustice. The play is set in colonial Nigeria; it is a social drama which tells the story of gender imbalance, oppression and social conflicts. It x-rays agitations and civil protests by women, a segment of the population in a colonial Nigerian society who feel oppressed and marginalised, against the colonial authorities who make the laws but enforce the laws through their cronies who go by the brand name of warrant chiefs. The women's revolt, according to the story as narrated by Ekwedike, referred to as the village griot, is championed by Adaugo, who leads the entire women of Ngwaland to revolt against the obnoxious and repressive policies of the colonial government perceived to be anti-women. These policies which include but not limited to imposition of tax on women, are perceived as a further attempt by the male-dominated colonial government and the patriarchal Ngwa Community to ensure the continued emasculation of women economically and by so doing, cause severe hardship in households.

Feminist scholars hold men accountable for the plight of women in patriarchal societies hence the themes or agenda of feminist drama and theatre are dedicated to addressing the injustices characterised by oppression, suppression, marginalisation and subjugation which the society unleashes on women in patriarchal societies. This is why earlier forms or waves of feminism tended to champion the overthrow of patriarchy and its replacement with matriarchy. But the Nwabueze obviously views the establishment of an egalitarian system through a feminist approach that is Nigerian in nature, orientation and application as the solution to the maltreatment of women in Nigeria. This Nigerian feminist approach

entails restructuring or re-organising patriarchal structures in Nigeria that tend to relegate women to the background and replacing such structures with fair and just ones that espouse the tenets of socialism where men and women are on the same social pedestal; structures that are devoid of gender discrimination against women but champion a relationship of equals between men and women premised on the concept of androgyny.

In the *Dragon's...* the playwright clearly exposes various oppressive and exploitative practices that the society perpetrates against women. The women of Ngwa land oppose and revolt against the obnoxious practices in their attempts to enthrone change. The class struggles between men and women are as a result of the tendency of the exploiter class to continue to exploit and dominate the exploited or subject-class: the women. This makes confrontations between men and women in the patriarchal society of the play inevitable. The play aptly depicts the pitiable situation that women find themselves in patriarchal societies like Nigeria. In a tangible manner, the playwright raises very salient and crucial questions as to how fairly or otherwise, the society treats women, thereby portraying patriarchy as a social system that is exploitative, insensitive and unkind to the womenfolk.

The bone of contention in the play which is the primary cause of the women's revolution, as earlier stated, has to do with the controversial issue of whether or not it is proper for the colonial government to tax women and if at all, whether they should be taxed in proportion to what the men pay as tax. This is in the light of the fact that in Nigeria, which is largely patriarchal, women, over the years, have not been allowed to have equal economic opportunities with men. In agrarian communities in the rural parts of Nigeria, women are not permitted or encouraged to plant yams, for instance, which is regarded as the "king of all farm crops". It is even a taboo in some cultures for women to plant yams. They seem to be traditionally restricted to planting only less revenue-yielding crops like cassava, maize, cocoyam, melon, which are crops that are

considered as only befitting women. Where men cultivate yams of different species, at harvest times, their wives are only allowed to touch the number of tubers of yam that their husbands hand over to them. This therefore, means that women are to mainly sell less "significant" farm produce like melon, cocoyam, pepper, and so on and which of course means less income for them than men who sell their yams at cutthroat prices because yams are as costly as gold, being regarded as the king of all farm produce. This therefore, means more money in the pockets of men than women. Therefore, to tax men and women equally can be interpreted as a complete negation of Adam Smith's canon of taxation which projects "equity and convenience" as some of its basic tenets (Lawal, 238).

The tension, which the playwright describes as "dust in the air", that the tax policy and the decision of the colonial government to implement it generate initially starts on a low key at the family level, then gradually escalates to the communal level until it assumes a national scale and eventually erupts into a confrontation between the marginalised women on the one hand and the colonial government and its agents who are warrant chiefs appointed from among the community members, on the other. In the opening of the play, women are seen in Movement One, gathered in the Orie market ground to discuss and take a decision against the rampaging forces of colonialism which are bent on inflicting pains of hunger on households through its stringent tax policies. These policies are perceived as being targeted against women and therefore, understood to be a further attempt by the government and the society to emasculate women economically. While addressing her fellow women, Adaugo, the women's leader states that:

Women of my ancestral land, there is dust in the air. Evil men have enveloped our land. The name of that evil, that dust is government. We have heard different rumors about what government is doing and even intends to do. ... we have heard that there will be a new policy where women would be taxed by

that dreadful monster called government ... They have taken everything we have. What do we have left? ... They take the best of our land, they have castrated our husbands, now they want to turn their attention to us, women, simply because our men have been completely intimidated... (18)

The women's leader's description of the government as "evil and the dust" in the air aptly points to the extent of disenchantment, disaffection, dissatisfaction and disillusionment that the people feel towards the government as a result of its harsh policies. The speaker also alludes to the fact that men have failed to muster the courage to oppose the government's policies because in the opinion of the women, they have been "castrated" and become "completely intimidated" (18). It is possible that there would have been a few of them that would have stood up to speak up in defence of women if the situation was different. It is also possible that majority of the men are accomplices to the colonial government which is also male-dominated hence their 'loud' silence over some anti-women policies of the government! The speaker has also succeeded in informing the audience that there is no formal channel of communication to enlighten the public about government policies. Rather, the people get to learn of government's policies and decisions through the grapevine. This is even characteristic of present day Nigerian governments at all levels. It shows that governments, even from the colonial times to the present have never really had regard for the feelings of the people. It has therefore, been the lot of the Nigerian people, especially women, over several decades, to be treated with disdain by their leaders in government.

The protesting women make it clear to the audience that their planned protest or revolt is borne out of their determination to put an end to the oppressive policies and practices of government which most times worsen the women's situation as they are usually at the receiving end of negative effects of most policies of government. Adaugo states that "We shall not allow ourselves to be harassed unnecessarily. I have heard that in their own country women are highly respected. But when they come here, they treat us like ash that must be dissipated for the next meal to come. Shall we allow ourselves to be treated like ash?" (19)

She goes further to give specific reasons for the planned revolt by women thus:

My sisters, we shall not allow ourselves to be taxed. We shall resist any attempt to harass us. We shall put things in order. Our quiet land has turned into fracas fire. It has become a place where strangers milk people without any more scruples or conscience. And our men look on weakly and do nothing. We should not be afraid to fight. The earthworm has neither knife nor a hoe but it pierces the earth with its stomach. We must resist the government. And if they come after us, we must fight back! (19)

Having stated their determination to fight for their rights they decide to draw up their rules of engagement with the authorities while adopting accommodation and cooperation with the menfolk. Their strategy is not to directly confront patriarchy headlong as it were. Adaugo informs the audience that:

Now, I want to make one thing clear to all of you ... our aim is not to fight our husbands. Our aim is not to confront men unnecessarily, even if they are strangers. Our aim is not to show that we are indispensable to men. In executing our action, we should ensure that we don't fail in our duties as wives, as daughters, as mothers, as the epitome of peace in our community. Our aim is to fight injustice, to fight for our rights, to fight for our children. As women, we have to do what we feel is right, even if men try to stop us. (24)

The above statement coming from a gender activist and a woman leader, underscores how prepared Nigerian women are to consciously avoid a head-on confrontation with patriarchy even in their struggles to liberate themselves from social restrictions and injustices. In this instance, they can be said to have adopted the double-barreled tools of womanism and motherism which are the pillars upon which the dynamism of the women's revolution rests. The women have been able to show that it is profitable for them to avoid direct confrontation with the menfolk in the course of their protests against perceived injustices; sometimes it is wise to stoop in order to conquer. The playwright goes further to highlight Nigerian feminist agenda of the protesting women by emphasising through the voice of Ikodie, one of the leading female characters, that the series of meetings convened by women are not targeted at men and therefore, have "nothing to do with seeking equality with men ... but empowering women to take care of their own affairs in a world that is not prepared to protect them" (52).

The above statement made by Ikodie portrays Nigerian women as a group of people who, in spite of the oppressed situation they find themselves are determined to uphold womanism and motherism as mainstream feminist ideologies that are committed to promoting gender equality. This is evident from the statements of the women leader that their husbands who ought to protect them but have failed to do so, remain their crowns and therefore, they will not do anything that will threaten the men's positions as heads of families nor give an indication that they want to take over the position of men in the society. The statement, however, reveals how vulnerable women have become in a typical African patriarchal society such as Nigeria. With this revelation, therefore, the audience has come to realise that women constitute a group that can be referred to as an endangered species in Nigeria; a group that faces the grim possibility of being rendered voiceless by patriarchally determined traditions and oppressive cultural practices unless they stand up to fight for their rights and protect their selfhood.

The meek and gentle nature of Nigerian women which enables them to address their husbands in a placating manner even in the face of deliberate provocation from their husbands come to the fore when Dike, Ikodie's husband, tries to forcefully stop her from attending meetings convened by her fellow women. This is revealed in the following dialogue:

DIKE: No! The place of women is in the home. It is the duty of men who know better to decide for the women. This idea of women holding their own meeting without moderation by men will destroy this community.

IKODIE: I just can't understand your fears. Have I not been doing my duties effectively as wife and mother? In fact I was the person who questioned the action of the women during the meeting. I even swore not to be part of it. But after listening to the women who know better than me, my foolishness began to stare me in the face... (53)

The argument lingers on to the point where Dike orders that his wife, Ikodie, "will never attend that meeting again" (53). The playwright reveals through the last statement by Ikodie how the Nigerian woman has never failed to support her husband and the entire family. This revelation goes to underscore the caring and passionate nature of women. In spite of the ill treatment that the society metes out to them in different forms through various structures such as patriarchy put in place by men, who see women as inferior, as revealed by Dike, women still endeavor to regard their husbands as heads of households whose opinions on issues must be sought and taken into consideration even when there is tension everywhere in the society. The playwright also reminds men that in spite of their acclaimed physical strength, they have not been able to muster the courage to resist the anti-people's policies of the colonial government and protect their wives and children against

oppression and exploitation from the rampaging forces of colonialism. In a way, therefore, the revelation that comes from Ikodie's statement shows that men of Ngwa may have been willful partners of the colonial government in implementing its exploitative policies against the entire people. Ikodie states that:

Look at the whole town. There is no peace, there is fear everywhere, and you men do nothing about it. And you call yourselves men. You cancel your meetings any time because government wants you to work for him. You abandon farm work and your children suffer the pains of hunger. How can you call yourself a man when there's no food in the house, when there's no peace in your community? (55)

The "sheroism" of Ikodie and her fellow women is hinged on their collective ability to remain themselves, focused and determined during the heady period of the revolution and their struggle for liberation. The playwright specifically holds the society responsible for the hard times that women are passing through, occasioned by the government's harsh policies. Ikoonia, one of the leading female characters informs the audience that "it is the way we are treated by our men that gave the government the impetus to impose labour on us. They think we are mere commodities" (63). The above statement by Ikoonia reveals that most Nigerian marriages are characterized by attempts by patriarchs to promote only their own selfish interests, not minding how their wives feel, believing that they are the heads of households and therefore, their wives must accept things the way they are and force themselves to live by the standards of their husbands, for it is only commodities that do not have feelings or emotions and therefore, can be used and tossed around the way their owners deem fit.

During the struggle for justice and liberation, Adaugo and her fellow women prove to be very resourceful and tactful. This aspect of their resourcefulness draws from their ability to mobilise other women from outside their community. This is perhaps because they realise that they will achieve their aim faster and more effectively if the revolution is allowed to assume a national outlook by allowing it to spread as far and widely as possible. Historically, no protest has recorded any huge success if it is confined within a tiny group or a locality. Even protests by the Nigerian Labour Congress are effective if other unions are involved and encouraged to support the Labour Union. This may have been the driving philosophy behind the decision of the Adaugo-led women group to encourage women from other communities like Okrika to participate in the protest. That way, the protest is no longer localized and the colonial authorities will feel the heat kicked up by the protest more quickly. Nwugo affirms this when she states that:

It's time to go, Adaugo. Some women will be coming from Okrika to see me. They will come with my husband's sister, Ogbenyealu. When they come I will bring them to you so you can talk to them. They all want to organize the women of their neighborhood as well. (64)

The women are determined to succeed hence they are very careful to avoid a direct confrontation or rather, a head on collision with their husbands because it will spell disaster for the struggle if they have to fight different wars from different fronts at the same time. Adaugo states earlier on that:

... There is one thing I want to make clear to you so you can tell the women of your neighborhood. We are not fighting our men... Our confrontation is with the government. Every woman should discharge her duties in the usual manner. No woman should resist her normal chores. We don't want our men to think that we are trying to overthrow them. They're already looking for reasons to confront us. But they won't succeed. (63)

It can be deduced from the above statement that the Nigerian woman is more interested in enthroning change in the way society treats them rather than dethroning patriarchy. It can also be deduced that they are all for a peaceful coexistence with men.

There are sterling qualities which any leader must possess. One of these qualities is self-confidence. Another is patience. Adaugo as a leader exhibits these qualities in addition to having charisma, poise and vision, even though she does not have the benefits of formal Western education. These qualities enable her to lead her fellow women to successfully revolt against society's unceasing attempts to oppress women. The first major casualty of this revolt is Emeruwa who, while carrying out Chief Okeugo's directive to count the people as a prelude to the full implementation of the government's tax policy, gets man-handled by the protesting women led by Adaugo. Having dealt with Emeruwa to their satisfaction, they collectively go for Chief Okeugo, otherwise, known as the Dragon. By this time, Chief Okeugo has fled to seek refuge in the District Officer's residence. At the residence of the District Officer, Adaugo, still in the company of her fellow women announces to the audience that "our role as women is to cleanse the society of pollution. Whether the pollution was caused by our husbands or children or even strangers, does not matter" (73).

Taking non-militarist posture is one weapon that women are known to deploy in crisis situations and it works for them almost every time. In the case of the women of Ngwaland, this non-militarist approach can be said to be the dynamism that drives their revolution to a successful and victorious end.

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