POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN NOVEL: A CASE OF WALE OKEDIRAN'S *TENANTS OF THE HOUSE* AND RICHARD ALI'S *CITY OF MEMORIES*

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ZARIA, NIGERIA

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN LITERATUREIN ENGLISH

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Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation entitled: POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN NOVEL: A CASE OF WALE OKEDIRAN'S *TENANTS OF THE HOUSE* AND RICHARD ALI'S *CITY OF MEMORIES* has been carried out by me in the Department of English and Literary Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. It has not been submitted in any previous application for another degree. All quotations are indicated and the sources of information are suitably acknowledged by means of references.

Animashaun, Blessing Mayowa	Signature	Date

Certification

This dissertation entitled POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN NOVEL: A CASE OF WALE OKEDIRAN'S *TENANTS OF THE HOUSE* AND RICHARD ALI'S *CITY OF MEMORIES* by ANIMASHAUN Blessing Mayowa meets the regulations governing the award of Masters in English Literature of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Prof. A.A Liman Chairman, Supervisory Committee	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Prof. A. Sani Member, Supervisory Committee	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Prof. Tajudeen .Y. Surakat Head of Department	_____ Signature	_____ Date
Prof. Sadiq .Z. Abubakar Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies	_____ Signature	_____ Date

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Elder Emmanuel BabalolaAnimashaun and MrsFunmilayo Helen Animashaun,who sacrificed their time and resources to see me through this program. Thank you.

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I appreciate God Almighty for keeping me through the period of my masters.

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Abstract

Literature overtime has always served the purpose of projecting the political realities of societies around the world. The African writer has been very much influenced by politics because the African intellectual is a part of the political elite. Thus, African literature has tended to reflect the political phases of the continent. This study therefore examines politics in contemporary Nigerian novel with particular reference to Wale Okediran's*Tenants of the House* and Richard Ali's *City of Memories*. It establishes the relationship between politics and literature by exploring how writers satirise the country or the political system/activities of the political class. It further projects how Nigerian politics has become a cesspool of corruption especially because politicians are motivated by the desire to get rich to the detriment of their followers. It also establishes politics as a never ending quest and a theme that runs through almost every literary work. In projecting the political issues that parade the Nigerian society, the study adopts Social Realism as a tool for its analysis. It investigates how the selected texts replicate the Nigerian political reality, an objective reality that projects everyday lived activity, a faithful representation or evaluation of life which is concealed in reality, and also showing the relationship between art and life in an aesthetic mode. The study like every post-colonial political discourse looks at how politics at the governmental level is played, with the thematic occupation of the two text understudy to show the daily activities of the political class from an insider perspective by portraying a true to life representation of events from a realist perspective to satirise the political elite and their activities in the struggle for power and to validate the potency of money and power in the Nigerian politics which later results to the loss of focus in governance and the effect of democracy and multi-party system in the country.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Literature is a creative activity that mirrors the society from which it is drawn. The experience that man faces in the society accounts largely for the thematic issues that characterize the concerns of writers. Ezeigbo (2008, P.4) contends that; "literature is an important means of understanding and interpreting aspects of society such as politics, religion, social conflict, class struggle and human condition". This assertion further suggests that literature helps man to further understand the society and its activities through its portrayal of realistic issues in literary works or novel. The Nigerian novel also stands out as an important means of understanding the afore-mentioned issues. Writers have continued to explore issues arising from their time, new and old alike. However, this study aims to look at politics in the Nigerian novel. The concept of "politics" is defined by Remi Anifowose (2008) as;

> The process of making, and execution of governmental decisions or policies; the authoritative allocation of values; or who gets what, when, and how; the quest for power, order and justice; the art of influencing and manipulating and controlling others; a process of resolution of conflict, in society and a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues. (p.1)

Remi in this quote, tries to put together all the different definitions given by different scholars to help understand the concept of politics. Politics also has to do with the negotiation, argument, discussion, application of force, persuasions through which issues are agitated or settled. Furthermore, Marx Weber contends that; "politics is the operation of the state and its institutions". This means that beyond the struggle for power, politics requires a systematic and

idealistic approach to the control and the distribution of power among individuals and groups within a state. It is to this postulation that Anifowose (2008, p.1) further argues that: men are engaged in politics, so as to define their positions in society, as they struggle for scarce resources and as they try to convince others to accept their point of view. 'Man is by nature a political animal' this is the argument of Aristotle in his work, 'Politics'. Ernest Baker (1962) in his book *The Politics of Aristotle*, comments that; Aristotle's argument that 'man is by nature a political animal', means that the essence of social existence is politics and that two or more men interacting with one another are invariably involved in a particular relationship. He further contends that the conclusion of Aristotle is that, the only way to maximize one's individual capabilities and to attain the highest form of social life was through political interaction with others in an institutionalized setting, a setting designed to resolve social conflicts and to set collective goals- the state'. This statement however relates to the concept of governance, as politics and governance are inter-related, as they both deal with the issue of power and its distribution. Governance according to 'Business Dictionary, is defined as the establishment of policies and continuous monitoring of their proper implementation, by the members of the governing body or an organization. It includes the mechanism required to balance the powers of the members and their primary duty includes enhancing the prosperity and viability of the organization. Governance is the frame work of rules and practices by which those in authority ensure accountability, fairness and transparency in their relationship with those they govern. Politics and governance in Nigeria has created a wealth of materials which Nigerian writers explore to project or portray the socio-political issues and happenings in Nigeria.

Right from the ancient times or the classical period, literature has served as a potent means of exploring political issues within the society. This implies that there has been a long

standing interplay between politics and literature as far as writing is concerned. Literature has always served the purpose of projecting the political realities of societies around the world. This possibility is subsumed within the broad spectrum of the utilitarian function that literature offers. Nigerian literature, like every other national literature, has always been concerned with issues that border on leadership and followership especially as it affects the development of the society. Chinua Achebe (1973, p.1) points out that the trouble with Nigeria is simply a failure of leadership. This postulation attest to the fact that most political novels border on the issue of leadership or ruler-ship in the country and this is why writers all over the world, in trying to meet certain mimetic expectations often explore political issues that pervade the political landscape; issues ranging from the struggle for power to mis-governance, corruption, inequality, unemployment and exploitation of the masses. Ngugi (1981, p.5) in *Writers in Politics* asserts that; "literature results from conscious acts of men in society. At the level of the individual arts, the very act of writing implies a social relationship: one is writing about somebody for somebody". He was of the opinion that, every writer, in his writing agitates for one thing or the other. He further states that: "Literature as a creative process and also as an end is conditioned by historical social forces and pressures. It cannot elect to stand above or to transcend economic, political, class, race or what is called the burning issues of the day..." (p.6). This is because literature draws from the society or mirrors the society and the situation that surrounds the society as stated above as 'the burning issues of the day'.

Economy, the political state of the country, issues of class and race, all these factors are located within the society and are evidence through man's interaction with one another in the society and all these issues emanate or are being generated from man's interaction with his fellow man. The writer as critic, eye-opener or revealer of social happenings in society, through

fictional works, projects these interactions and the issues that are being generated through these inactions as stated above. This, attests to the symbiotic relationship that exists between literature, the artist and society. The relationship between the artist, art and the society could be symbiotic where one depends on the other for ideas. The artist is fertilized by the society thereby situating him as a social crusader in this relationship whose basic commitment is to the integrity of his own work. Literature does not emanate from a vacuum as Ngugi wa Thiong'o captures in his *Homecoming* (1972) where he states: that Literature is "given impetus, shape, direction and even area of concern by social, political and economic forces in a particular society." This view gives a clearer picture of the relationship between the artist, art, and the society with emphasis on the didactic role of the Nigerian writer as a voice which should be heard.

Similarly, Ngugi explains the interface between literature and politics while justifying the title of his book *Writers in Politics* (1981, p.45) he asserts that; 'Whether or not he is aware of it, the writer in his work reflects one or more aspects of the intense economic, cultural and ideological struggles in a society. What he can choose is the side of the people or the side of those social forces and classes that try to keep the people down. What he or she cannot do is to remain neutral. This therefore implies that every writer is a writer in politics. The question is what and whose politics'. The Nigerian novel, overtime has played a fundamental role in its portrayal of societal happenings or issues. The novel form as a western tradition was adapted in Africa and thus used as a tool by writers in projecting societal controversies, and also to satirize the same society.

1.2 The Emergence of the Nigerian Novel

The novel is specifically, a western invention which started in Europe between the 17th and the 18th century, and was popularized in the English literary mainstream by writers such as Daniel Defoe, Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, Charles Dickens and a host of others. The novel is an extended narrative that is fictional but reconstructed from the full range of lived experience to assume a true-to-life representation. This form became more noticeable to Nigerians through their exposure to western influences and education, asserts Agbo (2011, p.21) in The Nigerian Novel and the Imperative of Good Governance.

The emergence of the Nigerian novel according to Laura (1990) can be traced to the influences of the western world, or colonization which has to a large extent, affected the oral culture of the country in the 8th century AD, with the advent of Arabic ideas and culture in Africa or Nigeria in particular. Written and spoken Arabic flourished in northern Nigeria between the 14th century to the 17th century. Within this period, many works or writings in Hausa were translated to Arabic. Laura further posits that the 19th century marked the advent of Christian missionaries, which accelerated the importance of western education in Nigeria. During this period, the novel genre was brought into Africa and Nigeria in particular, and was adapted into the Nigerian landscape, to blend with the sensibilities of the existing culture of the people located there. This gave rise to the Nigerian novel. Writers like D.O. Fagunwa and Isaac Delano, wrote novels promoting the missionaries and the teachings of Christian religion which are however fused with their ancestral folktales. Ajuwon (1985) asserts that, "Faguna's pieces in particular show an extensive use of proverbs, riddles, traditional jokes and other lore central to the Yoruba belief"'. This exemplifies the style of writing at the early stage of fictional prose writings, where oral traditions are being translated into the written form.

Apparently, 1930 marked the development of novel form in Nigeria, in the various part of the country, with writings embodied with magical characters of humans and fairies. Laura (1990) states, that this fictional form of writing was classified as 'non-realistic novel', due to the large usage of folktales. However, with the founding of the university college of Ibadan in 1948, there was a major transition in literary style of the Nigerian novel, from fantasy to realism. This was as a result of the emerging educated scholars, who were educated in the western tradition at the university. Conferences, journals and newspapers were used to trigger this writing to realism, and the novel-writing competition organized by the ministry of education in 1963 played a tremendous role, as a form of reinforcement for the development of the Nigerian novel. Fictional writing in this period focused on themes like; religious manipulation, corruption, inequality and justice, with writers employing human characters and concrete symbols for their writings. This therefore translated to the emergence of different generations of writers with different views, ideology and style in the display or portrayal of their own contemporary realities.

Agho (2011, p.14), classified the development of Nigerian fiction into three different groups; the first generation, the second generation and the third generation of Nigerian writers.Nnolim (2010:204-206) in his book *Approaches to the African Novel*, also classified the development of the Nigerian novel and the novelist in to three generations. The first generation writers of Nigerian prose fiction concentrated more on the themes of cultural-conflict as portrayed in T.M. Aluko' *One Man, One Matchet*and Achebe' first three novels *Things Fall Apart, Arrow of God and No Longer at Ease.* Achebe's text *Thing Fall Apart*, his first publication is quite different from that of Aluko's which was published within the same period. Unlike Achebe, Aluko,s*One Man, One Matchet* laments the influence of tribalism, through vigorous caricature and broad comedy, he highlights the key political problems facing Nigeria

during the transition period of independence. Aluko in this work is being critique for his 'assimilation' of the colonial attitudes and literary styles. Fanon (Qtd in James Booth 1981, p.82), comments thus; 'In the first phase, the native intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the occupant colonizers. His writings correspond point by point with those of the mother country… this is an unqualified assimilation.

From the assertion, Aluko's style of writing, echo British models and tradition of H.G. Well's social novels. *One Man, One Matchet*set in 1949. James Booth contends, that Aluko's text, 'concerns the handing on of authority by white colonial administrators to a black successor', which is the major concern or situation in Nigeria at the time. Other writers of this period include; Flora Nwapa, OnouraNzekwe, John Munonye, ElechiAmadi and Christopher Okigbo. These writers try to establish an identity rooted in the cultural and traditional heritage of Nigeria, which had previously been tainted by the colonial experience. This group or generation according to Nnolim (2010, p.196), laid the foundation for other writers and they are classified as 'anti-colonial writers'. Obiechina (1983, p.31) comments that, 'political independence is meaningless without cultural independence, for only the cultural values of the people can inspire them with a national pride, give them a separate identity and something to live or die for'. From the foregoing statement it is important to note that the responses to colonialism and the oppression of the people of Africa and Nigeria in particular were both politically and intellectually waged. However, during this period, the rift between the political class and the writers as members of the intelligentsia has not manifested. As such, the fight for the attainment of political independence in Nigerian novels in this phase is called novels of cultural affirmation. It was within this resultant tradition of cultural nationalist literature that the Nigerian novel found a prominent role.

The second generation of writers in the development of Nigerian novel, is termed 'the modern corps'. This is because novels in this category are characterized by the sense of disillusionment in urban settings. Writers of this generation contends Nnolim (2010), thought that the fight for the glorification of the black image and culture by the first group of writers will symbolize the beginning of a new kind of writing. Such writing was seen as one that will express support for the political class for the foundation laying of political independence after the departure of the colonialist, from Nigeria. This group of writers feeling disillusioned, reflect in their novels the true state of affairs in Nigeria after the civil war. This group also strove for change through their novelistic commitment, thereby foregrounding the role of the writer. This group gave rise to the evolution of social and political office and the problem of bad leadership, poverty, mismanagement, corruption and the increase in crime rate, youth restiveness, inequality and the rise of ethnic militias. Writers under this category are; Festus Iyayi, Femi Osofisan, SonalaOlumhense, Bode Sowande, LaboYari, Zainab Alkali, AbubakarGimba, Ibrahim Tahir, OluObafemi and MuhammedSule.

The generation that emerged after the second generation of writers in the development of the novel genre in Nigeria is the contemporary writers. These writers extend the ideologies of fictional tradition in Nigeria on social and political issues parading the country, as regard to the activities of the political elite, showcasing the disillusionment of the political elite, the struggle of disfranchised masses, portrays thematic concern on 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. These generations of writers follow the footsteps of the second generation writers in showcasing socio-political issues of individualism, inequality, gender related and socio-culture issues. Contends Agho (2011). These writers according to Nnolim (2010) include; Chimamand aNgozi Adichie, Ben Okri, Bandele Thomas, Helen Oyeyemi, Helon Habila, Chris

Abani, Wale Okediran, Richard Ali, Joseph Mangut, Sefi Atta, Mohammed Tukur Garba, Hauwa Ali, Kenny Fayemi, Nnedi Okorafor, Moses Abwa, Yahaya Dangana, Ibrahim Sheme, Abdullahi Doki, Ahmed Yerima and others. These contemporary writers and the older generations, draw from the socio-political happenings in their contemporary society at the time. It is not possible to write about the emergence and development of the Nigerian novel without tracing the internal bloom that gave it, its raw materials, which is the Nigerian history. The socio-political situation past and present in Nigeria has laid the foundation and has also helped in the development of the Nigerian novel form.

1.3 Nigerian Socio-Political Situation Past and Present

Nigeria in 1901 became a British protectorate. Colonization in Nigeria lasted till 1960, when an independence movement succeeded in gaining Nigeria her independence. According to James Booth (1981), Independence in Nigeria was subsumed as another form of cultural neo-colonialism as the elected Nigerians, wears the shoes left behind by the colonizers. This brought about issues like; disillusionment on the part of the masses, dashed hopes, and neo-colonialism gave room for capitalist system, a system naturally concerned with the economic and political development that serves the economic interest of the political class and not of the country at large. For Booth, Independence in Nigeria did not bring about any radical change in the unhappy state of independence. Davidson (1974) comments that, 'the neo-colonial lesson is that economic hegemony need have no quarrel with the trappings of political self-rule'. The bourgeoisie, entrenched at the time of independence in its political domination of the new nation, continues as before to function as commissioned middle men with ingenious passion for the luxurious accessories of life as lived in the developed world. The resources of the nation instead of being devoted to the essentials of civilized life such as social services and public amenities go largely

to feed the private whims of the elite. As Fanon contends; 'large sums are spent on display: on car, country houses, and on all those things which have been justly described by economists as characterizing an under-developed bourgeoisie'. This becomes a central theme in Nigerian literature like Nkem Nwankwo's *My Mercedes is Bigger than Yours* portrays this betrayal of the new nation by the bourgeoisie. Many writers likewise have experimented or written on various themes like corruption, mismanagement of government, urban destitution, lack of social security and a host of others. These thematic concerns are also portrayed in Achebe's *A Man of the People*, Aluko's *One Man, One Matchet* and Soyinka's *Season of Anomy* (1973).

The political upheavals of the 1966-1970, argues Booth (1981) demonstrated in all its complexity, the interaction between the national problems of post-colonial dependence, corruption, tribalism and disunity. The military activity described as 'political action' by the Nigerian government, was the beginning of a war that sent over a million Nigerians to their graves, and left a huge scar which is yet to fully heal, since the war ended in January 1970. For several years after the 1975 elections, the problems facing the country were many and disturbing. The politicians or political elite of this period were powerful foreign inventors and the capital lenders in relation to the western world, who exercise their influence on the country through this political class, where useful development plans which fails to serve the interest of the politicians where distorted. This however led to the enthronement of the military into power. Major C.K. Nzeogwu in James O. Ojiako's*13 Years of Military Rule* argues that: 'we seized power to stamp out tribalism, nepotism and regionalism…' Adeoti (2003), also asserts that; the arrival of military rule at the initial stage was celebrated as messiahs to the rescue of the policy from corrupt politicians, but later became 'vampires' themselves. Political related issues in 1960s to 1990s reveals that, 'the military had no solution to the myriad of problems that it intervened to

tackle such as a parlous economy, decayed infrastructure, poverty, corruption, ethno-religious conflicts and nepotism among other ills'.

The period 1966-1979, was characterized by military intervention in Nigerian history and the civil war marked the cultural and tribal conflict in the country that brought about the destruction of lives and resources, which still resides in the subconscious of Nigerians till date. Okri comment thus, 'a people are diminished by the nightmare they do not come to terms with'. This ascertains the claim that the effort of the people or country to come to terms with the Nigerian civil war and the agonies it brought on the individuals, has led to the impressive spawning of books about the conflict and the circumstances that led to it. Undenta (1993) states that;

> The Nigerian civil war, provided and still continues to provide for our writers, a …broad canvass where socio-aesthetic ideologies are tested. These literary responses, motely complexioned and contradict as they orientate and situate themselves within specific ideo-political matrices all contributing towards the elucidation of the complexes and agonies whose signifying aura is the very society that gives them being.

One factor that has helped in the development of Nigerian literature since independence is ironically, the Nigerian civil war. During and after this period of war, novels have been written about the fratricidal conflict. Writers like Chinua Achebe, IsidoreOpkewho, Wole Soyinka, Festus Iyayi, Ken Saro-wiwa, ChimamandaNgoziAdichie and many others have written from different political and ideological perspectives concerning the war.

Nigerian society has passed through different socio-political phases at the course of time or history which are showcased in the Nigerian novels. Another event in the Nigerian history is the oil boom of 1971 to 1977. Furthermore, political instability especially since 1990s made

difficult for the successive governments to implement economic policies and address pressing problems. In view of this, political stability and good governance keeps eluding the country with increasing societal violence, poverty, frustration and galloping inflation, which are in occurrence in the country till date. The Nigerian experience has made Nigerian writers to adopt the language of a left-wing activism, as Lukacs in a seminal comment that, 'the meaning of contemporary realism distinguishes between art which arises as an organic, subjective response to the author's society, and that which sets out explicitly to analyze society'. Writers in their writings project social happenings within his/her immediate environment or society, either from a realistic perspective, a feminist perspective or a Marxist view, they are representations of socio-political opinions of the writer. Achebe contends that; 'it is clear to me that an African creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of the contemporary Africa will end up being completely irrelevant like that absurd man in the proverb who leaves his house burning to pursue a rat fleeing from the flames'. This however, shows the fundamental role of the writer in reflecting the on-going issues in society, through his work. Contemporary Nigerian literature which is here used to refer to the period between 1999 to 2017, discuss the issue of politics and the disillusionment of the masses. Literature as a mirror that reflects society, it draws from the various experiences and realities of each political regime. Thus, this study aims at investigating how the intricacies of politics are portrayed through the selected text using Socialist realism as its theoretical frame work.

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

This research focuses on politics in the Nigerian novel. Scholars have devoted their time in discussing politics in the Nigerian novel, some of which have looked at it from the perspective of power, corruption, ethnicity, cultural differences, economics, class struggle, unemployment

and human condition to mention but a few. Novels in Nigerian literature capture the contemporary issues that define the lives of Nigerians, the struggles of the masses against poverty and political manipulations. However, less attention has been given to how politics and governance are played by the elites. Wale Okediran who was once a member of the Nigerian parliament is captured to portray how politics is played by the legislatives and the representatives in the state house, and Richard Ali's portrays the activities of the political class in its struggle for power which later led to loss of focus. This therefore in general provides the intellectual base for this study to explore new phases to discuss politics as it relates to the individual's play on politics from a social realism perspective, using Richard Ali's *City of Memories* and Wale Okediran's*Tenants of the House*. The study expresses the fact that the two texts under study have been subjected to a number of themes building around issues like 'Semantic analysis of Tenants of the House', 'Syntagmas of human Sexuality and its Socio-political Essence in *Tenants of the House*', and 'Post-colonial Conflict in Africa; a study of *City of Memories*', 'the theme of love; in *City of Memories*'. However, within the texts are issues touching on the political situation in Nigeria, and yet those issues have remained understudied. It is in the light of these, that the study seeks to explore *Tenants of the House* and *City of Memories*, through the analytical frame work of social realism in order to show the treatment and presentation of political issues in the contemporary Nigerian novel. The study is therefore premised on the following propositions:

i. Contemporary Nigerian novels can be explored through an insider view on politics of the state.
ii. The selected texts for this study are imbued with instances of how a political system can corrupt or influence a well-intentioned politician.

iii. Social realism is a viable frame work for exploring the reality of contemporary political issues as expressed in contemporary Nigerian novel.

1.5 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to look at how contemporary Nigerian novelists have portrayed politics. It sets out to achieve the following objectives:

i. To demonstrate that literary texts are a viable means of voicing out and reflecting the political reality of contemporary Nigeria.
ii. To explore the extent to which contemporary Nigerian politicians are negatively influenced by the quest for wealth at the expense of the wellbeing of the masses.
iii. To show that social realism is a viable framework for exploring issues highlighted in contemporary novels.

1.6 Scope and Delimitation

The Nigerian novel reflects or attempts to narrate the Nigerian experience starting from the pre-colonial period to the contemporary times. This study however is limited to a genre of literature "prose". The study will pay attention to the intricacies of politics in Nigeria and how writers explore this in their texts/novels. Though there have been an ample number of novels that has been published in Nigeria, this study is limited to two works of fiction: Wale Okediran's *Tenants of the House* (2009) and Richard Ali's *City of Memories* (2012). The study, is of the view that the selected texts provide adequate information about the intricacies of socio-political issues in Nigeria.

1.7 Justification of the Study

Previous research/ critical works on politics in Nigerian literature tended to focus on aspects of politics such as; corruption, ethnicity, religious inequality, unemployment to mention but a few. The justification of this study lies in the fact that it gives a new insight as to how the contemporary Nigerian novel particularly Wale Okediran's*Tenants of the House* and Richard Ali's *City of Memories* project or approach issues characterizing the Nigerian political landscape. The study offers an extensive analysis of the selected text thus pointing out the aesthetic and stylistic peculiarities that the writers employ in their attempt to reflect issues in contemporary Nigerian society.

This work adds to existing perspectives on the treatment of the theme of politics across the historical epoch within the Nigerian literary enterprise with its use of Socialist realism for its discussion as it relates to the texts. It will look at the different factors that contribute to corrupt an individual within the text, by extension, the Nigerian society. This study also contributes to the efforts of critics and scholars who portray politics in Nigerian literature generally. The study provides insight into the political terrain or history of Nigeria and thus, serves as a repository of knowledge in Nigerian literature and politics.

1.8 Methodology

this research adopts qualitative research method which according to Lisa Given (2008, p.699) is a composite of philosophy, concepts, data-gathering procedures and statistical methods that provide perherps the mostthorughly elaborated basis for the systematic examination of human subjectivity. The study, through the analytical lens of Social Realismpusues a truthful or faithful, accurate evaluation of life; which is concealed in reality language, content, the use of descriptive

and evocative detail; the inclusion of characters and incidents from all social strata, dealing not merely with rulers and nobility; focusing on the present and choosing topics from contemporary life rather than longing for some idealized past and directness, and simplicity of expression will be employed. Also, secondary materials such as books, internets sources and journals will be consulted.

1.9 Organization of Chapters

This study comprises five chapters: chapter one is the background, statement of research problem, aim and objectives, justification of study, scope and delimitation, research methodology. Chapter two focuses on the theoretical framework, and the review of literatures on politics and good governance, the relationship with literature in general but the novel in particular. Chapter three explores the political reality in Wale Okediran's *Tenants of the House*, while chapter four, employs the Politics in Richard Ali's City of Memories: A Signification of Power Drunkenness and Political Manipulation of the Political Elites. Chapter five is the conclusion of whole study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Realism as Analytical Framework

Social Realism was an art movement brought on by the industrial Revolution in Europe and the Great Depression in America. It took place in the 20th century and around the globe. Social refers to the people in the society and realism refers to the way these people were portrayed in each medium. Writers and novelist created art that represented the everyday lives of common, working folks. They share the concepts of Realism that can be defined primarily as political and critical practices that underpin the cultural events represented in art works and later in graphical novels.

Realism as a movement, arose in many parts of Europe and in America, beginning in the 1840s. The major figures included Flaubert and Balzac in France, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy in Russia, George Eliot and Charles Dickens in England, as well as William Dean Howells and Henry James in America. However, Realism is not a new phenomenon, and its history can be traced back to writers such as Defoe, Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Aquinas to many of the classical thinkers such as Aristotle.

In literature, the novelist Honoré de Balzac was the chief precursor of realism, given his attempt to create a detailed, encyclopedic portrait of the whole range of French society in his La comédiehumaine. (Encyclopedia Britannica).Baron and Engel (2010) argues that realism, is a representation of reality, an objective reality that projects everyday lived activity. Klarer (1999, p.71) further buttress this point in his description of realism as the movement which tries to truthfully describe 'reality' through language. It is the accurate, detailed, embellished depiction of nature or of contemporary life. It attempts to describe life without any kind of idealization or

romantic notion. But this reflection was now made in different economic and political conditions, in new relations, in the midst of a new ideology, unknown to or unassimilated by the writers and artists of critical realism. The 'artistic method' of social realism refers to the attitude of the writer towards reality and the fundamental principles by which a writer is led into reflecting this reality in literary works, which comprise his artistic method. Every artistic method has its own special features.

Social realism is modelled on the theories of art historians such as T.J. Clark, Linder Nochlin and the political writings of BertoldBretch and George Lukacs on Marxist-based concepts of realism developed in the inter-war years of the 1930s. Social Realism in literary works or specifically prose fiction has been a long tradition employed by African writers, particularly Nigerian novelist in their works, since Nigerian literature is politically and socially committed. African writers and critics see their primary task as that of using artistic compositions to illuminate the fundamental character and conditions of African reality. The more dominant tradition in Nigerian prose fiction is the realistic novel and the pioneers of this mode of writing in Nigeria includes Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Ben Okri and many others.

Social Realism is opposed to abstract art, formalism and 'art for art sake', all of which are considered to be bourgeois and decedent. They wanted to show how the world really was and not how artists of the past, including impressionists and abstract artists, made it out be. Consequently, artistic representation should reflect real life of the common people. Romantic frivolous notions were discarded for the gritty, harsh characteristics that defined the world after the industrial Revolution and great depression. The artist should go further, not only interpret the real world, but also endeavor to change it by moralizing.

Social realism inherited and developed further the main principles of realism of the 19th century, that of presenting true, faithful reflection of life, as Realism employs objective representation of real world and a truthful, accurate evaluation of life, which is concealed in reality. Social realism was a vehicle for artist to discuss the current social and economic situations in their countries. According to Alison (1990), art should portray things as they really are, objectively and concretely. To achieve this aim, realists resorted to a number of strategies: the use of descriptive and evocative detail; to which Morris (2003) contends thus, 'realism shows the relationship between art and life and is an aesthetic mode which broke with the classical demands of art to show life as it should be in order to show life as it is'. This assertion corresponds to the descriptive and evocative details of life and the country or society so as to portray vividly, a true-to-life picture. According to Bretch (ibid, p.25), Realism is the truthful representation of life made useful and suggestive to the people. Bretch sees the people as the sole markers of history and the only agents of social change. Literature that is meant for them shouldtherefore be popular. For Bretch, a writer can borrow from any source and from any period so as to create a living reality to the people. Literature can be realistic if it depicts the views of the working class and the masses who are numerically the dominant class in any given society.

Social realism developed as a reaction against idealism and the exaggerated ego encouraged by Romanticism. Consequences of the industrial revolution became apparent; urban centers grew, slums proliferated on a new scale contracting with the display of wealth of the upper classes. With a new sense of social consciousness, the social realists pledged to 'fight the beautiful art', any style which appealed to the eye or emotions, they want to create art that gives accurate portrayal of the scene and characters without embellishments.

This further shows that Social realism like Realism focuses on the quality of individual's life, his daily activities and this is why in realism, character is always more important than plot. The language employed by realist is those used and understood by average man. But the tone maybe comic and satiric in nature, without ornamentation or decorative language so as to reflect a valid and faithful representation of life. To the realist novelist, the correspondence of fiction to actual life has become the central aim of literary creation. (Henry 1963).

Realistic fiction is often opposed to romantic fiction. The romance is said to present life as we would have it more picturesque, more adventurous, more heroic than the actual. The avoidance of what was fantastical, imaginary, and mythical; adhering to the requirements of probability, and excluding events which were impossible or improbable. A thorough going realism involves not only a selection of subject matter but- more importantly- a special literary manner as well, art work that points to political and economic corruption. The subject is represented, or 'rendered' in such a way to give the reader the illusion of actual and ordinary experience. Structuralist critics claim that the technique used by a realistic author are in fact purely literary conventions and codes which the reader interprets, or naturalize, so as to make the work seem a reflection of everyday reality, a reality of how the poor are living and the flaws in human nature.

One major aim of social realism is the inclusion of characters and incidents from all social strata, dealing not merely with rulers and nobility; focusing on the present and choosing topics from contemporary life rather than longing for some idealized past. Realist sets out to write a fiction which give the illusion that it reflects life and the social world as it seems to the common reader. To achieve this, author prefers as protagonist an ordinary citizen of Middletown, living on main street; perhaps, and engaged in real estate business, who has lived through

ordinary experiences of childhood, adolescence, love, marriage, parenthood, infidelity and death; who finds life rather dull and often unhappy, though brightened by touches of beauty and joy. In Gorky's view, such a hero should be 'dynamic, active and positive but not above the other characters. Such hero should be intellectually more adept but must be seen to be on the same social pedestal as the others'. Socialist realism, places emphasis on the social rather than the individual or seeing the individual as a social being. Other tenets include; refraining from the use of elevated language, in favor of more colloquial idioms and everyday speech, as well as directness and simplicity of expression.

All of these aims and strategies were underlain by an emphasis on direct observation, factuality, experience, and induction which helps the reader of such text to arrive at general truths on the basis of repeated experience. However, despite the scope of social realism and its comparatively wide grasp of life's problem, there are a good deal that the realist art could not achieve (Markov 1984, p.145). The aesthetic framework of Realism is artistic truthfulness. The truthfulness of Realism in all its manifestations is not something abstract or static: the concept of artistic truthfulness is subject to historical development. Nikolayez (1975, p.226) noted that artistic truthfulness is intrinsic not merely to realism, but also in the arts of other schools. Hence, Nikolayze suggest instead of the term 'truthfulness', 'faithfulness' should replace it. By this he seeks to underline the specific implications of the most important law of realist typification- Faithfulness of representation or reproduction of typical characters in typical circumstances.

The choice of Social Realism as analytical framework for the study is anchored on the conviction that it gives a clear and vivid depiction of the socio-economic and political reality in the society, which the research sets out to address. The portrayal of artistic truth and historical concreteness which Realism recommends necessitates its choice for the study. Literature as a

mirror of the society, reflecting realties as received. Wale Okediran and Richard Ail as novelists through their thematic preoccupation with political and economic contradictions of their society clearly identified them as dedicated literary representatives of their generation. Hence, in the face of betrayal by the ruling elite, the corruption that bedeviled the society, the novelist under study as realist, make central the portrayal of the basic issues and problems affecting their society. From the standpoint of social realism, the novels *Tenants of the House* and *City of Memories* by Wale Okediran and Richard Ail respectively are principally concerned with creating social awareness through a conscious ideological commitment for social progress and development. Their personal experiences with the strangulation of their peoples' economy, political ineptitude of their leaders, socio-economic forms the fundamental motivation behind their works.

2.2 Reviews of Related Literature on Politics

This study explores how Nigerian novelists in their fictional works have responded to political issues in their society. In this section, the study examines the views of other political novels that project the Nigerian political and economic issues in the country. Writers overtime have portrayed the issues of politics, through the various genres of literature as a means of projecting the political issues prevalent in the country. Several political issues in Nigerian literature have been raised and discussed by critics side by side the prevailing issues in contemporary Nigerian politics. This research focuses on the complexities of governance in contemporary Nigerian society and how these complexities inform or shape the thematic concerns in contemporary Nigerian literature. This chapter reviews critical works on the relationship between literature and politics in general and Nigerian fiction and politics in particular. It focuses on the system of governance in Nigeria and how writers through their literary output have projected this issue, through fictional characters.

Concept of Governance according to Omotoso (2004), refers to the use of political powers to manage a nation's public affairs and to shape its economic and social environment in line with perceived notions of public interest and societal process. Omotoso (2014, P.1798) sees good governance as the ability of the political elite to manage the nation's affairs, in consideration of the public interest, economic and societal resolution. However, Boeninger (1992, P.267) argues that good governance encompasses the just exercise of authority, the ability for problem solving, conflict resolution, the capacity for efficient management of resources for development and a high level of responsiveness to the needs and interest of the general populace. Boeninger's idea of good governance revolves around the structure and functioning of the state, its relationship with civil society and its role in development. The idea of good governance is not so much preoccupied with specific objectives and ends of states power in relation to the governed. Both Omotosho and Boeninger's views on good governance are all-inclusive, however, Omotosho's emphasis on the what he calls the "political elite" suggests that good governance requires a kind of managerial skill while Boeninger's emphasis seems to go beyond the ability to resolve conflicts and solve problems to a "just exercise of authority". Landell-Mills and Saraqeldin (1992, P.310), bring in the element of "legitimacy" to our idea of good governance as they argue that good governance depend on the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as: Legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver, public services, able to create and enabling environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct. The views above share the element of all-inclusiveness in common, in other words the

sensitivity of leaders to the interest of the people and the just exercise of authority as demanded by the law are essential elements that makes good governance possible.

Relationship between literature and politics centers on the power of the artist to observe some political phenomena and records them with the intention of changing either the people's attitudes and also proposing alternative course of action through the instrumentality of his art. (Adeniran, 1994, P.6) To these end, writers through literature have always served as a watchdog in societies. In fact, Adeniran asserts that the ability of the artist (or writer) is limitless as far as imparting on general consciousness is concerned. This is why Barzunian in Adeniran (1994, P.4) states that:

> Art is power. It influences the mind, the nerves, the feelings, the soul. It carries message of hope, hostility, derision, and moral rebuke. It can fight material and spirited evils, and transmit the ideals of a community now living, long past or soon to be born. In a word, Art is deemed universally important because it helps men to live and to remember.

This highlights the utilitarian function of literature and its ability to conscientise. "Literature, as a work of art, offers a vast reservoir of human experience and a judgment of experience, a development of imagination and entry into human situations . . ." (Enright 1969). Writers have continued to tap into these potentials as a means of exploring issues in societies across time. Contemporary Nigerian novels are pervaded with numerous political issues that characterize the Nigerian Political Landscape. Achebe in Palaver (1974) asserts that "what you do as a writer depends on the state of your society . . ." This means that a writer's duty is to create social awareness and awaken the people in a society where few people hold power and run the economy while a majority suffer exploitation, injustice and oppression. He is regarded as an interpreter, a spokesman and a defender of the society. These roles –it seems –make it essential

that any good writer that wants to express commitment must be conscious and dedicated to his society. This is why Chukwuma (1991) agrees that:

> The novelist is the conscience of his age. He manifests a high sensibility in the individual in society and scoops out those aspects of the system that choke and intimidate him from which he has no relief. He shows a sharp consciousness of the events of here and now, the world of today. His responsibility as a writer is to make his readers more aware of their environment and the attendant problems . . .

The need to exhibit a sense of responsibility by making "his readers more aware of their environment and the attendant problems" is what has and still makes Nigerian novelists to project the attendant problems anchored on politics as it relates to governance in their novels, especially issues that border on the challenges of leadership in Nigeria. This research looks at how Nigerian politics is played in the Fourth Republic and how it is portrayed differently from other political novels of the past, that is, from an insider perspective, portraying a true-to-life picture of political activities in Nigerian politics and the consequences of Democracy in the country.

The history of Nigerian politics is a string of complex experiences characterized by consistent military interventions. After independence, 'the country became a cesspool of corruption and misrule in the context of the emergent elitist middle class and the general population'. (Heywood, 1975, p.82) The explosion of this cesspool eventually led to the emergence of military rule and the overthrow of the civilian system of government. The quest for true leadership has continued to inform the thematic interest of Nigerian writers. Writers have made it a point of duty –in the spirit of 'commitment' –to advocate for good governance using the various genres of literature. Ayo (2008, p.334) asserts that 'the quest for a true political leader for the country, as depicted in post-independence Nigerian literature has become a near obsession as it is orgiastic'. In respect to this, Ogunde (1991, p.1) posits that, 'there is a sense in

which every literary work is a response to a definite historical and socio-political condition'. Obviously, Ayo and Ogunde agree that writers assume a responsibility of mirroring society, projecting the contemporary political predicaments in the society through their literary output. The constant thematic pre-occupation of every literary writer, is to showcase the events or happenings in his/her society. This is why Fischer (1975, p.496) argues that literature is born of reality and acts back upon reality. The same sentiment is expressed, somewhat more trenchantly, by Chinweizu and Madubuike (1975). They argue that:

> The function of the artist in Africa, in keeping with our traditions and needs, demands that the writer, as a public voice, assume a responsibility to reflect public concerns in his writings, and not preoccupy himself with his puny ego. Because in Africa we recognize that art is in the public domain, a sense of social commitment is mandatory for the artist. That commitment demands that the writer pay attention to his craft, that he not burdens the public with unfinished or undecipherable works. It also demands that his theme be germane to the concerns of his community. (pp. 78-79)

Summarily, all these assertions envision the role of the writer, in showcasing the realities of their society or country as a means of advocating for change. The emergence or evolution of Nigerian Political novels is as a result of the disillusionment, unfairness and unfaithfulness to the people by the political class and the regular 'sit-tight syndrome' in Nigerian politics. According to Ngugi (1975, p.47), 'the disillusionment with the ruling elite is to be found in the recent works of most African writers'. The Nigerian history in relation to politics and governance, has produced literary works or novels that discuss the Nigerian political predicament in relation to governance and the political class. Achebe's *A Man of the People* (1966) is a good example of such political novels. It is one of the most dramatic recreations of the political scene in Nigeria after independence. The country is unnamed in the novel and can, with equal relevance, apply to the situation in many African countries in the sixties. According toIkiddeh (1976, p.164) With an

earthy, satiric realism which remains deceptively comic in much of the novel, Achebe captures, in the flamboyant career of Chief the Honorable M.A. Nanga, M.P., the blatant excesses and depravity of a man who represents a governing clique determined to perpetuate its power through intimidation. Medubi (2012) states that the novel, *A Man of the People* by Chinua Achebe:

> is set in the political era of the first republic of Nigeria's history. It is described both as a very funny satire and a modern comedy. It provides a study into the problem of corruption among the political class, and the complacence and connivance of the people who constitute the masses. To Achebe, politics in Nigeria has been reduced to nothing more than a farce played by an unconscionable group of politicians aided by an undiscerning public (p.55)

For Medubi, Achebe in his novel discusses the Nigerian situation after independence and the corrupt practices of the political class, their materialistic behavior in coveting the nation's wealth for their own personal interest and the nonchalant attitude or the ignorance and/or compliance of the people toward the corruption displayed by the political class. Macheka (2014), in his review of the text, has a similar view. He comments thus:

> Achebe portrays a post-colonial African society that has come to accept institutionalized corruption and nepotism. The society realizes the hypocrisy of its leadership but it is silent about it. Nepotism and corruption become familiar problems of the African society. Achebe is suggesting this in his text *A Man of the People*, for nepotism is cheered at public meetings; people use positions to enrich themselves…

Madubi and Macheka, both have the same view in their analysis of Achebe's *A Man of the People*. Notwithstanding, Mecheka's review of the text includes the issue of nepotism to his analysis of the text through the characters of Nanga and Odili who both are from the same clan, which portrays the interest of Nanga for Odili in the novel. Overtime there has been an interplay between politics and nepotism in Nigerian politics which has also contributed to the problem of the country. Madubi and Macheka, also try to portray the political problems facing the country,

which Achebe showcases in his text. Duerden and Pieterse (1972:13), on the other hand, argue that the novel reflects the distaste for post-independence Nigeria as a place where leaders who had fought for independence become traitors after attaining power, and sacrificed their country in exchange for middle-class comfort. The analysis of Duerden and Pieterse do not discuss the ignorance or nonchalant attitude on the part of the masses, nor see the theme of nepotism in the text but their major focus is on the theme of corruption and disillusionment. Achebe's *A Man of the People*, comments Amuta (1983, p.92) realistically depicts, in rather cynical terms, the excesses of corrupt politicians, the dilemma of misguided intellectuals as well as the cynicism and helplessness of a hypnotized populace. For Amuta, the novel satirise the excessiveness of the politicians and the predicament of the masses.

Like Achebe's *A Man of the People*,Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreters*, (1967) according to Obi (1990, p.404) are two novels that have the theme of disillusionment in common. According to him, novels in this tradition, engage post-independence African reality in a critical way. *The Interpreters* by Soyinka, portrays the reality of the Nigerian society after independence. Through the eyes of a group of graduates, we encounter the disillusionment that characterise post-independent Nigeria. The two texts; *A Man of the People*and*The Interpreters,* satirize politicians and chastise bureaucrats. The heroes in these disillusionment novels are generally drawn from the intelligentsia. The intellectuals assume as their historical mission, the task of dragging their countries out of the mess into which the politicians have plunged them. According to Eisenstadt (1970) This is a view that is echoed in most of the mainstream literature in the sociology and politics of development. Where the novels depict anti-intellectualism, is a condition seen through the eyes of pompous and insecure politicians like Achebe's Prime Minister, who regards intellectuals as "decadent stooges versed in text-book [scholarship] and

aping the white man's mannerisms" (Achebe, 1966, pp. 3-4). However, elsewhere, Achebe expresses doubt in the ability of the intellectual class to uphold their moral idealism as alternative rulers in a basically corrupt society. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784518) However, the concern in most Nigerian literary corpus as Babajo and Aule (2015, pp.26-27) comment, is to express the political quagmire the country has been webbed in. The logic of the Nigerian political leadership class has been that of self-service as some of the leaders are mired in the pursuit of selfish and personal goals, at the expense of broader national interests. Consequently, emphasis has been on personal 'aggrandisement' and self-glorification with the result that corruption has become a euphemism for explaining political leadership in Nigeria especially in relation to the management of national wealth. Ogbeide (2012), attest to this in his statement that:

> It is an incontrovertible fact that corruption has been the bane of Nigeria's development. Thus, without mincing words, the phenomenon has ravaged the country and destroyed most of what is held as cherished national values. Unfortunately, the political class saddled with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the country have been the major culprit in perpetrating this act". (p.3)

This postulation by Ogbeide means that corruption in Nigeria by the political class became a means of self-development, through the importation of western goods and services into the country to satisfy their greed which is displayed in the mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds. This became a major catalyst leading to the destruction of the moral standard and value of the nation. Thus, bringing about disillusionment on the part of the people in most pre-colonial novel. The unmediated struggle for power and influence at the center has occasioned the emergence of a governing elite class that is more interested with the sharing of the country's resources than the idea of good or effective governance, that includes; equity, fairness, justice,

transparency and accountability, which has been the major focus of contemporary Nigerian political novel. Contemporary political novelist now brings to the fore of their readers, the political activity and compromise played by the political class, giving a clear picture of the politician and their daily activities in the various segments or positions in the country, and their use of public funds as means for manipulation and perpetuating themselves in office.

The concentration of resources and real powers at the center, marks the pre-occupation of contemporary Nigerian novel. Unlike the early political novel which reflect the political situation of the country as regard to civil war and military interventions. However, contemporary political issue borders on the competition for control of the federal government which has overtime tended to be vicious, corrupt, politically and ethnically explosive. This however marks the themes that runs through the works of Wale Okediran and Richard Ali. (Suberu 2005, p.6). History has shown that no nation of the world grew and enjoyed steady development in virtually all spheres of its national life without experiencing good and selfless political leadership. This is largely because qualitative growth and development has always been an outcome of good governance. Commenting on the experience of the Nigerian nation, Achebe, argues that the cause of the Nigerian predicament should be laid squarely at the foot of bad leadership. This he argues in "The trouble with Nigeria," (Achebe, 1984)

> is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, climate, water, air, or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership.(p.1)

The state of Nigeria's socio-economic development has been a direct consequence of the actions and inactions of the leadership class which has managed the affairs and wealth of the country

since independence. Unfortunately, the crops of leaders in Nigeria since independence became monopolistic, self-seeking and by extension power drunk. And like their colonial predecessors, they became even more vindictive and antagonistic striking about the same misfortunes as with the colonial overlords. Consequent upon this, the hope for a better life becomes even more exclusive as these leaders, on ascending leadership positions focus on perpetuating themselves in office by seeking extension than genuinely working for the people. Premised upon the need to project and possibly address this trend of political anathema, Nigerian novelist like Helon Habila in his novel *Waiting for an Angel,* (2002) tackles headlong the evils of military rulers and their civilian collaborators in Nigeria, between 1990 and 1998. Akingbe (2010) posits that "The novel reflects Habila's thoughts on the political crisis in Nigeria in the late 1990s. The novel orchestrates a shift of theme and concern, with the impact of colonization and historical past towards an examination of current socio-political problems of abuse of power by the ruling elite, corruption and widespread social inequality and justice in Nigeria's political landscape". In respect to Akingbe's analysis of Habila's text, this shows efforts of writers in portraying the socio-political predicament of the country, as Habila has captures in his novel showcasing the problem of leadership in the country as James (2012, p.169) states that: The event of the mid 80's through the 90's in Nigeria is what Helon Habila captures in his novel *Waiting for an Angel*. The Mid 80"s through the later part of the 90's marks a significant period in the landscape of Nigerian history, mainly because of the militarization of the entire Nigerian society. The novel serves as a satire of the military system of government as Akingbe and James has stated in their analysis of the text, as a portrayal of the political situation of Nigeria in the 1900s.

In most of post-independence Nigerian works of art, what one observes are rather obvious attacks on politicians, ironic stories and whimsical cartoons of the contemporary social scenes, poking sophisticated fun at a variety of political foibles and dissecting the Nigerian socio-political society. The writers' attack on the problem of misrule in the nation are satiric and realistic, indeed verging on Naturalism.This is reflected in Soyinka's, *Season of Anomy*, (1973) Soyinka in this text presents a dictatorial regime that consists of civilians supported by the military to ensure the perpetuation of the ruling class (the cartel) in power. The fight between the individual represented by Ofeyi, Iriyise and the Dentist and the ruling class is a very serious one because the oppressed Ofeyi and the Dentist resort to violence. Just like Soyinka's cartel, there is a ruling class in Nigeria, which constitutes itself into a formidable force, which cannot be easily shaken. This ruling class is determined to remain solidly in power through the use of intimidation, bribery and other corrupt means. King (1988, p.95) in his review of the text comments that Soyinka presents a 'nation violently ruled by a corrupt elite, business interests and army misusing authority and governmental powers to enrich themselves and stay in office at all cost'. Olurode (2006) attest to this in his argument that;

> The revolution of rising expectations that heralded political independence were unmet. Living conditions, except for the minority political and economic elite, plummeted and with every year that accompanied political independence, citizenship rights became more compromised as they were abridged either through elections that are rigged or through violent overthrow of the pre-existing order, African leaders are often reluctant to leave office.(p.2)

The political arrangement put in place after independence provides a fertile ground for literary output, writers in this period draws from the societal problems surrounding the system of government in the country at the time, portraying the incompetence of the civilian rulers and the over throw of the military with the claim to fight against corruption in the society and improve

the system of government informs the literatures of this period. The 60s through 80s marked the struggle for power in Nigeria and according to Paul Zelesa,1994 Intrusion of armed forces, originally saddled with the unique responsibility of rendering security services to the country against external aggression is correct, to a considerable degree that when a society is socially and politically in disarray, there is bound to be a disequilibrium engendering a cataclysm of either a people's revolution, or, where there is a political army, a military explosion. Therefore, due to the civilian administrative foibles, the civilian leaders always tumble from the pinnacle of political power when the military dictators impeccably launch their political inauguration vowing to prove more efficient in the country's economic and socio political husbandry. Most amazingly, however, the military rulers, either by design or default, become too insensitive and irresponsive to the genuine feelings, plights and yearnings of the masses, like the civilian leaders, they also become power drunk and materialistic. The country is thus often inevitably plunged into pandemonium as the military dictators excruciatingly inflict woes, pains and agonies on the country. (Barnabas 2014, pp.35-37)

One proverb that featured prominently on both sides of the Nigerian Civil War in the late 1960s asserts Obiechina (1992, p.18) was "When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers." This proverb is employed by Festus Iyayi to shape the thematic concern of his novel *Heroes*. The proverb became a metaphor for the class situation in the novel. The victims of the oppressive governments are the grass and the dictators and corrupt bourgeoisie who jostle one another for power are the elephants: the elephants trample the grass ruthlessly and abominably. Workers, peasants and women are the grass most brutally trampled by the elephants. According to Ayo (2008, p.343) Festus Iyayi's Heroes registers the disenchantment with the military, and this he does by going back into history as reflected in *Heroes.* In this novel, Iyayi goes way back to the

time of the Nigerian civil war to expose the vices of the military elite. He chose one of the worst periods of Nigeria's military regimes to highlight how the military elite contributed to the tragedy of governance in the country through their greed and indifference to the plight of the masses.

According to Ayo (2008, p.344), One inference that can be drawn from *Heroes* about the pain of mis-governance in Nigeria is that the problem emanates from two sources: human failing and systemic failures. Obiechina (1992, p.18) in his analysis of the novel contends that:There is no illusion in this novel that the military are in politics to restore probity to public life, since the military seem to outdo the civilians in corruption and self-enrichment. In Heroes, the enemy is listed as "the generals and the politicians and the religious leaders and the businessmen" who generate a civil war from which they are the chief beneficiary. Ayo and Obechina in their analysis of the text suggests that the novel portrays the failure governance in Nigerian, the corrupt practices and manipulative acts of the politicians or leaders in the system of government. The novels of this period projects the betrayal of public trusts by their military counterparts which also constitute the thematic preoccupations of BiyiBandele-Thomas's novels *The Man who came in from the Back of Beyond* (1991)and *The Sympathetic Undertakers and Other Dreams* (1991). Adesokan (1994:61) comments that: 'There is an unwritten law where artists relocate: reinvent reality. It is what a great deal of writing is all about, but is it more desperate in Bandele Thomas's case? Each of his more formal works... engages the familiar post-independence Nigerian society, a place where rogues rule over rogues, where roguery is rule and the sensitive youth (mainly) are driven to violence'.

According to Adesokan's assertion, Bandele's novels *The Man who came in from the Back of Beyond and The Sympathetic Undertakers and Other Dreams* dwell on the shortcomings of military rules in Nigeria. The two texts are modem Nigerian fables with unreliable narrators;

they explore a post-independence descent into madness. The military dictators are shown as corrupt and inhumane rulers who do not care what crimes the indigent masses resort to in order to pay their taxes and make a living. Ayo (2008, p.340) in his analysis further posits that; the whole of Nigeria's hideous, putrescent post-civil war history is imaginatively captured in the novels - a world wracked and marred by drug smuggling, government extortion, bar-beach show executions, and a host of other problems. In ridiculing the military dictators, Bandele also lampoons the naive political diatribes and utopianisms of the Nigerian Leftocracy, most especially, Bozo's guerrillas, the teenage high school intelligentsia, in *The Man Who Came in from the Back of Beyond*. Adesokan (1994) argues that Bandele creates caricatures of Nigerian military rulers (for instance, the allegory of Baba gee and Mama gee), exposing their slavish mentality, lack of organizing ability, business acumen and lack of concern for the governed. Adesokan in his analysis highlights the faulty act in the part of the military rulers. *The Sympathetic Undertakes and Other Dreams*, according Ayo (2008, p.353), reveals the misdeeds of a traditional ruler in Nigeria. He is depicted as rapacious and voluptuous, a destroyer and looter of national wealth, who indulges in corrupt practices and bribery and dehumanizes his subjects. While the masses wallow in poverty and penury, the traditional ruler purchases sophisticated cars which are worth millions of dollars. This however is quite different from the other text as this play is a satire of the greedy and self-centered civilian politicians and their system of government, by projecting the predicament of the people in the society in order to show the injustice of the political system.

Helon Habila's *Measuring Time* like other novels discussed but from a different political perspective, raised issues that are more serious than just a psychological study of a man who must 'measure up' to his brother. Habila's individual character in the novel and their experience

projects the experiences of the general community; he presents the issues affecting the entire people of a community and by extension Nigeria. The challenges the characters' face in the text is common to many Nigerians. It is not just the issue of a brother or man who must 'measure up' to his brother, but a reflection of the socio-political crisis and economic stagnation in the country, as stated by Christopher Anyokwu (2008) that:

> Measuring Time equally reflects Nigeria's chequered history of military dictatorship which spans the period between 1984-1999. Accordingly, the novel creatively examines and highlights these years of the holocaust detailing the economic stagnation, social misery and political misrule inflicted on the populace by men of 'action'. The return of the country to the civilized norms of democratic political culture exemplified by the so called sanctity of the ballot is realistically represented by the political aspiration of Lamang and his coterie of local politicians….(p.14)

While subscribing to Anyokwu's view, one would add that *Measuring Time* does not just handle the issue of historical leadership of military dictatorship and the return of power to democratic rule. It also deals with issues of indiscipline and corruption at the highest and the lowest levels in Nigeria.Anyokwu (2008, p.5) postulates that; the author manages to thinly disguise real-life persons and places, while at the same time stating real-life places and historical events such as wars, dislocation, migration, contemporary politics in Nigeria and elsewhere.

The new and old breed politicians, the military, the traditional rulers, the academia, male and female rulers have all failed to some extent in their individual stints in the governance of Nigeria, which is shown in their inability to offer the good leadership needed by the post-independence Nigeria argues Ayo (2008). 'Holding onto power, even when it is obvious that the country is grinding to a halt under the weight of rampant corruption, cronyism and crass incompetence on the part of the of the political leadership in a country comments Falola (2013, p.32) portrays a political system that is truncated by greed and selfishness.To say that Nigeria is

a nation in dire straits is no newsit is a verifiable fact comments Nwagbara (2008, p.226). Researchers have said that the constitutive ethos of Nigeria was predicated upon endemic, imperial violence against the constituting nationalities. It was designed to put a spanner into the cultural, political, economic and social works of this nation, which is still groping in the dark with the bangs and pangs of slavery and colonialism and recently neocolonialism. As the twin evils of slavery and colonialism left the Centre stage, there emerged contemporary postcolonial realities.No matter the hue of politics or political power in Nigeria, it has spawned virtually the same crushing effects which are political instability, socio-economic misery, environmental devastation, ecological dissonance and ethnic crisis.

The Activist (2006) by Tanure Ojaide is a political novel with social realist ideals. The novel reconstructs the plight of the downtrodden and marginalised in the Niger delta – and Nigeria by extension. it refracts the destruction done to the Nigerian environment by the multinationals in partnership with the political class. According to Kalu (2006): Ojaide weaves an intricate matrix of the confliction needs of multinational oil exploiters, military dictatorship, and local communities concerned about their environment and livelihood.Kalu focuses on the subject matter as presented by Ojaide which includes oil exploiters and the military rulers and their indifference to the plight of the local communities who are being affected by the extortion of oil and the creation of refineries and its destructive impact on their land and water. Nwagbara (2008:225) also comments that; Ojaide's *The Activist* is a contemporary novel that deals with post-independence disillusionment about oil politics, ethnic marginalization and environmental predation in Nigeria. The title of the novel evokes political activism or participation, which is needed in order to change Nigeria's landscape.

Intellectual activism is central in effecting Nigeria's transformation. Nwagbara's analysis gives a more detail information on the text, by bringing issues like disillusionment, marginalization and a call for transformation which is reflected in the title of the text. *The Famished Road,* (1991) by Ben Okri like Ojaide's the *Activist* expose the vices of the governed. The text is rife with indices of recurring defeat, dogged endurance and political docility/passivity of the masses by suggesting that the binary oppositions of dominance and resistance have melted away in the milieu. The state in the text is thus characterized by relations of disturbing conviviality between the ruler and the governed. Ayo (2008, pp.345-346) in his review of the text, states that Okri elaborates the nightmarish displays that are part of quotidian existence in Nigeria, which is shown to be a phantasmagoria. The actions and inactions of the people who populate the world of the novel reveal demonstrations of random cruelty and pomp, fetishes of abusive power, bizarre magic, etc. all leading to a narration of pessimistic, postmodern characterization of Nigeria, marked by its excessive symbolization of arbitrary authority. A regime of violence, an entire obscene cosmology, from which there is no exit route. What mark the political climate of the society are extreme material scarcity, uncertainty, inertia and arbitrary power. This is done by using the voice of an Abiku boy (Azaro) who inhabits a fantastic middle territory between the living and the dead. The inner world is populated both by the corrupt politicians of the time and by a pandemonium of monsters, spirits and ghosts. Azaro bears witness to this world of misery and suffering, as he is tormented by poverty, humiliation, malnutrition, illness and hunger. He has learnt very early in the story to distrust the Party of the Rich, after they had almost poisoned the whole neighborhood with the rotten milk they offered as a proof of friendship to the poor. His suspicions are confirmed later on, when a group of beggars suffer severe flogging at the hands of the thugs of the party. According to Maggi Phillips (1997,

p.170) Despite the passage of the historical events, Okri's message is clear: the nation's genuine independence, like the complete humanness of the Abiku, is yet to be achieved. The preoccupation of political situations in the country as portrayed by Ojaide, Achebe, Soyinka, Habila, OkriIyayi and many other Nigerian literary novelist, shows the political concern of Nigerian writers in portraying political issues or situations in their society as means of satirizing the activities of the political class. It also shows the quest for true leadership in the country by the novelist, through their portrayal of the inadequacies of the political class and concientising the society about the ills of bad leadership in the country right from the period of independence to civilian and military administration and the democratic system of government in the country.

Democracy, which has largely witnessed expansion in the history of African or Nigeria to be precise, is no doubt faced with challenges and the failure of politicians in the aborted three attempts of democratic governance in the country.The issue of good governance which, according to Akindele (1995), remains historically deep-seated, is explicitly decipherable from it, as being anchored on the concept of democracy as does the centrality of the combination of both (that is, democracy and governance) to the multidimensional systemic existence of all political animals within the universe.contending issues affecting the Nigerian politics right from 1990 which marked the reign of a democratic system in Nigerian, has produced novels that discuss issues such as ethnicity, state creation, indigenes/settlers dichotomy, federal character principles, corruption, poverty, bad governance among others are portrayed in this contemporary novels. Good governance is not just a matter of deciding to be good people; instead, officials and citizens must believe they will be better off under a reformed system of governance. According to Nnolim (2010, p.195)

The contemporary Nigerian novels are strong with Marxist ideology in favor of the masses. Such novels are concerned with the criticism and questioning of the capitalist system which creates and sustains social and economic inequality in the society. FestusIyayi's novel, *Violence,* (1979) can be classified under this class of Marxist novel that discuss the issue of inequality, corruption and the qaulicious system of government at play in the society. Maduakor (1994) in *African Writers* states points out that the novel was inspired by the author's sense of outrage at the widening gap between the rich and the poor. While the rich revel in their abundance of wealth, the poor wallow in their misery, poverty and disease. The novel presents desperate men and women caught up in physical, social, economic and psychological violence. The violence is embedded in the power which very few individuals have over the economic life of the entire citizenry.Ujowundu (2013, p.309) on the other hand comments that; the novelist highlights the evils of corruption, avarice, nepotism, graft, exploitation, inefficiency, general nonchalance and dereliction of duties by government officials, basic indiscipline, class consciousness and many other ills, and how they undermine the security and development of the nation. Ujowundi further state that;Iyayi's fictional world shows two worlds which overlap to form one world. These worlds are those of the rich few, on the one hand, and the poor majority, on the other hand. It is through the juxtaposition of these worlds in one that Iyayi is able to portray lucidly the paradoxes and inequalities existing in modern Nigeria. His view of the present system in which money, politics and personality are interlocked is pessimistic, unless a change occurs. Maduakor and Ujowundu's analysis of the text are quite similar as they both have similar interpretation of the text, as a text that borders on the inequality at place in the society, where the minority group have it all while the majority have nothing at all. However,

Ujowundiin his analysis included the evils of corruption which includes nepotism, inefficiency and dereliction of duties by government officials as other themes depicted in the novel.

The socio-political change to which Nigeria has been subjected since independence, finds expression in contemporary novels, as it dramatizes the tensions and conflicts that result from the effect of socio-political changes on the individual as well as on the country as a whole. Politics in the Nigerian novel have been a major discuss over time, with writers drawing from different socio-political happenings in the society from various perspective of power, corruption, mis-governance, political manipulation, cultural differences, economics, class struggle, unemployment and other human conditions. The study like every post-colonial political novel looks at how politics at the governmental level is played. However, the thematic occupation of the two *text Tenants of the House* and *City of Memories* is to show the daily activities of the political class, from an insider perspective by portraying a true to life representation of events from a realist perspective to satirise the political elites and their activities in the struggle for power and to validate the potency of power and money in Nigerian politics which later result to the loss of focus in governance and to portray the effect of democracy and multi-party system in the country.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL REALITY IN WALE OKEDIRAN'S *TENANTS OF THE HOUSE.*

Overtime, there has been a lasting interplay between politics and literature, as far as writing is concerned. Literature has always served the purpose of projecting the political realities of societies around the world. Wale Okediran's novel *Tenants of the House* expresses the relationship that exists between literature and society. The novel is a portrayal of the contradictions of the political and economic realities of the Nigerian society. This chapter focuses on Okediran's depiction of the Nigerian rulers and their inordinate activities which are inspired by their desire to accumulate wealth. It also examines how Nigerian politics has become a cesspool of corruption especially because politicians are motivated by the desire to get rich to the detriment of their followers. The research adoptsthe tenets of social Realism as its tool of analysis to examines the text as a satire of thenature of politics practiced in the Nigerian National Assembly

The African writer has been very much influenced by politics, because the African intellectual is a part of the political elite. The writer is a sensitive point within his society. Thus, African literature has tended to reflect the political phases on the continent. (Ogungbesan 1974, p.43) Okediran a former member of the House of Representatives, Abuja, Nigeria between 2003 and 2007, brings to the fore of his reader the activities of the political rulers in the State House of Assembly through the coup planned to impeach the House Speaker, the activities that surround the plot, the involvement of the president of the country and the corrupt practice, such as bribery, lobbying and moiling of the other political elite by the president to prolong his stay in power, for another tenure, is used to portray the activities of the political class or political Elite. Through the narration of all these activities, the textsatirises the politics played by the Nigerian politicians and

their corrupt practices. Okediran as a former politician himself, is conversant with these activities and thus gives a more vivid pictures of these corrupt practices. As Fajenyo (2011) state that, 'Okediran has equally been in the system, and he is only narrowly escaped being sulked in to the smelling mud'. What Fajenyo therefore means is that the novel is a reflection of his personal experience. According to him, Okediran's portrayal of his personal political experience satirises the political system which he was once a part of. In this regard, the narrator Samuel Bakura can be seen as a representation of Okediran. Besides the juxtaposing of the life of the writer and the narrator by critics the events captured in the text depicts a vivid picture of the Nigerian political landscape. The novel *Tenant of the House* can thus, be classified as a realistic novel, because the characters are constructed within a particular environment and in a particular historical phase that have a lot in common with the fourth Republic; a period that marks the end of military rule and the beginning of a democratic system. To achieve a realistic effect, the text creates a protagonist, Samuel Bakura; an ordinary, sensitive young man who once practiced as a Lawyer, but later found his way into politics and got elected as a member of the Kaduna State House of Representative. The plot of the text is largely sustained by Samuel's political journey through the experimental phase of Nigerian democracy. Most of the other characters belong to the aristocratic class who hold high position in power and have questionable moral and ethical standards compared to Samuel the Protagonist who is conscientised by the political injustice that characterizes the political landscape. Thus, he struggles through the process but becomes a better person at the end than he was at the beginning.

Realistic novels employ objective representation of real world and a truthful, accurate evaluation of life, which is concealed in reality. However, Nikolayez (1975:226) suggests that: the truthfulness of realism in an artistic work is rather intrinsic but be replaced with the term

'faithfulness', *Tenants of the House,* through the illusion of an 'artistic faithfulness', is a reflection of the Nigerian society, rulers and their activities, a criticism of the democratic system of government and the corrupt practices of the civilian government. The reflection of the Nigerian society in the novel are formally on the political class, as the places and characters in the novel are reflection of real places or states within the Nigerian society. Examples of such places include; Abuja, the state capital of Nigeria which is the major place the actions or activities in the novel revolve around. This can be seen in the description of Samuel the narrator in the novel, his description of the conference Hall of the Diamond Hotel at Asokoro, The Dorchester Hotel, around Wuse Zone 4, and other states like; Nasarawa, Kaduna, Keffi and Kano. A literature that reflects objective and concrete reality is what Okediran employs in his novel through the representations of activities in the National Assembly, giving a vivid picture of the division of the National Assembly, its division, the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Senate on the left wing; the House of Representatives on the right, gives a clear picture of the national assembly to an outsider who has no knowledge of this in a simple English narration:

> As I drove within the sight of the Federal Capital Territory Minister's office at Garki…the rain continued to thrash against the green-doomed National Assembly building as I drove past the security personnel at the main gate and into the premises…the National Assembly Building is a magnificent edifice. On the left shoulder of the sprawling building, painted in the national colors, green and white, are the two symbols of power, the supreme court and the Presidential Villa, popularly referred to as Aso Rock. All three are located in Maitama District of Abuja, Nigeria's capital. The proximity of the three symbols- representing the executive, legislature and the judicial arms of government- gave the area the name Three Arms Zone. The National Assembly is divided into two chambers, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate is on the left wing; the House of Representative on the right and has been nicknamed "white House" after the color of its paint… (pp.12-13)

The excerpt above illustrates a realistic setting that paints a picture of the Federal Capital Territory with the use of actual descriptions of locales within the Federal Capital Territory. The text also employs accessible language in narrating the controversies that occur in the National Assembly. And activities performed by certain individuals in the National Assembly like; the Sergeant-at-Arms who rings out in the cavernous hall: "Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!" indicates the arrival of the Speaker. There are also characters like the principal officers of the house, the Chief Whip and the other members of the assembly, are employed to give a clear picture of the National Assembly, in relation to his discourse on politics. *Tenants of the House* describes the everyday activities in the National Assembly, the meetings where daily reports are read and opinions are argued out, as depicted in narration of the day's proceedings in the novel thus: "the first order of the day is a motion on the missing Nigerian Communications Satellite (NigComSat), which got lost in space about two weeks ago, in the name of Hon. Mohammed Sanusi and ten other. I now call on Hon. Sanusi to present his motion." (p. 221) This is a representation of the activities and presentation of reports in the House Assembly. The novel as a realistic one does not only projects the daily activities of the house but also use it as a means of satirizing the members of the political class as a whole. The report of the missing satellite in the text is use to portray the corrupt act and untruthfulness of the politicians in Nigerian government. According to Hon. Sanusi in his report over the missing satellite comments that:

> … we all celebrated with fanfare and pomp the launching of Nigeria's first satellite in faraway china. The project which was executed for National Space Research and Development Agency by the China Great Wall Industry Corporation, cost the Federal Government of Nigeria a whooping N40 billion… although the satellite was said to have a lifespan of 15 years, it had since packed up. (pp. 221-222)

The missing satellite in the report was declared to have stopped working, which is contrary to the stipulated span of life it was declared to have. This however portrays the politicians as crooks who are not faithful in their positons and duties. In further narrating the daily activities of the political class, the text through the report of Hon. Rimi defines the House of Assembly as a beer parlor where bribes are given in order to ensure that budget is passed this is expressed in Hon. AbubakarYahaya's reports thus:

> My name is Hon. AbubakarYahaya, representing the good people of Suleja, Gurara and Tafa Federal Constituency. Mr. Speaker, I am coming under the order V rules 1, 2 and 3 of our standing orders on the matters of Privilege. Yesterday, there was a press conference by Hon. Rimi where he accused this house of taking bribes and passing the budget. He also called this house a beer parlor. In fact, many newspapers have reported this issue… (p. 224)

This disregard for the integrity of the members of the house is an indication that the house of assembly is a den of corrupt individual who execute their duties in a manner that Hon. Rimi compares to the atmosphere of a beer parlor. This metaphorical description paints a vivid picture of the extent to which house which is supposed to be a gathering of law makers is as lawless as a beer parlor. Thus implying that whatever decision that emerges from such a gathering is simply an outcome of a group people who are power drunk and insensitive to the plight of the people. This comparison reflects the actual crisis that constantly engulfs the National House Assemble of the fourth republic.

The realities at play in the text is the reality of the activities of the political class, informed by corruption, manipulation either to gain positions or to remain in power which is achieved through betrayal. This is portrayed in Samuel's narration of the impeachment of the House speaker, Honorable Yahaya Suleiman, and the distribution of money to other party

members by Honorable Linus Wenike and Elizabeth Bello also known as Sizzling Lizzy to support this coup, and her response to what friendship means in politics is revealed thus:

> …Now Honorable Sam, you are a lawyer. That is a plus. Two, you belong to the opposition party. That is another plus. We have a role for you. You are the man for the role… these are the project documents. Read them. Study them. I quickly ran my eyes through the documents and immediately understood the nature of the project… Lizzy, ah, ah! Why? The speaker is your friend. Why then do you want him out? I don't get it. Yes, speaker Yahaya is my friend. But in this matter he is not. You know the saying, there are no permanent friends in politics, only permanent interest… (p.10)

Friendship in politics through this narration is based on personal gain. The text shows the reality of the political class and their interest, which is anchored on personal gain, and not general interest. It describes the relationships that exist between the members of the political class, it defines their relationship as that which is based on money. Friendship in politics or between the political elites is not a permanent act, there can be disagreements over issues but subsequently come to an agreement when money is involved. Money in politics, brings about unity, it is a means to get what one wants or desires, which can be seen in Samuel's agreement to join the party who are after the impeach of the House speaker.

> … Yahaya is going she continued. No two ways about it. There are powerful forces behind our project. The presidency, Sam, the presidency is behind us… where is the fertilizer?... the first of three instalments. Quickly I ripped the envelope open. Many freshly minted American dollars greeted my eyes. Sizzling Lizzy, I said excitedly, how much is this?... ten thousand Dollars. It is a deal I finally said. (p.11)

Money as the major interest of politician is depicted in this quote which shows the reason for Samuel's agreement to join the party of Wenike and Lizzy even after accusing Lizzy of betraying her friend the Speaker, Samuel like the others, at the initial stage, in the novel indulges in this act. This however is related to Erunke (2014, p.2) argument on corruption, that:

"corruption involves the interjection of additional but improver transaction aimed at changing the moral course of events and altering judgment and positions of trust. It consists in its doer's and receiver's use of informal, extra legal or illegal acts to facilitate matters." This assertion in relation to the text shows the potency of money and its ability to distort moral standard and corrupt. Money as a major factor for corruption, marks the reason for Samuel's agreement to join the party, portraying money as an enemy of no one in politics as showcased in the discussion between Samuel and the speaker over their disagreement on the review of Constitutional Bill, which president Oneya Ambrose wants the National Assemble to review so as to enable him and other legislative authorities remain in power for another tenure: "Samuel, are you really a politician? Have you forgotten the saying, no permanent friends, only permanent interest? Let me tell you, it is truism. That is one. The president was against me in the past, now he is for me." (p.167) Politics as portrayed in text is a game of will and interest. The peace that now exist between the Speaker and the president after their disagreement at the initial stage in the novel is forgotten or resolved as result of the common interest they have of the reviewing of the Bill and what they can gain from it. This is portrayed in the speaker's discussion with Samuel thus:

> Hon. Samuel, you are being difficult. Unnecessarily difficult, same I am not happy with what am hearing about you and the Constitutional Review Bill. Ah, ah Sam, did I not confide in you about the chief's special interest in the Bill? The president means well. Now, as the tenure prolongation Bill sails through, it's honey for us all. We shall all smile. Who does not know it cost a fortune to run around campaigning these days? now, you won't have to run around. Imagine, Sam, you just have to sit in your armchair with an automatic ticket falling into your lap. Or you are thinking of returning to your law practice? There is more money in politics. My advice is not to leave this place. (p.166)

Corruption could be said to have place when public policy formulated by the legislation are tailored to benefit political office holders to the abject neglect of the masses. The agreement

of the Speaker to party with the president is as a result of what he can benefits from it. The novel therefore satirise the unity that corruption brings in politics. The novel showcase the Nigerian political landscape as a place where Conflict, nepotism, tribalism and religious differences disappears where money is involved and nobody has to lose, portraying it as a win-win game. The text in portraying the activities of Nigerian political class, it further shows the corrupt interest of the political leaders, and their quest for wealth or power. According to Affiah (2012, p.376) The quality of governance in Nigeria is in a sorry state. Very few aspire to leadership positions for the purpose of service to the people. The over-riding motivation for most public office seekers is the "get rich quick" malady. For the public office holder in Nigeria, it is himself and his family first and last. The Nigerian political landscape is characterise by politicians who are interested in what they can get from the system and not what they can offer the country. A good example from the text is the Kaduna state governor Alhaji Salisu Mohammed. This character like others in the novel is used to represent Nigerian politicians who are self-centered and greedy for money and power. Governor Salius's greed is portrayed through his discussion with Samuel persuading Samuel to follow in his footstep thus:

> …I also know your position on this tenure prolongation Bill. It is not as if some of us like the Bill…you know, in politics, self-preservation is the first rule, so we need to safeguard our jobs first. It is after that you can help others. Once you lose your position, survival becomes difficult in this country. In addition, honorable, it is a good opportunity to make tidy half-million dollars. Think of what that kind of money can do for you. So my brother, even though you don't belong to our party, I advise that you support this Bill. In fact, your bag of money is in my office across the lawn. Once you sign for the Bill, you can go home with the money. (pp.245-246)

This excerpt shows that legislature in Nigeria, at the national, state and local government levels have been plagued with the allegations of corruption motivated by greed. And the effect of

this corruption on the socio-economic, cultural and political landscape of the society can be devastating that nothing meaningful can work out in the mist of this malaise, as there is no any record of growth or development in the novel. The text uses the act of covetousness and greed to satirise the attitude of Nigerian political elites toward the acquisition of wealth and position. It also portrays the act of scheming as methods used by Nigerian politicians to achieve their aims and desires. The quest for public office in Nigeria is for everything else except service and good governance. This scenario in the text is peculiar to Abuja, as noted in the statement of the President over the reviewing of the Constitution Bill to the House speaker thus:

> …you see; many people are blinded to the fact that our democracy is like a premature baby. It needs intensive care, incubation, nurturing. Yes, our fledging, nascent democracy needs serious attention. A prime factor here is the need to ensure continuity… you see the opposite of continuity is not change. It is discontinuity, instability, chaos. But we want continuity, stability, order and peace. (p.138)

The continuity spoken about in this statement by the president, is not as a result of interest or love for the country, but the continuity being spoken about is for him to retain his position, which is to remain, in power and be able to further indulge in the immoral act which buttress the remark of Yagboyanju (2005, p.72) that: "Any act perpetrated by the political class, civilian or military, or a highly placed public official aimed at changing the moral or lawful course of events, especially when the perpetrator uses such position of authority for the purpose of personal or group interest (such as acquitting wealth, status or power) at the expense of public interest", is an act of selfishness and greed. The president's concern for stability, order and peace of the society is not an act of patriotism but otherwise as Achebe (1983, p.15) argues that a patriot is not a person who says he loves his country. He is someone who actually loves his country and cares deeply for the happiness and wellbeing of the people. President Oneya on the

other hand is concern about himself and his mother madam Veronica Virgina. There was no any record of establishments that the president has done throughout his stay in power. This show president Oneya as the opposite of a patriotic president through Hon. Kalkulus analysis of him in his presentation concerning the Tenure Prolongation Bill that read thus:

> Nigeria recently opened another chapter in its political history when the present civilian administration of chief Ambrose Oneya was sworn in. naturally, Nigerians at home and in the diaspora expected certain minimum benefits from the civilian administration…regrettably, seven years later, these expectations are far from being met. Corruption remains entrenched and endemic. (p.252)

The above quote can be seen not only as a critique of the president alone but also of the democratic system, where the elected leaders are voted in power for the betterment of the country and its people but when they fail in this duty, it becomes a mockery of the system itself. Democracy as Heater (1964) contends: includes equality, respect for human right and human life, the rule of law within the context of fairness and/or prudent use of state resources for the overall enjoyment of the teeming populace. However, the portrayal of the activities of the political class in the novel is an opposite of what constitutes the demands of a democratic government. The novel through this depiction of the political class as undemocratic suggests that a society where the qualities that produce selfless leaders, lead to good governance is a scarce issue in the Nigerian landscape, which is suggestive that there is immanent need for a legislature that can compel leaders to deliver on good governance in Nigeria. The failure of the president and the politicians in this text is as a result of selfishness, greed and indiscipline. Indiscipline is a failure or refusal to submit one's desire and actions to the restrains of orderly social conduct in recognition of the right and desires of others. The goal of indiscipline is self-interest; its actions and abandonment of self-restraint in pursuit of the goal (Achebe1983, p.27) these act of

discipline is portrayed by Okediran in the activities of the president and other political leaders over the tenure prolongation Bill.

Tenants of the House focuses on the present by choosing topics from contemporary life in showcasing the ills that parades the political landscape, as reflected in Okediran's speech in the Daily Trust (2016):

> As a former secretary in the National Assembly Abuja, I personally witnessed painful moments of personal tragedy through delusive, empty garmented rhetoric which had nowhere to go except drop on the flow of the national house. Mediocrity, pride, needless arrogance, odious name-dropping and name-calling, empty verbal political gymnastics, and "Eko-for show" type of eccentricities simply littered the space. While democracy was kept in the cupboard of immobility, expediency, greed and corruption swept through the atmosphere as if such should be the practice in the first place.

The novel as a reflection on reality gives a faithful representation of life and the social world as it seems to the common reader projecting issues that surround the political landscape as it relates to the quest for power and the greed for wealth or money by the political class that brings about disunity and lack of development in the country, as suggested in the text. This acts of corruptions and inordinate habits of the political class that are mentioned in the above quote are reflected in this text, and is depicted in the statement of Senator Smollet the Presidential Liaison Officer at the National level's advice to the president over the impeachment of the House Speaker that: "Your excellency, success cost money. The strategy is pure and simple: hit them hard; give them what they dare not reject. Sir, we must remember it is a contest of wills and resources. It's a tug of war. Naira for naira, dollar for dollar. Money is the name of the game; your excellency." (p.29) The act of scheming and bribery as the order of the day in Nigerian politics is portrayed in this statement as it is the language understood by most of the politician in the text. This statement reveals the weakness of the politician and their love for money. It further portrays politics as a

game of will and power, power as money. Okediran showcase the corrupt practice of the politicians and their distribution of public funds to members of the ruling class so as to enable them achieve their desires without any guilt for this immoral act. As Muktar, a member from Imo state advised concerning the mobilization of members over the impeach of the House Speaker, states that: "For effective mobilization of members, we shall need about #500,000 per members, making a total of #120 million for 240 of them." (p.44) this portrays a group of people whose morality can be bought. The novel portrays these political leaders as morally degraded set of people, whose trust and truth has a price.

In projecting the realities of the political class, the language employed in the novel are those used and understood by an average Nigerian, mixed with local language; Hausa and pidgin English. The text employ a comic tone that is filled with sarcasm to satirise the greed that characterise the political system. This is portrayed in the character of Honorable Edobor a human right lawyer, who collected the offer of two hundred thousand dollars to support the passing of the tenure elongated Bill organized by the president. This is told in the recount of honorable Chuks a member of the opposition party thus:

> …Actually, why I was laughing was that Hon. Edobor had collected a bag of money but he didn't want me to see it, so he quickly dropped it in a nearby dustbin…I caught him getting the bag of money from the dustbin; so he started begging me not to tell this meeting, saying that it was his constituents who forced him to take the money… I promised not to tell anybody as long as he does not show his face in our meeting again. Just as I arrived in the hall, he called on my mobile and promised to give me #20,000 dollars if I don't tell anybody what happened… (pp.242-245)

This comic remark by Ediborsatirise the nature and behavioral objectives of politician. The novel uses clear and understandable English to depict greed as a common trait in the political system. Another example is seen in the narration of Samuel's discussion with a member from Abia state:

"... Are we collecting the stuff today? You know what I mean? He said, rubbing the tips of his right fingers of his right hand in a gesture of counting wads of currency…" (p.178) through the use of understandable English filled with comic tone, *Tenants of the house* portrays the deadness of morality in Nigerian politics as the love for oneself and money becomes the sole mission or concern of the political class, where the public or the external world does not matter only the immediate world, which is their families. Any interest in the public or the people as portrayed in the novel, is based on what they can gain or achieve from it. Therefore, the public or society becomes an instrument or weapons to achieve their aims, as portrayed in the political conflict between Honorable Wenike's group and the group of the Speaker over the Impeachment of the speaker that: "We don't have security force to counter the forces of government. Our best bet therefore is to resort to the use of mass action…it worked in Cambodia; it worked in Tibet and it worked up to a point in Tiananmen Square in China…" (p.86) the Lining up of innocent and defenseless people against the might of tanks and guns is a practice common with the political class as the society or the lives of the people do not count or seem precious to them, but are concern with what they can achieve through the death and struggle of the defenseless masses with the claim and assurance that their names would be written in gold when the history of democracy is written.

The injustice, manipulations and corrupt practices portrayed in the afore mentioned shows that corruption and inordinate activities affects the growth, development, peace and unity of the country or society. These corrupt practices are depicted in the character of the president and his involvement in the impeachment of the Speaker of the House, the distribution of public funds and the mobilization of people to achieve his selfish aims or desires. *Tenants of the House* through its use of comic and satiric tone, satirise the fact that politicians, engaged in all kinds of

corruption, in order to perpetuate themselves in power, and not for the sole growth of the country or the need for an efficient administration but for their own personal interest. The novel further satirise the act of impeachment in Nigeria which became a rampered issue in 1999, when civil rule returned to the country. Arinze, Eze et al. (2006:48) argues that: "the primary cause of impeachment is simply because our politicians see politics as a means to achieve economic empowerment which should be achieved by any means humanly possible." The novel thus reflects this statement through its discuss on impeachment, as a means of satirizing the act of unjust impeachment by the political class which is aimed at achieving their selfish aims. The impeachment of the House Speaker is not as a result of his incompetence or weak administration but based on individual personal interest which after being discussed together by the coup plotters, realized what they can gain as Arinze, Eze et al. (2016:53) contends that: "the impeachment is being used as sledge hammer by politicians who are able to sway legislative houses, mobilize law makers to impeach governors, deputies and even leadership of the legislative houses who they believe are enemy to achieving their political ambition." As portrayed in the character of the president Chief Ambrose Oneya and Honorable Linus Wenike who agrees to this act. For the president, he sees the Speaker as a hindrance to his plan of remaining in power while Wenike and his group see it as a mean of enriching themselves as stated by Wenike to his group member that: "our brief from the presidency is to effect a change of speaker. And since the incoming speaker is our man who has promised to take good care of us we would end up killing two birds with one stone". This excerpt portrays the dishonesty that parades the political system that has brought about lack of progress or development in the country which Achebe in *The Trouble with Nigeria*, (1983, p.1) argue that "Nigeria's lack of a competent and honest political leadership is one of the main hindrances to her development".

Political leaders who are money conscious not for the management of the country but on how fast they can enrich themselves cannot bring about growth in the country.

In portraying the everyday activity of the political class, the text creates an awareness or a level of growth for its protagonist Honorable Samuel thereby secluding him from the other politicians in the text, a form of transformation or reformation that brings him to the realization of his purpose of coming into politics which is captured thus:

> …Yes the speaker was right. Of all the members in the Wenike's group, I was about the best educated. Who of our group knew about Clausewitz? Or Plato?Or Socrates? Education and political gangsterism do not go well together. And instead of my gangsterism, I should use my education and experience as a lawyer in a more positive way: promoting bills and policies which would move the nation forward. (p.57)

The novel's transformation or reformation of Samuel into an idealist is to enable him to reflect in reality the activities of the political class, thereby depicting Samuel as a 'philosopher' politician in the novel. Through Samuel, the novel narrates the political ills that pervades the political class or the National Assembly. Just like Achebe's Odili who is an idealistin the novel, experienced the pain and suffering of his fellow citizens and has observed how wealth and its quest corrupts the politicians. Samuel is also used in the novel to narrate these corrupt acts. In narrating these corrupt practices Okediran made Samuel to realize his purpose for studying law and coming into politics as stated thus: "I want to become a lawyer…because I want to deal with those Fulani who are always destroying our crops…I want to fight for the rights of the farmers. It is high time this oppression stopped…" (p.60) Samuel like Odili experienced the pain and suffering of his fellow citizens, through his share of the conflict that exist between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers over land and the destruction their farm produce in his adolescence age. Samuel's experience, as an ordinary character is seen in the narration of his adolescence age of struggle to

educate himself and train himself in law school and the inability of his father to train him to school as they were poor farmers who has suffered the consequences of the conflict that exist between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers which made him determined to change the injustice and conflict in his community as stated thus:

> …Don't worry, Baba, God will provide. I will fell trees and do manual labor. I just want to be a lawyer…I realized that I had set an agenda for myself, a difficult agenda which became my passion for the next few years. I Was going to be a lawyer. I was going to spend my life defending the oppressed, the poor and the weak. It sounded like a childish pledge but that was what I was determined to do. (p.60)

The struggle Samuel passed through, his determination and his desire to defend the oppressed and the poor was later realized through the novel's transformation of the narrator, which gives him the role of an idealist, who has experienced the pain and struggle of his fellow citizens and is baffled by the actions of the political elites and their injustice to the promises and commitment they made to the people who voted them into power. The other politicians in the text are modeled like Achebe's Nanga who is a political opportunist, they have no concept of political morality, they enrich themselves through bribery, corruption, and intimidation, and knows how to work things to their advantage and Samuel the idealist in the novel is totally disillusioned at seeing such a debased form of politics in his country. As depicted in his discussion with the Deputy speaker over the handing over of power to the next expected cardinal point in the country, but is in support of the Bill passed by the President which is expressed in his statement thus: "Honorable Samuel, politics is not arithmetic. One plus one may not always equal two. In this country clean politics is a loser's game. How do you want to survive? To be a good politician you must think of your survival, of yourself first." (p.159) This statement by the Deputy Speaker depicts the attitude and concern of the corrupt politicians in the novel. The concern for

self or individual is the priority of these set of politicians, as they don't show concern for the people or have the interest of the country at heart. Societal peace or welfare means nothing to them as they see the people as hungry set of people who don't count or matter, as stated by speaker: "Sam come straight to the point today. There is no truth in politics only compromises. The truth we have forgotten… the people, which people? Our hungry passive constituents? What do they care about politics? The hungry masses will go for anything" (p.167) the same Speaker whom the president wants out of power now sides with the president because the Tenure elongation bill was going to favor him even if it is wrong, he agrees to this act. The novel portrays these corrupt politicians as blood suckers of the society, who are bleeding the nation or country dry of its resources and wealth, unlike Samuel the narrator who is focused on the peace and stability of the country, by trying to resolve the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers, as seen in his statement to the Speaker before the passing of the tenure elongation bill that:

> …the perennial clashes between farmers and herdsmen, an issue that I had promised my father to help redress, were sadly still happening. It was the same issue that had motivated me to study law in the first instance. Now that I was on the speaker's side and with his promise to engage me in the pursuit of 'altruistic' democratic activities in the house, I decided there and then once the crisis of the impeachment was over, I would personally bring in a Bill that would once and for all stop these clashes between the farmers and the herdsmen. (pp.71-72)

The narrator's determination and action towards the resolving the conflict between the herdsmen and the farmers, sets him apart from the other politicians in the novel. Furthermore, his deterchment from the coup to impeach the Speaker out of selfish interest of the other party members contrast him from the other politicians and his success in the restitution of peace between the farmers and the herdsmen, and opposition and the efforts he played against the

Reviewing of the constitutional Bill to elongate the tenure of the legislative arm of government portrays Samuel as the only politician who made a good impact for the growth, peace and development of the country, makes his actions something akin to heroism.

The interplay of the conflict between the farmers and the Fulani Herdsmen infused to the political discuss in the novel, is an artistic illusion employed in the text to present human life and experience in literature, the experience of the common masses and their predicament. The creation of life that reflects social world, the reflection of common place and everyday language, as portrayed in the novel is an artistic technique used by Okediran to describe the situation of the common people, their problems and neglect of the people on the part of the political ruler with the narration of Samuel and his experience during his pursuit for an act to establish a commission for Pastoralist and Agriculturists in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The narrator first gives the description of the Fulanis he encountered in his journey to Naborda as a style of reflecting reality of Nigeria through a clear picture of culture and traditions that can be found in the country:

> When I visited the settlement, a *riga* called Naborda, one weekend, my visit fell, happily, on a market day. The gaily-dressed Fulani moved merrily all over the place. Young men- to my intense surprise wore braided hair, lipstick, earrings and arm bangles. A friend whom I told of these later termed it 'the feminization of Fulani males'…the young men favored very tight trousers. On their heads were colored headscarves, on top of which they placed English hats at seductive angles. Underneath their short and shining tunics were neat T-shirts. Sun-spectacles of all kinds were on view. On their feet were canvas shoes and in their hands a long, strong and stout stick called *Sanda*. (p.145)

The above quotation gives a clear picture of a Fulani man. Likewise, his description of the female gives the reader a vivid and clear picture of an average Fulani girl in the society:

> More fascinating than the male Fulanis were the females. They move gracefully. Their clothes were also brightly colored. Set against their brown complexions, these clothes gave them a wonderful charm. While they stayed home for housekeeping duties, the others took their ware-

> fresh milk, yoghurt, beads and trinkets to the market… I was intrigued to see that some of the young Fulani maidens carried radios… (p.146)

The text's description of an average Fulani girl as either a trader or the radios they carry which indicates that the girls have been betrothed to the men who own them as narrated thus: "The radio is a sign that the girls have been betrothed to the men who own them. You will also have noted that some Fulani men have tied scarves on their heads. Those scarves belong to the ladies to whom they are romantically linked…" (p.146) this gives a general description of the culture of the Fulani. The indulgence in early betrothing of the boys and the girls is also a means to satirise the political rulers over the under-development of the country.

The early marriage of the boys and girls is indicator of what the society lacks, which is as a result of the failure of the leaders in the country, as the only industrious activity found in the community is that of trading- either of wares or food in the '*Bukkas'*, as stated in the text. There are no schools or lucrative jobs that the males can do except herding this is portrayed in the request of the leader of the community to Samuel on his tour for peace: "We need to be protected. Government should protect us. And help our children. Once educated, our children will be useful to society". This shows the predicament of the people and their desire for growth and improvement in their community. A similar predicament is also portrayed in the request of the farmers as they both suffer the same problem of lack of education for their children to help reduce their state of poverty, like in the case of Samuel the narrator and what led to his determination to study and be a lawyer:

> … it was our first good harvest after two difficult seasons when we had nothing from the farm. We were looking forward to the bumper harvest with the hope of making up for the loss of previous years. Then the Fulani herdsmen and their cattle came! In one swoop, the cattle devoured all the millet stacked ready for the market…the crops were also not spared as the animals uprooted and chewed the green plants…what

> followed after this were harrowing days when my father had to sell off some of his farm implements to pay his debts. These debts which he had hoped to pay with the millet harvest and send my brother and me to school with whatever remained… (p.58)

This is a reflection of the poverty state of the society or country. Poverty has eaten deep into the society and the political leaders are not concerned on how to eradicate it by providing lucrative business or educate the society on how to make life better, but are rather concern on how to gain more wealth at the detriments of the suffering masses and remain in power at all cost. The situation of the farmer as portrayed in the novel is quite different from the Fulanis'. The farmers on the others hand have a mean or source of income that enables them to feed themselves and send their children to schools, as portrayed in the novel, but the conflicts that usually arise between them and the Fulani herdsmen, which for long was not addressed by the political leaders makes their situation non better, thereby creating a society where the masses struggle in vain with little or nothing to show for their efforts or struggle. With the help of the government programs the people of Nigeria, as a whole, will become more educated. The result of this education will lead to lowered poverty, better health and the country's development. Not only is education of great importance to the people, it is also important to the survival of democracy.

The interplay of the conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers in the novel is to show the quality of individual's life, his daily tasks and reflect the problems that surrounds the country at the time, as George Lucas (1995) posits that: 'a novel reflects reality not by rendering its mere surface appearance but by giving us a truer, more complete, more vivid and more dynamic reflection of reality, a reflection of a full process of life'. *Tenants of the house* is overwhelmingly foregrounded in the history of Nigeria with fictional characters and events, by means of creative technique using simple or ordinary language. *Tenants of the House* is a

portrayal of the failure of the legislature, overwhelmed by the greed and lack for enlightenment, viciousness and alienated from the people they are supposed to represent.

The novel reflects the legislature in Nigeria, at the national level, state and local government levels of been plagued with allegations of corruption, motivated by greed. Like Nwabuze's*A Parliament of Vultures* (2000), the political class in the novel are portrayed as vultures, who are greedy, veracious and insatiable. They are likened to vultures and seen possessing all these attributes. A good portrayal is the character of the president Ambrose Oneya, and his involvement in the impeachment of the speaker, he sees the Speaker as threat to his plan of remaining in power for another tenure. The character of the president shade more light to Omotoso's (1988:18) statement that: "power is the sumptuous pot of soup with mixed meat and fish which all nationalities have always wanted to corner and if possible eat alone. All the conflict in history of the country have been over this pot of sumptuous soup". This statement marks the activities of most of the politicians in this novel as they are after one personal goal or another is reflected in the activity of the president and the other legislatives who want to remain in power which in turn leads to the conflict between the northerners over the Reviewing of the Bill, as it is their turn to rule. The president in his attempt to corner this sumptuous soup used different tactics like:

> In a south-eastern state, president Oneya sponsored hoodlums and arsonists to destabilize an anti-third-term governor's regime. In another Middle-Belt state whose governor was opposed to the agenda, the state lawmakers were sponsored to impeach the governor even without the required two-third majority. War was also waged against legislators. At first they were persuaded to join the third-term gravity train, they were assured that their own tenures would be elongated. They were assured of automatic re-election and zero-naira campaign expenses… when this plan failed, ultimate bait of money was resorted to…half a million US dollar per legislator!... (pp.192-193)

This shows the effort and mediums used by the president to remain in power at all cost, making it a do-or-die affair. The role of the northerners over the ownership of this sumptuous soup is the use of presentations against the elongation of the Bill in countries like; South Africa, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda and Kenya. Tagged: "why we oppose a third term, a third term is immoral and un constitutional, a third term will lead to instability… a third term promotes a culture of intimidation and corruption, a third term is not divinely ordained". The conflict over the reviewing of the constitutional Bill and the later impeachment of the president, is used by Okediran as a style of bringing the novel to its climax. The resolution in the novel is an indication that truth may still prevail in Nigerian politics if political rulers can come to the realization of their intent in power and not be drunk by the power they are to will.

In conclusion, 1999 marks a major transition in Nigerian politics as the system of leadership became a democratic one as stated by Adeyemi (2012:167), that: "May 29, 1999 marked a watershed in Nigeria's political annals". It was the dawn of the fourth Republic, a return to democratic rule after several years under the yoke of military misrule which was marked by much suffering, infrastructure decay, and institutionalized corruption. The hope of the common man for a just and an egalitarian society became rekindled with the institution of a democratic government. Nigerians greeted the return to democratic rule with widespread jubilation and optimism as they looked forward to a new era of stability, peace, and prosperity. However, Nigerians are still anxious to see and enjoy "democracy dividends" of social welfare, justice, equity, and equal access to resources and power, as portrayed in *Tenants of the House*. The novel suggests that all these cannot be achieved if the political rulers are concern with the struggle for power and having greed for money, indulging in inordinate activities and corrupt practices and showing indifference to the plight of the mass which makes the country under-

developed. The novel is a portrayal of the activities of the political rules, their concern and their method of leadership. A leadership that has no interest in the masses and a group of political elites who at the cause of time, has lost their focus or purpose of coming into power but the novel is also suggestive that if politicians like Samuel can be found in politics, they can bring about change in the system.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICS IN RICHARD ALI'S *CITY OF MEMORIES*: A SIGNIFICATION OF POWER DRUNKENNESS AND POLITICAL MANIPULATION

The thematic thrusts of contemporary Nigerian novel are more often than not informed by the issues that pervade the Nigerian political landscape. Issues defined by ethno-political, socio-political and geo-political configuration of the contemporary Nigerian society. Richard Ali's *City of Memories* (2012) is a reflection of the complexity that characterise the interplay between identity and power, and the implication on individual and societal relation. This chapter focuses on the relationship between literature and society in its portrayal of contemporary issues, it reflects the conflicts that exist in politics and their consequences on the society using Realism for its analysis. It further critiques the activities of the political elites for their greed for power and authority which leads to loss of focus and agenda in politics. The chapter explores how the text portrays a vivid picture of politics 'as the quest for power, order and justice; the art of influencing, manipulating and controlling others'. (Anifowose 2005, p.1) Through individual and collective experiences of characters, this chapter portrays the fact that complex political relations are a product of grievances harbored as a result of cultural, social, religious and political differences in the society as the text suggests.

City of Memories as a realistic novel draws from societal activities and human relations in its portrayal of contemporary political issues. The novel is a representation of the reality of plateau state. It depicts the political conflicts that pervades the state as a result of multi-party system in Nigeria. The political conflict that exist between the two political parties, which later translates to cultural and religious conflicts, is a means of reflecting the effect of multi-party system ushered in by democracy in the society or particularly the North central. The novel portrays the

undemocratic nature of the political elites in a democratic system of government. It satirise the mess made by the politicians and their methods of leadership in the society, as stated by Ngugi (1975:50) that: "the need for the fictionalisation of post-colonial Nigerian realities through characters that foreshadow intellectual militancy as a means of socialising the people, as well as challenging the mess made of leadership in Nigeria". *City of Memories* through its reflection of the activities of the political class and their method of leadership, satirizes the manipulative methods of the political class in achieving their desires and the act of revenge on their opponents, where the masses are the grassroots that suffers this conflicts. Literature has turned out to be a medium of discussing and explaining contemporary realities through the expositions of the socio-cultural and political experiences of a given society, since it is a product of a particular human society. *City of memories* therefore reflects the socio-political predicament of the people of plateau state in Nigeria, as described or named in the text. It reflects the effect of multi-party system in the country, which was ushered in by democracy in the country. The novel reflects the consequences it has on Plateau state as argued by Uhunmwangho and Epelle (2011) that:

> The emergence of the nascent democracy in 1990, Plateau state, North Central Nigeria has become a permanent flash point of violence clashes. The state which had hitherto been one of the most relatively peaceful in Nigeria has been deeply enmeshed and suffused in political and ethno-religious conflict characterized by genocidal attacks, bombing, maiming and killings several persons, loss of business investments and properties worth several billions of naira. Within the space of eleven years, several violent political, ethno-religious conflict have been reported in Plateau state. It would seem that democracy has increased the culture of impunity in some people while political differences are believed to have fueled some of the violence that have erupted… (p.109)

This assertion, explains the socio-political differences and conflicts that defines the novel, as the text reflects the political violence engineered by opposition party in the country or states through the characters of Ibrahim Dibarama and Eunice Pam. The novel as a criticism of the Nigerian

political situation, does this by drawing from the political history of Nigeria which is largely dominated by military rule, as a way of foregrounding the democratic dispensation that follows. The text reflects on the military system of government in order to projects democratic state of the country as Bretch (ibid, p.25) asserts that: 'a writer can borrow from any source and from any period so as to create a living reality to the people'. The text uses flash blacks on the history of Nigeria as a means of establishing the relationship between the past and the present in other to address certain issues in the text which are central to the complexities surrounding the undemocratic nature of the political elites in the novel. It further portrays the political, social and economic issues in contemporary Nigerian society.

In establishing a relationship between the past and the present, the novels draws from the early issues that pervade the country, as regard to inequality between male and female in the society. This form of inequality in the novel, is reflected in the political sector, where the male figure has the authority to rule and less opportunity or authority is given to the female figure. This inequality in the text is expressed through the character of Eunice Pam a leading feminist light from the Northern Nigeria who is able to overcome the stigmas that accompanies this stereotype. Eunice in the novel agitates for equal right for women in the society, by fielding candidates for a hundred and seventy-five post from the three hundred and twenty state constituencies. Eunice a graduate of Summa Cum Laude in America, returns to Nigeria to fight for the place of women in society and in political sector in the country, and to change the prevalent stereotype that women should be seen and not heard. She was able to overcome this stereotyping and the stigma that accompanies it, in her statement thus: "…that I exist today politically, that I am alive and taking significant public actions, I am doing the things she dreamed- I am HajiyaGamboSawaba's heir…" (p.29) HajiyaGamboSawaba according to the

novel was persecuted and stigmatised for being heard. The ability of Eunice Pam to overcome all these stigmatizations in the text, opens up the path for political discuss in the novel. This political quest of Eunice pam, led to the political conflict that runs through the novel. The text portrays the political conflict that exist between Eunice Pam and Ibrahim Dibarama. These two Politicians from opposing parties in the country, fights or agitates for the leading role of their political parties in the acquisition of post in the constituencies. Drawing from the realities in the society, the novel as a realistic one, showcase the activities and blackmailing act of the political elites in achieving their aims and desired post in the constituencies as portrayed in the statement of Eunice Pam over the challenges her party is passing through, which states thus:

> Our key challenge is the campaign of misinformation and outright lies being spread by the incumbent GNNP. We have three court cases pending even as we speak. Even last week, I had to refute the lies of the GNNP's campaign coordinator, Alhaji Ibrahim Dibarama. You remember he accused us of being "anti-religious communist running on a ticket of antisocial Feminism" on national TV?... (P.31)

The effect of these blackmail serves as the bane for the development of conflict in the novel. Blackmailing and court cases are contemporary issues that pervades the Nigerian political system. The blackmailing and court case in this text can be tagged as emotional blackmail, which is a powerful form of manipulation that leaves its victims weak and threaten, either directly or indirectly so as to enable the opponent succeed. The effect of this blackmail on the NGP group, a party made up of females headed by Eunice Pam, consequently made her party members not only leave the party to join the opponent party but also, made them lose their target on the desired posts in the constituencies, as reported in the new paper:

> The populist New Grassroots Party [NGP] chaired by the charismatic Feminist, Eunice Pam, which won only 17 seats in the state Assembly Elections has had its numbers cut to 3. Of the NGP's successful 11 male and 6 female representatives, 14 have cross-carpeted to the GNPP party

> which already has an overwhelming majority in the state Assembly… (p.33)".

The political maneuvering schisms of the GNPP in winning the elections, led to the destruction of the NGP and the abandonment of the party members, which left Eunice Pam the party leader disgraced and bitter, making her a terrorist to the society itself as portrayed in Hakim's view of her and her plot to kill Ibrahim's son and destroy the country. He describes her as being vicious and blood thirsty as portrayed in his description of her joy in killing as stated thus:

> Eunice Pam could not help closing her eyes in pleasure. Then she exhaled deeply before turning to face the courier. And when she did, a chill ran through him. All he had heard of this woman was true, he could feel that now. The revenge of the coming months would be his own blueprint…" (p.108)

This excerpt gives an indication of what the elections has turn her into; a vicious and vengeful person. The character of Eunice pam in this novel serves as a stereotype of politicians who have suffered one loss or the other in their quest for power and have faced oppositions and blackmailing and thereby wants their revenge on the opposition party or the society. The introduction of genderism in the novel is to give a basic background to the political conflict in the novel and by extension loss of focus by the politicians or political elites in politics. The oppositions between the political parties in the text create a large platform for the political conflicts and violence that narrates the story. The political conflict in the novel moves from party to individual conflict and later translates to religious and ethnic conflict. The text reflects the ethno-religious conflict and political violence that parades the North central which is as a result of political disagreement. The political conflict discussed in this text is linked to what Maitah refers to as "conflict and cooperation". He defines conflict as; competition between opposing forces, reflecting a diversity of opinion, preference, needs and interest, while the cooperation has

to do with working together, achieving goals through collective action. The existence of conflict is as a result of rival opinion, different wants, competing needs and opposing interest guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. The diversity of opinion reflected in the novel is the fight for women in the parliament of leadership and ruler ship in the society or country at large. The novel further narrates how this diversity of opinion, translates to rivalry, which consequently leads to political grievances through the characters in the text. The novel showcase the role played by the political elites in the disruption of societal peace through religious, ethnic and cultural crisis in North central and by extension Nigeria.

Conflict in politics is a common act as there are opposing parties that make up the political rulers of the country. The multi-party system of politics in the novel is a reflection of the re-introduction of multi-party politics in the early 1999s which did not only popularize the demand and supply of political violence but also introduced new dimensions to it. The novel as a reflection on reality, reflects these dimensions, by portraying it effect on the society such as; the loss of life, properties of unknown value destroyed as a result of political violence occasioned by multi-party system. "Political conflict is part and parcel of democracy and is better resolved through dialogue and negotiation" asserts Jawondo (2011:153). But when this conflicts are not resolved they translates to political violence, as seen in the conflict between Eunice Pam and Ibrahim Dibarama in the novel:

> "I want control of your trading group. And I want you out of the North Central state." Ibrahim Dibarama burst out laughing. "be serious, Eunice. I never thought you were a child." "you laugh too early, Ibrahim." "can't you see what looms above us? I hate it, Eunice, that we are adversaries in politics, but I respect you, Allah knows I do," Ibrahim Dibarama said. He could not give up his trading group; that would be the same thing as death. (pp.22-23)

The inability to resolve the conflict that exists between this two characters did not only affect their children's relationship but the country at large, bringing about religious and ethnic differences. Eunice Pam who wants her revenge on Ibrahim ask for something he cannot give, so as to enable her have her revenge on him and the country for the disgrace and loss she suffered even though she has returned to power. In giving a simple and clear reality of the society, the novel narrates this conflict through the relationship that exist between Eunice Pam's daughter Rahila and Ibrahim's son Faruk, who were unaware of their parent's differences in politics and not concern about their religious difference, as they both are from different ethnic and religious background. This love that exist between the children of a sworn political enemies is used to discuss or portray the ills of political conflicts and practices in the country, which brings about division between citizen of the same country as argued by Rahila in her statement to Faruk over their broken engagement: "…Faruk, I am sorry, I hate to be, but I am, now. You are from the Northeast; I'm from Central Nigeria, we are separated by history and things. I thought it was possible, but I cannot, we cannot, be indifferent to our distinct selves. I am my mother's child; you are your father's son. Neither of us can undo that…" (pp.17-18) This statement made by Rahila suggest that the political conflict between their parent brings about the realization of ethnic and geographical differences that was not obvious at the initial stage of their relationship but due to this conflict and the disagreement of Eunice Pam over their engagement or relationship brings about this ethnic/geographical differences where people do not see themselves as one body of the same nation or as one Nigeria. Another example of the effect of this political conflict is portrayed in the clash between the two religious groups in the country this can be seen in the statement of Reverend Zadok:

> "our opponents want to capitalize on our word to destroy us. They believe that Christians will not be involved in a counter attack: they

> believe that we are taught to turn the other cheek. And that is why they have come this far. Every time there is trouble involving Muslim politicians, they start burning churches and killing Christians… (p.166)

This statement above suggests the fact that this political conflict has shifted from individual conflict to religion, where one religion gives fault to the other and takes side with their fellow religious member, even when they are on the wrong path.

Eunice Pam and her followers use this religious conflict as a tool to disrupt the peace and unity of the state and by extension, to have their revenge on the country itself as stated by Hassan over the plot of Eunice Pam's group: "they are using some local churches, and the Muslims, too have caught up. Many are mobilizing on both sides. Eunice Pam started it. What would have merely been a social scandal for her has become the building block of cultural and religious hate…" (p.138). the novel suggests that political and ethno-religious conflagrations have severally drawn the state or country to the precipice of disaster. It has strained inter-communal or inter-ethnic relations, threatened internal security and public order, which is reflected in the comment of Ibrahim Dibarama in the novel that: "religion is a dangerous thing to play with. It's just like fire, and once it starts burning it's not so easy to put out. yet, some of the politicians in this state have continued to infuse the differences of religion into the identity equation… (p.56) this statement by Ibrahim in the novel depicts the dangers of using religion as a weapon for political war, as it brings division, war and death in the society or country at large. The novel further discuss the evils of using religion as a weapon for vengeance, through the love story of Ibrahim's wife Ummi al-Qassim's lovers Ahmed and Usman who were from different religious background, uses religion as a weapon to fight against each other which almost led to the destruction of a whole city of Bolewa, as the Hassan Bukar state thus:

> It is said that on the day of the carnage, Usman al-Waziri and Ahmed Anwar were seen distributing arms to their own favored factions, urging them on neo-jihad and neo-crusade in the midst of that fiery apocalypse. When the ash of Bolewa settled, no one could find either of them. And so it was that their jealousy and ego and their terrible love for Ummi al-Qassim was avenged to death. A hopeless love that had spewed forth feud and violence and death. (p.234-235)

The fusion of this story in the novel is to further project the evil of using religion as a weapon for revenge or tool to achieve selfish gain or desires, which leaves nothing but death and destruction in its wakes. The quest for identity, the mixture of ethnicity and religion have taken the strife to unimaginable heights. Neighbors who had lived in harmony for decades, have turned on one another with murderous fervors, that has led to the loss of thousands of lives.

The text in its portrayal of the society, tries to give an accurate and detailed embellished depiction of nature or of contemporary life by reflecting the situation of the people of plateau state and by extension, a reflection of the contemporary issues that parades Nigeria. This is portrayed in the conflict that exist between the Tiv tribesmen and nomadic Fulani, over the killing and the raiding of villages as stated in the Reuters Agency website in the novel that:

> Crisis erupted again yesterday in Nigeria's increasingly volatile North Central state with scores killed in a communal clash over grazing rights between the nomadic Fulani and the Tiv tribesmen of the river Benue trough. The local Red Cross has put the death toll at about one hundred already, a figure categorically denied by local government officials. (p.197)

The portrayal of the conflict between these two ethnic group in the novel showcase the predicament of the people in the society and to also satirise the inability of the leaders to control these conflict. This however portrays the society or country as being on the verge of collapsing as stated by Imobighe (2003, p.35) that; "there is the high level of inter-ethnic and inter-religious vendetta in the country, to the point that it seems that Nigeria is now exhibiting the symptom of a

collapsing state, whose members are perpetually at war with one another". Thus, the recurring political and ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have become matter of great concern to contemporary writers. *City of Memories* through it political discuss, projects it utilitarian function of representation of human life and experience, with the use of simple language understood by average man, to depicts the crisis that pervades the society, in respect to the raiding, killing activities and conflict between the Tiv tribesmen and the nomadic Fulani in the society which is used as a manipulative method by grievant politicians to trigger their revenge on the society as stated thus: "…the Fulani-versus-Tiv troubles were a logical opening gambit for Eunice Pam and her collaborators. The Benue was the cradle of the country; there really was no better place to strike…" (p.199) this medium is used to disrupt the peace and by extension, disrupt the progressive activities of the leaders in the country. This ethnic conflict however progress to religion, as the Tiv tribesmen are categorized as Christians and the nomadic Fulani as Muslims. As stated thus:

> …time and time again, here in central Nigeria, the Muslim Fulani have destroyed our crops with their cattle. It is hard to mediate such thing, yet this is the position the church has found itself in. time and time again. Incidents of rape, incidents of cattle rustling-always it is these half-animal cattle Fulani… (p.166)

This transposition and party taking in this ethno-religious conflict by religious groups and religious leader is depicted in the report of Pastor Adamu Musa to Rose Dakyen: "…you are aware that Fulani herdsmen have been raiding villages around here, aren't you...the provocations of the Fulani herdsmen are plentiful here; stealing livestock, raping women, and now secret killing…" (pp.164-165). The inter-ethnic conflict and violence which has remained a recurring issue in the country, which is in turn is reflected in this novel suggest that this conflicts threatens

the nascent democracy, national unity and collective security of the country. it also serves as a means of satirizing the grievant politicians.

Inter-ethnic issues reflected in the novel, is informed by the political conflict that exist between Eunice Pam and Ibrahim Dibarama, which brought about a new set of followers for Eunice. The 'separates' who are either angry with the opposite religious/ethnic group, or with the country at large.This group of individual want their revenge on the society, as a result of the oppositions they have faced and others out of anger against another religious/ethnic group. An example of this group members is VarakNdalima, whose anger is against the country as a whole and wants his revenge on the society:

> He was head of an old family eclipsed into the Emirate of Bodigi following incident in 1947-his family of district heads had provided relief to the WaziriKeffi when the British had wanted him for murdering a British colonial officer. In retaliation, the British has exiled his father to Potishkum and he Varak, had been born a decade later, the son of a proud man without means, the heir to an indigent prince. When his father died, the new rulers of the Nupawa did not treat his family well and he was denied the prestige he felt his nobility accorded him. He was a Muslim who nonetheless hated the Muslim Fulani…he like Eunice Pam has nursed his grudge for over two decades- first against his own people, then soon enough against the entire country. (pp.160-161)

The character of Varak is used in the novel to portray the political grievances that exist in the heart of the politicians who felt cheated in the distribution of power and wants vengeance, through political violence, where the masses are used as tools to achieve this aims and the same masses becomes the victims of this grievances. Varak's medium of vengeance in the novel is seen in his manipulative use of HuramiGuma a character like himself who is also bitter over the handing over of the chieftaincy which he thought was due to him but given to HodioArdo. Therefore, wants to pass his revenge on his fellow Fulani and the country at large. Conflict reinforces hatred, and may shift the balance of influential interest in favor of continued conflict.

This suggest that the party entrepreneurs that profits from the conflict would do anything including sabotaging the peace and progress of the state for it to continue. According to Paul Collier et. al. (2003):

> Violence entrepreneurs, whether primarily political or primarily commercial, may gain from conflict to such an extent that they cannot credibly be compensated sufficiently to accept peace. Those who see themselves as political leaders benefit from war because they can run their organisations in hierarchical, military style with power concentrated in their own hands, something much more difficult to justify in peacetime. Those who see themselves as extortionists benefit from the absence of the rule of law in the areas they control. However, leaders see themselves as if they will have invested in expensive military equipment that will become redundant once they agree to peace… (p.12)

The party entrepreneurs in this text are the Eunice Pam group who harbor political grudge against the society and have nothing to lose but rather more to gain in the disruption of the societal peace, which will give them their desired goals to rule. They are portrayed as the pioneers of the inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict that exist in the novel, as projected in the assertion of Ade a member of the group thus: "…yes Madam, Varak is correct. The arms have been shared to the mosques and churches we control, and the other distribution points you indicated. Our agents also, I have been informed by Hakim, are awaiting instructions. Everything is as it should be…" (p.162) the greed for power and authority by this group of Eunice pam wants the destruction of the country so as to be able to rule the ashes that remains of it. Greed in politics has been a common discuss in Nigerian novel as politicians or political elites in their quest for power or leadership displays greediness over the nation's wealth. This group like the politicians involved in the civil war, wants war so as to be able to achieve from the destructions and ruins of the country and therefore picks a date for the country's death as stated thus: "it is difficult to choose the date for a country's death: I've thought long and hard- let us succeed on

the day Nzeogwu failed. January 15th, she said looking around the table and catching nods from her friends." (p.163)

The text focuses on the quality of individual's life, daily activities, thereby giving his characters more importance than the plot, as the events in the text are not chronological. The mixing of events and actions in a fragmentary way is used to portray the political manipulations of the people in the society by the political elites. The novel gives an extensive description of the people, their daily activities and the effect of this violence on them. The novel gives a vivid description of the toll these conflict and religious disagreements have on the society as portrayed in the university and hostels, the tensions that surrounds the students, the fear for their lives:

> "Through the night, the sentinel of death has stoked the heart of the students with rumors-that it was a religious conflict, that Muslims had been killing Christians, that Christians had been killing Muslims. Through the night, those unable to sleep had smelled the smoke of burning buildings in the air, some had claimed to hear screams and shouts coming from this way and that way." (p.123)

This further portrays the destructive effect of this conflict on the society through Rahila's description on the destruction the society suffers: "they had passed through the town in silence, sections had been charred by fire, shops looted, and in some places there had been black blood on the ground…" (p.124) another example can be seen in the report of the Federal Commissioner of police Patrick Chwukuma that:

> Well, they have burnt five police stations, at the very least. Three of my DPO's are missing, and half of my communication lines are down. The third police station was burnt at GidanWaya-Forest, just50 km away from here. I have reports of sophisticated arms being used and the Red Cross and NEMA are still trying their act together. Some of the police stations have been attacked by Fulani herdsmen for God' sake; who would have imagined that?... Priests and Imams turned warrior. The SSS boys say the riots are inching up to Makurdi and Lafia. (p.208)

The political unbridled, religious and ethnic activities in the society, characterise the politics of violence in the novel is suggestive to the fact that this political crisis doesn't just affect the north central alone but all over and by extension the world, as by Ibrahim Dibarama assert: "You see Mr. Commissioner, these people, elites who mock the constitution of this country, they do not exist only in the North Central. They are anarchists and they are all over the place…" (p.209). A post-electoral violence occasioned by grievant politicians as portrayed in the novel is a common situation over the world, in which politicians who hide under the disguise that they are doing the society good or saving the society from corruption but rather having their revenge on the society.

The grievance of Eunice over the place of a woman in the society and the fight for women right which was her reason for being a political figure was loss to her as she became bitter and aggressive over the conflict she has with is Ibrahim Dabarama and his son Faruk. This however is one of issues the novel reflect; the loss of focus or purpose in politics. The loss of focus in politics by the politicians and the obsession for power and authority in the country is a common thematic concern that runs through every political novel. The obsession for power in politics has always have negative impact on the society, a ''do or die affair and 'I want this position at all cost', has created war and havoc on the society. Hiding under the umbrella of doing the society good or fight for religion is a claim that brings about misunderstanding and war in the society as Eunice Pam claim that:

> "the Muslims want to take over this state. Look what they do; Christians are killed every time anything happens, in Kano, in Bauchi, in Sokoto. Every time anything happens, they go out to burn the churches. Can't you see that the North Central must remain a heartland? For Christians. For the north Nigerian minorities…" (p.99).

This claim by Eunice Pam, is a means to back up her action, that all she is doing is for the welfare and peace of the Christians so as to gain their support. However, the reply of her daughter to this assertion counters this claim as she stated thus: "…Goddamit! I hate your

politics mother. You are not doing anything for the sake religion! Nothing! Not a single thing…" (p.100) this reply is suggestive of the text that these activities or claims has no benefit for the society or state, rather it is seen as a means to create division and war in the society, and that the implications of these claims always fall on the helpless mass in the society.

This political obsession goes hand in hand with political manipulation, as manipulation is the method use to achieve these obsessions. This manipulation is portrayed in the novel through the political elites and their use of the society and individuals in the society to achieve their political wants and desires. This is portrayed in the description of Rose and Jamiluna'Hauwa thus: "Rose Dakyen, like Jamiluna'Hauwa, became a chess piece on a table whose dimensions she is unaware of in what she knew was a game of all stakes". (p.139) the novel satirise the manipulate use of the masses to achieve political violence in the society, as a means of discussing the socio-economic condition of the country through characters like Lohnan, Eunice pam's driver, the three bandits who were paid to kill Faruk and the manipulated students on campus as reported by the student leader that:

> The separatist sentiments you have fought against last century need to be combated on the campuses. That is where the new fight is. If you wait until children grow up and become partisans of jingo, it will be too late…they fund 'community' associations and 'tribal' associations, even 'clan' associations on campuses. Heavy money finances these groups, money often from shady people and shadowy organisations…everybody is a 'president' of some faction or another! These separatists come with their money and create puppets on the campus… (p.44-45)

This manipulative methods of the separatist group mentioned in the above quotation, are methods of recruiting members that will aid their activities of disrupting the system of government and leadership in the country, as a means of having their revenge on the society. These characters, both the students and the other characters mentioned above are less privileged

in the society unlike the politicians, risk their lives for love in the case of Rose and little amount of money paid to them in respect to the other characters. This however suggest the economic situation of the country like unemployment and the poverty state of the country which encourage the society to do anything in order to get money. Summarily, the novel can be seen as a satire of democracy. Democracy which is often defined as 'government of the people, by the people and for the people'. This implies that a democratic government is that which is originally elected by the people. It is voted in by the masses to serve and work for the general growth and development of the people, but reverse is the case. The elected politicians are not after service for either the people or the nation, but after their own selfish interest, while the people are used as tools to achieve this aims.

City of Memories by Richard Ali, dramatizes the tensions and conflicts that result from the effect of socio-political changes in the country. As a realistic novel, it depicts the anguish of the masses under political conflict and violence. The novel does not only focus on the characters and incidents of the ruling class or nobility alone but also on the predicament of the masses, by choosing issues from contemporary life. The concern of the novel is underlined by direct observation, factuality, experience and induction which helps the reader arrive at general truth on the basis of repeated experience. The novel advocates for the cause of the common people who are victims to this act of violence and strife between politicians or political parties in the society, by portraying the masses as the victims who do not deserve to suffer the conflict between oppositions among political elites. The novel further showcase that the ills of Nigerian society and the trouble with Nigeria lies in its leadership and the inability of these leaders to take immediate actions to put a stop on the violence that wants to rip the nation apart.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The study has examined politics in contemporary Nigerian novel with particular reference to Wale Okediran's*Tenants of the House* (2009) and Richard Ali's *City of Memories* (2012). It establishes the relationship between politics and literature by exploring how writers either satirise the country or the political system/activities of the political class. It also establishes politics as a never ending quest and a theme that runs through almost every literary work. In doing so it asserts the utilitarian function of literature through a review of other literatures that depict the role of the writer and his art to the improvement and betterment of the society or country as a whole.

Politics in contemporary Nigerian novel as examined in this research revolves around the fourth Republic, a period which marks the transfer of power from a military system to a democratic system. Nigerian writers through their literary output have often projected the socio-political happenings in their society by drawing from different historical epochs of their nation's history. Okediran's *Tenants of the House* and Ali's *City of Memories* both draw from the early period of the Fourth Republic in an attempt to reflect the realities of politics in Nigeria. To achieve this, the study adopts realism as its analytical tool to investigate how the selected texts replicate the Nigerian political realities. The realities that form the discourse of politics in Okediran's*Tenants of the House*, include the reality of the political class and their inordinate activities. *Tenants of the House* is a realistic novel that reflects issues that pervade the Nigerian political landscape in the early periods of the forth Republic. The text discusses issues like impeachment; a rampart situation in the country at the time, it also reveals the corrupt practices of the political class in managing public funds and the undemocratic practices of politicians as far as relating to the

plight of the masses who voted them into power is concerned. The study examined the text as a satiric representation of the political class and their violation of the oath they swore to the masses and a bridge of promise as far as a better country – equality, equity, improvement in both rural and urban area – is concerned. The text projects a picture of leaders who are after institutionalizing themselves in power and securing lifelong comfort for their families. Okediran in his text paints the political elites as vultures who wants to strip the nation of its wealth, and as corrupt set of individuals who are money conscious and not different from their predecessors.

Like Okediran, Ali's *City of Memories*' focuses on the political class and the effect of democracy on the country and how the introduction of a multi-party system in the country brought about war and violence in the country. The novel as a realistic novel reflects the use of religion and ethnic differences as a tool used by the political elites or politicians to fight against their opponents in politics, thus leading to political violence in the society and war in the country as a whole. The novel satirises the effects political violence on the helpless masses, through a depiction of death and destruction of property and family relationship. These two texts satirise the democratic system of government in the country by portraying the political elites as undemocratic, and their manipulative use of the common masses as means to achieve their grievous desires. Similarly, Okediran and Ali reflects contemporary problems affecting the country, in respect to the conflict that exist between the farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the country, by showcasing the effect of this conflict on the minority in the society. The two texts project the conflict that often surrounds the quest for power in the country, while the political conflict in Okediran's text is characterized by a gross display of greed and acquisition of wealth, the conflict in Ali's *City of Memories*' is mostly an issue of political violence and manipulation.

The two texts reflect the reality of the political class and their activities but in different ways. While *Tenants of the House* portrays the political class as scavengers and dupes who prey on the nation's wealth, *City of Memories* satirizes democracy on Plateau state and by extension Nigerian democracy. It also touches on the effect of Multi-party system in the country, which brought about political violence and the loss of life and property. In this sense, it differs from Okedirans' representation of reality of the political class.

In essence, the two texts used in this research project the political realities of the country, the aristocratic class, the masses, the effect of the corrupt activities of the political class and their indifference to the plight of the common masses who voted them into power. In doing this both writers deploy satire toridicule the undemocratic nature of the political elites.

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