Interrogating Film Adaptation as Another Form of Neoslavery in Nollywood Studies

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Abstract.

The rising profile of Nigeria Film today is indeed a product of critical thinking of both filmmakers and film scholars. This is not to lose sight of the huge contributions of literary/theatre practitioners and scholars who by their experiences on literary texts and stage craft have successfully transited from text/stage productions to screen arts. As Nigeria film production evolves, there are compelling needs to adapt some creative works with good narrative essence that speak to the socio-cultural tenets and the unity of Nigeria. This transitory engagement from stage experience into screen experimentation by early practitioners and scholars fit in considerably in Neoslavery discourse. Critically, film adaptation is the process of assessing/transforming an existing literary or theatrical text based on its original content, structure and relevance of a given interest, mostly from western perspective to a new space of need with or without a change in plot structure and title that is inducible. It is within this scope that the conceptual framework of the study is predicated on Gerard Genette's transtextuality theory. The study hopes to examine and re-evaluate the relation or movement of one text to another and how creative experts in Nigeria film industry are influenced unconsciously to use adaptation as potent tool to perpetuate or impose other interest through textual interpretation and recreation on the others. There is therefore an attempt to focus on Bayo Adebowale' Virgin and Tunde Kelani's Narrow Path as one aspect of film adaptations that Nigerian filmmakers have successfully adapted. It is the submission of this paper that cultural rebirth, technological advancement and non-literary or non- narrative sources are the emerging trends that the new generation of filmmakers leverages on in lifting penetrative ideas from page/stage to screen. The study concludes that film adaptation is one resource material that paves the way for the voices of colonialists to be heard through Nollywood filmmakers.

Key Words: Nollywood, Film Adaptation, Video Film, Neo-slavery,

Introduction:

The concept of adaptation is as old as man since nothing existed on earth without its origin traceable to the creation story. God undoubtedly is a 'supreme artist' who naturally adapts man from the soil, and man in his creative quest uses other creations to create things (be it artistic or otherwise) for the society. From that perspective of recycle process of creation, Robert Blowning

posits thus "the reach of man must exceed his grasp, or what's Heaven for" if not for man's creative ability that is traceable beyond man to Heaven as a fountain of all existences. Tracing the origin of adaptation, Olayiwola Abiodun observes that "tradition of literary adaptation is not new, since in Bible parlance 'there is nothing new under the sun {Eccl. 1;9b}. Old ideas are often robed in newer 'costumes' to make them relevant to the dynamics of the changing society" (205).

Based on this reservoir of existence, creative writers and artists draw inspiration to write creatively for different purposes, either to impose on others the perceived superior ideas or strengthen an existing idea. Generally, creative works are open-ended that avails playwrights, novelists and screenwriters the opportunities to further the process of recreation, reshaping, remolding and reconstruction that certainly gain or lose its original content to fit the exploitative needs of the writer. These needs may be to consciously or unconsciously subject the readers/viewers to a perpetual condition of slavery. For instance, most literary works produced during colonial era were used as weapon of suppression; marginalization, subjugation and enslavement of Africans and are being recast in new form by Nigerian filmmakers to perpetuate western dominance on the society. It is this appropriation of institutionalized slavery material that is transited into a wider channel (Screen) that is known as 'an amalgam of others'. This, according to Chukwuma Okoli and Francis O. (2014) is a "bond against the will of others, restricted, oppressed, exploited and dehumanized" as it reflects a new pattern of domestic servitude.

Equivocally, Douglas Blackmon (2009) reiterates thus;

The neoslavery system exploited legal loopholes and federal policies that discouraged prosecution of whites for continuing to hold black workers against their wills. As it poured millions of dollars into {...} government treasuries, the new slavery became a new instrument in the terrorization of Africans... based on a vast record of original documents (being recreated into film) slavery by another name unearths the lost stories of slavery and their descendants who journeyed into freedom after the emancipation proclamation and then back into the shadow of involuntary servitude.

Drawing from the foregoing, it is obvious that most filmmakers that leverage on existing texts/works for filmmaking are complacent either because of western aids or they lack the needed vibe to create a counter narrative that should speak against imperialism. This is why the study admits that film adaptation is a nexus in which new form of enslavement is entrenched. Thus, in this paper, Adaptation is simply seen as another form of neoslavery where "filmmakers from former colonized nations write back to empire by adapting the literature of their colonial

oppressors for the film medium, accenting the original source material with historical and cultural reference their native countries" (Hollyfield, 2007:5). To this effect, adaptation is seen again as a "new form of imperialism that places its citizens under corporate rather than nation-based control". These are the indicative narrative of neoslavery when literary works written in favour of the colonialists are adapted into films either to perpetuate or superimpose other interest that seems superior over the others, mostly to suit their benefactors. Hence, Olayiwola Abiodun (2013:320) calls on African Filmmakers to serve as "custodians of our cultural heritage to possibly expunge all foreign phenomena present in our local films". This is because "cinema is the most dangerous form of colonialism and the only way to stop it is to encourage indigenous African filmmakers" (Adesanya 1998) to be original in their creative process devoid of foreign influences.

Be that as it may, Akande, Bashiru argues that some of the Nigeria "films adapted from successful literary works like novels and plays,... only few of the films conformed to the theory of adaptation (within this focus) as many of them were poor imitation of the literary works that gave birth to them" (23). However, the relation between the two genres is quite complimentary and inseparable. Anyanwu and Ibagere explain that "the relationship between literature and film, one can say, is cordial...because, too often, literature in any of its genres makes the transition onto the screen and the screen also transits into genres of literature, especially into drama and novel" (221).

This creative intercourse that exists between literary scholars or writers and filmmakers is as old as film history itself and is traceable to pre-colonial independence era where the first film is believed to be featured in August, 1903 at the Glover Memorial hall, Lagos, while the first film shot in Nigeria was in Jos, Plateau State, in 1904 entitled *Palaver*. As film evolved to an appreciable years, Aduku Idachaba notes that most films produced at that infantry stage were basically Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa feature films that were adapted from books to film. In Hausa film industry known as Kannywood, films such as *Turmin Danya* (1990) by Ibrahim Mandawari, *kania of kebbi* by the late Nigerian Prime Minister Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, *Ruwan Bagaja* by Ramalan Nuhu and *Kasarmu ce* by Mallam Sadiq Tafawa Balewa, *Tsuntsu Mai Wayo* (1994) by Bala Anas Babinlata (3). These films birthed from novels to films.

In the west however, film adaptation strives considerably well due to its entrenched theatre culture and practitioners. Idachaba citing Ogunsuyi' posits thus; "Yoruba film (...) emerged from the incorporation of non-literary and non-narrative sources of the indigenous theatre expressions

and the Yoruba travelling theatre traditions into film. He further assert that notable theatre practitioners like the doyen of Nigerian theatre, Herbert Ogunde, and his pedigrees, Kola Ogunmola, Duro Ladipo, Moses Olaiyo, Oyin Adejobi, Ade Afolayan and others opened the floodgate of Film production in the Yoruba axis using adaptation to re-emphasis and popularize the Yoruba cultural relevance. Reaffirming this, Timothy Asobele posits that "the materials from which Yoruba films are made are to a large extent the cultural realities of the people of the Yoruba countries, some go into the fount of the peoples belief systems, while some look into the Yoruba Jansenism philosophy of ineluctability of destiny" (4). In line with the mysticism of Yoruba tradition and the quest to preserve such tradition, Ogunde adapted few of his stage plays into film for wider coverage using electronic media to retain most of the essential elements in the plays into films. Truth to his vision, Aiye written in 1980 becomes the first play to be adapted into film. The work explores the cultural realities of the Yoruba people. Other films produced by Ogunde from his plays are; *Jaiyesinmi* (1981), *Aropin N' Tenia* (1982), and *Ayanmo* (1988).

Similarly, the background to Igbo films is a reflection of their language and the social attitudes of the southeasterners. For instance, film, Amadi (1975) by Ola Balogun is not adaptation though but existed within the igbo cosmology. However, some filmmakers in a bid to preserve igbo cultures adapted some creative works into films. These films are *Bullfrog in the Sun* by Chinua Achebe and produced by Francis Oladele, *Akpakaland*, by Sam Ukala, *Omenuko* by Pita Nwana and recreate into film as *Omenuko Igwegbe*, *Things Fall Apart*, *Kongi's Harvest* are some of the films adapted to reflect Igbo culture as well as exposing the colonial dominance on Africans. With this vilifying manner of expressing our culture, Olayiwola considers this "as a neo-colonialist tendency which every other culture must refute or else such a culture will soon be eroded" (320).

From the above, this presupposes that film is an upshot of the literary art and is yet to free itself of all the vestiges of colonialism. Caught in this web, film has borrowed a lot from genres of literature that is seen as an "axiomatic superiority of literary art to film" (Robert Stam,). Emmanuel Emasealu reinforces this stand point when he says, "the persuasive communication that drama has asserted itself in film …has been so forceful that it has led to the evolution of various film genres" (111). No doubt, genre is one of the common denominators between literature and film because of its elements (plot, story, character and setting) that are present in both literature and film. The film adaptor uses genres as aesthetic lens to determine creative works that could be translated or transformed into film that will meet audience expectations.

FILM ADAPTATION AS A FORM OF NEOSLAVERY

Critically, film adaptation strives on the strength of transtextuality because it deals with the transformation, transmutation, translation, transition and modification of an existing text to form new text that has its unique originality. According to Gerard Genette, Transtextuality, is a theoretical framework that explores the relation between various texts. To him, the concept is more inclusive than Bakhtin and Kristeva's concept of intertextuality. Genette identifies further other categories which include 'intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, architextuality and hypertextuality' (Mirenayat, A,S & Soofastaei, E. 533). The argument for these categories of transtextuality is that, for film adaptation to generate appreciable originality from the primary source to a new form, the relation between the text and its sub-text, with one text and the others, especially when a title of one text is carry over to another text must be well interpreted to avoid capital critic. For instance, a title of *Oleku* (novel) is taking to a movie titled *Oleku*. Undoubtedly, this intellectual exercise is as old as text itself. From the foregoing, the argument therefore, is, how trending is film adaptation in Nollywood, particularly in the New Nollywood era? Certainly, and significantly, the word 'trend' as it is used in this study is the recurring discourse that is gaining acceptance/visibility via social media, print media, or other means of communicating the ultimate desire of the filmmakers to popularize the subject in-view. This is to say that emerging trend in Nollywood is that current creative dimension (s) to film adaptation that is gaining filmmakers' attention as well as the general audience. George Milie establishes different dimensions to film adaptation as a premise to which filmmakers must consider before choosing a play or novel for adaptation. These literary works must be based on; a true story, the straight, impossible and the interpretative adaptation.

A true story adaptation

A film with the trailer "based on a true story" is capable of attracting audience' attention more than any others, especially when the thematic preoccupation in the novel, drama, or historical event is a well-known story. In this case the film narratives could be literary and non-literary, fictional or non-fictional. Nigeria films such as *Dry*, (2015). The film is produced and directed by Stephanie Linus. The story revolves around Halima, a girl with a Vesicovaginal fistula (VVF) and Zara, the medical Doctor who by chance came in contact with Halima. This contact turned her condition around for good. Similarly, the film titled,*93 Days*, (2016) is a reflection of obvious threat from Ebola and the resilient nature of Nigerians. The film is directed by Steve Gukas. Moreso, *Apaye* (2014) is a film directed by Desmond Elliot that captures the motherly love that can hardly be compared to. It is a true life story of Irene Yepayeye from bayelsa state, who the husband abandoned and with her six children to be taken of. In her desire to take care of the children, she went through hardship. In the same direction, *Private Storm*, (2010) is a realistic film directed by Lancelot Oduwa Imasuen and Ikechukwu Onyeka. The film is produced by Vivian Ejike as a retelling of her personal experience in the hand of her supposed lover who treated her otherwise. *Dibia* and others are some of Nigeria movies that recreate true stories of the society. These highlighted films and their inherent narrative techniques cannot be exhaustively discussed without an imprint of neoslavery tendencies. For instance, films such as *Dry* and *93 Days* are identified as African true-life-story but are made from a conditioned imagination for a conditioned market with the premeditated condition to limit or subject Nigerians to a preferred conditions orchestrated by the whites.

The Straight adaptation:

This style of adaptation is when the adaptor adapts the novel, play or poetry straight as it is on the book to the film based on its financial gain and readership or viewership. Hyginus Ekwuazi posits that "the active audience for one medium constitutes the potential audience for another" (140). This kind of adaptation takes different shapes; Poetry to Film, Poetry to Novel, Novel to Film, Novel to Drama, Drama to Film, Film to Drama or Novel. This happens when the novel or play is a bestselling work so as to maintain same financial interest for the filmmakers. For instance, films such as *Bisi Daughter of the River* (1977) directed by Jab Adu, *Ija Ominira* (1979) directed by Ola Balogun. These novels were adapted into films based on their huge cultural presence. Also, *Bullfrog in the Sun* (1972) directed by Francis Oladele, a video film adaptation from both *Things fall Apart* (1958) and *No Longer at Ease* (1960), these novels by Chinua Achebe are reflections of the political tension in Nigeria at the time and place, a wakeup call on Nigerians to stand up to their collective responsibility over against the institutionalized suppression and oppression of the colonialist.

The impossible adaptation:

This is the situation where some creative works are not flexible enough to undergo transmutation and rebuilding process due to the content of the work, the plot structure and technical complexity. Basically, literary texts are for reading, imaging and feeling while film is an external factor that is appreciated by seeing, thinking and feeling. Therefore, impossibility of some novels

are based on the complexity of style or plot, the over reliance on the exploration of the structure and the thematic preoccupation of the book. These impossible elements in text, Tom Grieve describes it as an 'unfilmable' as he explains further;

There are number of reasons for Prose to be hard to translate (adapt) into moving images (video film)... there might be grisly details that might be just about palatable on the page but prove too much for the viewers to take when filmed. Meanwhile, complex formal structures and sprawling stories can be tough to work out with in the time and budgetary constraints inherent in producing film (3).

Consequently, most Nigerian literary works with good stories and cultural relevance to the emerging narratives are left unattended to, due to the structural and technical limitations of film equipment. In this circumstance of impossibility, Jackson implores filmmakers to leave the original film's plot intact, alters the basic narrative structure by including scenes that were either too expensive or technically unfilmable during the original film's production.

The interpretative adaptation:

This aspect of adaptation helps filmmakers on toes to navigate through the process so as to avoid film critics on textual fidelity. Malgorzata Marciniak observes that 'filmmakers must link the details of the meanings into new meanings' through interpretative adaptation. He avers that 'films contextualize (literary) books in a visible and audible atmosphere and invite us to discover the unsuspected ways of seeing and hearing things' as they combine both images and sounds to provide insights into the nature of the deep-seated meanings that do not lend themselves easily to verbal exploration" (63). This means that film adaptation through the prism of transtextuality is an index in which a primary or source text is aesthetically and contextually assimilated, interpreted and re-worked to form a film. This dimension of adaptation has being hugely used and is still in use by Nollywood Filmmakers since textual interpretation is a nexus in which metatextuality, paratextuality, archetextuality, and hypertextuality revolve to reproduce or recreate new text.

Instructive as these dimensions are in film adaptation, the study identifies three emerging trends in Nollywood films which are; contemporary cultural phenomenon (cultural rebirth) as it is captured by Lawrence O. Bamidele thus; 'the visual (movie) has significantly replaced the written form (Books) as... cultural values ranging from material to moral and can only be preserved through film. He posits further that the cultural literacy that the film engenders is on a variety of

issues be it our work ethics, our leisure activities, attitudes and human interactions not leaving our gestures, gist and rhythms (138).

The second emerging trend in Nollywood is the technological advancement and its influence on new generation of filmmakers as Gloria Eenest- Samuel admits thus;

Films like Kunle Afolayan's *Figurine, Phone Swap, October 1st*, Chineze Anyaene's *ije- the Journey*, Stephenie Okereke's *Through the Glass*, and *Dry* Obi Emelonye's *Mirror Boy*, and *Last Flight to Abuja*, were all produced with state of (the) art equipment, which improved the quality of the productions, and made them acceptable for public screening or broadcasting to western and diasporic audience, particularly in US and Europe...quality productions are dependent on quality technological equipment... (74-75).

The third emerging trend is what Thomas Leitch refers to as "an era of Post-Literary Adaptation", in which non-literary works such as magazines, newspaper, articles, brochure/leaflet and others and sometimes non-narrative sources (such as technical manuals, events, maps) are adapted into storylines for feature films and other forms of media.

It is against this backdrop of an emerging trend in Nollywood and the dire need to preserve the decaying culture, as well as recreate, propagate and enlighten the contemporary minds on why the 'narrow path' in women must be kept sacred to avoid the pain, shame, disgrace and loss of confidence that are associated with defilement. The paper focuses on the intriguing experiences undertaken by Bayo Adebowale and Tunde Kelani as the later rebuilds on the existing creative idea of the former using adaptation process to determine the part of convergence and divergence in the novel and the film. The work will juxtapose cultural responses to defilement by the old generations as captured in both novel and film to the contemporary age enslavement.

Virgin (Novel) and The Narrow Path (Film)

The novel written by Bayo Adebowale in 1985 caught the attention of a veteran Filmmaker and a Director in person of Tunder Kelani who by creative ingenuity transformed or transmuted the *Virgin* into a film titled *The Narrow Path*. Both the Novel and Film reveal the story of a charming and pretty young lady (Awero), who caught the attention of many men that want her hand in marriage. These three men are Odejimi, the village hunter, Lapade-the moneybag who hails from Aku village and Dauda the sex monger from Orita village who showers Awero with gifts as a seductive material. However, amidst this contention, and at the verge of marriage, Awero loses her virginity to a city man (Dauda) that represents civilization as introduced by the British, who seduces her into the act. She is overwhelmed by shame and is in pain over the awaiting disgrace that is associated to a lady who is defiled before her wedding night. The raging acrimony between Odejimi and Lapade persist until Ogun festival where she finally accepts Odejimi as the choicest and lucky man amongst other suitors but without consequence.

Odejimi, one of the suitors seems to be lucky to have his marriage proposal approved by Awero but not in line with the cultural dictate as she has been deflowered before the night of verification. Yes, this seductive act brings shame and disgrace to her on one side, and a betrayal of trust to her family on the other hand as the marriage is naturally put on hold due to the cultural implication of immorality. This leads to an impending war between Agbede village and Aku village as Agbede people believe that it is Aku people that steal their value and dignity of their bride through Lapade. Obviously, both novel and the film introduce a valid twist as both the Awero and Odejimi make grievous mistakes; Awero is caught in the web of sexual immorality while Odejimi is found guilty of shooting Lapade on his left leg as he tries to frighten him. However, this accidental discharge by Odejimi against his rival is kept secret but later revealed to his best friend, Bogunde. In spite of the secret, Lapade is suspicious of Odejimi but without evidence to substantiate his suspicion. Since there is no evidence of indictment, both his father and elders of Aku village are helpless to punish Odejimi.

Both the play and the filmic version portray the cultural implications of the 80s where sexual sin before marriage is frowned at and attracts serious punishment on the part of the girl and the family. Awero is tricked into sex and is allowed to face disgrace which is not so in today's realities where defilement is part of civilization. Nevertheless, the novel and film share certain similarities in the use of characters, plot, setting and storyline. One interesting line of institutionalized slavery (besides the subject of civilization and the use of gun) that cut across both novel and film is taxation policy of government where men who have defaulted in paying their taxes regularly are arrested and properties are confiscated until the outstanding tax is paid. Implicatively, such taxation policy was introduced by the colonialist to exploit, extort and dehumanize and such still persist in different forms.

Naturalism is another unique feature seen in the adaption process of the novel to film. Those natural elements or features in the novel are only seen through imagination but are put in motion that is appreciated virtually in film. The fidelity that exists between the two genres is cordial "since they are both twin-arts within the naturalistic landscape" (Abiodun, 208).

Critically, the two genres reveal views of divergence and convergence in their narrativity. One apparent area of divergence is that, the language of the novel is dialogic which is to be read while film is visually expressed. This is succinctly expressed by George Bluestone when he says "between the percept of the visual image and the concept of the mental image lies the root difference between the two media" (50). However, the line of convergence is in the storyline that revolves around unchastity and the cultural responses to such at.

Creative writers	Literary text/year	Filmmaker	Film Adaptation/year
Chinua Achebe	Things Fall Apart (1958),	Francis Oladele	Bull Frog in the Sun
	No Longer at Ease (1960)		(1972)
Abubakar Tafawa	Shaihu Umar (The	Adamu Halilu	Shaihu Umar (1976)
Balewa	Nigerian Best-seller:A		
	novel about slavery in		
	Africa)		
Ladi Ladebo	Bisi Daughter of the River	Jab Adu	Bisi Daughter of the River
			(1977)
Elechi Amadi	Concubine 1966	Andy Amenechi	Concubine (2007)
Zulu Sofola	Wedlock of the Gods	Frank Rajah Arase	Wedlock of the Gods
	(1973)		(2007)
Akinwumin Isola	Oleku (1974),Koseegbe	Tunde Kelani	Efunsetan Aniwura,(1982)
	(1981), Efunsetan		Oleku (1997)
	Aniwura, saworoide,		Koseegbe (1995),
	Agogo Eewo and campus		Saworoide (1999), Agogo
	queen		Eewo (2002) and Campus
	Note: campus Queen &		Queen (2003).
	Saworoide are from film		
	to text.		
Wole Soyinka	Kongi' Harvest (1965)	Ossie Davies	Kongi' Harvest (1997)
	Lion and the Jewel (1963)	Tunde kelani	Sidi Ilujinle (2017)
Ola Rotimi	The Gods are not to	Funke Fayoyin	The Gods are not to
	Blame (1971)		Blame

List of Adapted films from literary texts

Herbert Ogunde	Aiye	Ola Balagun	Aiye (The World) (1979)
Bayo Adebowale	Virgin (1985)	Tunde Kelani	White handkerchief (1998) Narrow Path (2006)
Femi Osofisan	Maami (1987)	Tunde Kelani	Maami (2011)
Adebayo Faleti	Magun: The whore with Thunderbolt Aids (1998) Idaamu Paadi Minkailu Ija Ominira ()	Tunde Kelani Ola Balogun	Thunderbolt "Magun" (2001) Ina (1985) Ija Ominira (1979)
Uzodinma Iweala	Beast of No Nation (2005)	Cary Joji Fukunaga	Beast of No Nation (2015)
Chimamanda Adichie	Half of a yellow Sun (2007) Americanah (2013)	Biyi Bandele Uche Aguh	Half of a yellow Sun (2013) Americanah (2017)
Olayinka Egbokhare	Dazzling Mirage (2007)	Tuned Kelani	Dazzling Mirage (2015)
Ebi Akpeti	The perfect Church (2010)	Wale Adenuga	The Perfect Church (2011)
Jude Dibia	Walking with Shadow (2005)	Aoife O'Kelly	Walking with Shadow (2019)

These inexhaustible lists of literary works demonstrate the healthy relation that exist between literature and film as both genres (at one point or the other) depend on each other to tell creative stories. Mbiti 1966, observes that

Stories are to a certain extent the mirror of life; they reflect what the people do, what they think, how they live and have lived, their values, their joys and their sorrows. The stories are also a means of articulating man's response to his environment. (Adaora, 7)

The core idea here is that in the process of adapting and re-adapting, surely, there will be a remarkable presence of another text in a text, which make creative writers dependable allies

begging for relevance in this era of neoslavery of filmmaking that is culturally and technologically based.

Conclusion

Adaptation is one aspect of creativity that can only be traced to origin of man as well as the birth of literature and film. It is an on-going concept that both literary scholars and filmmakers will rely hugely on as "a necessary and inevitable facet of man's literary and artistic life" (206). The necessity and the inevitability here rest on the need to fall back to existing pool of ideas generated by one artist and another is at a time bereft of related and relevant idea to create what is known as original text. This healthy and inseparable relation between literature and film is good for the advancement of literary world which at the same time, promotes and projects Nigeria culture beyond the shores of Nigeria. To achieve this, certainly there is need for filmmakers to transit, transmute, recreate and transform from culturally enhanced existing text to a new cultural desired text using film as a different medium to reach larger audience.

Interestingly, for film adaptation to be genuine, strict adherence to the primary text is advocated especially when it has to do with straight adaptation where the title of the source is carried to the new text to maintain its patronage. However, the paper avers that film adaptation aids neoslavery in many ways as western cultures are consciously or unconsciously imposed on Nigerians through screen. In the work under review (*Virgin* adapted into *Narrow path*), Tunde Kelani in his creative prowess left many aspects of the novel untouched, obviously to juxtapose the socio-cultural realities of the past and the colonial imprint of the present thereby placing a wake-up call on all creative writers to use their creative pen to recreate the society on the path of social justice, freedom and cultural emancipation.

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