

**CORRUPT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN SELECTED
YORÙBÁ NOVELS**

BY

EMMANUEL AKÍNYÍNKÁ ÌLÒRÍ
B.A. (IFE); M.A YORÙBÁ (IBADAN)
MATRIC NO.: 146745

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by Mr. **Emmanuel AkínyínkáÌLÒRÍ** with Matric. No.: 146745, in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.

.....
Supervisor

Àrìnpé Adéjùmò

B.A. Hons.; M.A.; Ph.D (Ife)

Professor, Department of Linguistics and African Languages,
University of Ibadan, Nigeria

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to God, the King of kings, Lord of lords; to my parents, Late Chief Joseph Ajíbádé Ìlòrí and Mrs. Agnes Adùṅṣà Ìlòrí. (Màmá, you were alive when I started the process of this work, but God called you to eternity before its completion. Your prayers and motherly support for the success of this work will ever be remembered and appreciated. Sleep well Màmá). To my late brother, John Akíntólá Ìlòrí and My dear and loving brother, Mr. Moses Akínyelé Ìlòrí. To my dearest wife Mrs. Esther Idowu Ìlòrí for her love, support and understanding, and to my children Michael Akínwale, Amos Olúwasèyí, Joseph Olúwafikáyòmi and Gloria Ọmọtólá.

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ABSTRACT

Corrupt political leadership and other issues related to misgovernance are some of the motifs in both pre-independence and post-independence Yorùbá novels. Existing studies on the novels have focused more on political consciousness, governance, political manoeuvring, general thematic features of political events, stylistic devices and characterisation than on the issues of corrupt political leadership in Nigeria. This study was, therefore, designed to examine the representation of corrupt political leadership in the pre-independence and post-independence Yorùbá novels with a view to critiquing how these motifs are narrated in the novels, and its implication for political leadership crisis in contemporary Nigeria.

Marxist Sociology of Literature and Postcolonialism were adopted as framework, while the interpretive design was employed. Eight Yorùbá novels were purposively selected based on their paradigmatic representations of corrupt political leadership in pre-independence and post-independence Nigeria. Out of these novels, two representing pre-independence period; three represent both pre-independence and post-independence periods, while three cover the post-independence period. These are Adébáyò Fálétí's *Ọmọ Olókùn Eṣin* (Ọmọ) and Ọládípò Yémitán's *Gbóbaníyì*; (pre-colonial); Akínwùmí Isòlá's *Saworoide*; Afólábí Ọlábímtán's *Baba Rere* (Baba); Olú Owólabí's *Ọtẹ̀ Nìbò* (Ọtẹ̀) (pre-independence and post-independence), and Afólábí Ọlábímtán's *Orílawẹ̀ Àdìgún; Ijàmbá Şẹ̀lú* (Ijàmbá) and Léré Adéyemí's *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà* (Àkùkọ̀) (post-independence). The texts were subjected to critical literary analysis.

In all the texts, corrupt political leadership is projected as the major encumbrance to feasibility of good governance and democratic stability in Nigeria. The corrupt political leadership motifs that were depicted in the texts are violation of human rights in *Ọmọ*, perversion of justice in *Baba* and *Orílawẹ̀*; electoral manipulation in *Gbóbaníyì*, *Baba*, *Orílawẹ̀* and *Ọtẹ̀*; godfatherism and propaganda *Şaworoide* and *Ijàmbá*; vandalism in *Ọtẹ̀*, *Orílawẹ̀*; political assassination in *Şaworoide*; Character assassination in *Orílawẹ̀*; bribery and extortion in *Gbóbaníyì*; marginalisation and ethnicity in *Orílawẹ̀*; nepotism in *Àkùkọ̀*; diversion of public funds in *Şaworoide*, *Ijàmbá* and *Àkùkọ̀*. Two strategies are deployed to perpetrate corruption in political leadership: manipulative and exploitative strategy. Manipulative strategy occurs in electoral manipulation, treachery, character-assassination, abuse of power, vandalism, godfatherism, political assassination, thuggery, coercion and propaganda as shown in *Baba*, *Ọtẹ̀*, *Gbóbaníyì* and *Şaworoide*; ethnicity, marginalisation in *Ọmọ* and *Orílawẹ̀*; nepotism, perversion of justice and sit-tight syndrome in *Ijàmbá* and *Àkùkọ̀*, while exploitative strategy manifests in bribery and extortion, kickback, suppression of press freedom, diversion of public funds as depicted in *Ijàmbá* and *Àkùkọ̀*. In *Ọmọ*, *Baba*, *Ọtẹ̀* and *Gbóbaníyì*, exploitative strategy is foregrounded. The implications of these vices on the nation are bad governance, emergence of leaders with questionable character, injustice, violation of the rule of law, subversion of standard and merit, mismanagement of public resources, democratic instability and underdevelopment.

Corrupt political leadership in Nigeria, as revealed in some Yorùbá novels, is a major obstacle to the overall socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. Therefore, communal effort is recommended in demanding for good governance as depicted in the selected novels.

Keywords: Corrupt political leadership, Pre-independence and post- independence, Yorùbá novels, Neo-colonialism.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Literature as a discipline examines human lives, as well as their cultural, social, economic and political activities in society. Human society experiences social, cultural and political conflicts, changes and challenges all the time. Life and experience of human beings in their environments are often represented in works of art because they are intricately linked to their environments. Akpu (2010:66) opines that “a literary artist is a man of many parts. He is at one time and same time a visionary, satirist, a people’s spokesman”. Literature, a powerful instrument, has an immeasurable impact to reshape and restructure societal vices by depicting the society as it is that is; creating a semblance of the social, cultural and political realities and suggesting alternative patterns. Mkaanem (2010:80) posits that ‘literature is a social phenomenon constantly sensitive to and exposing new aspect of life, current demands and hope, giving rise to new social attitude and relationships, which were hitherto notice’. Literature is seen as a veritable tool to shape the society for better.

The indispensable role of arts in society is imperative as literature does not thrive in oblivion; it emanates from the conscious act of man in a society. Ngugi Wa Thiong’o (1972:15) avers that:

Literature does not grow or develop in a vacuum, but it is given impetus, shape and direction by social, political, religious and economic forces in a particular society.

Politics is an act of governance, while political leadership signifies governance, decision-making and management of resources and other affairs in a nation. Political leadership is attained through election or selection of candidates through organised forms in free and fair processes to take charge of the nation’s affair. Literary artists as members of the society always draw attention to the political situation in their society through their forms of writings - poetry, prose and drama. Yorùbá literature evokes the whole ways of life of people, addressing and redressing social, cultural and political changes and challenges of the people. Literature is significant as a form of literary expression to reflect and refract social, cultural and political realities in society. Literary artists analyse society and interpret the opposing realities which are working against societal needs, expectations and aspirations for maximum development.

Leadership is a crucial factor in human management, with a clearly defined goals or objectives. It is unfortunate that the bane of Africa's underdevelopment is leadership failure that is characterised with corruption or corrupt practices. Corruption which was planted by colonial masters is as old as African society. There were traces of corruption in Nigeria before colonisation but not well manifested, pronounced and widely spread in the society till after colonisation period. Corruption is an offshoot of colonial master's leadership style, fraudulent acts and oppressive practices. Leadership corruption or corrupt practice in Africa, Nigeria inclusive, is a form of social virus which is a hybrid of traits of deceitful anti-social behaviour inherited from colonial masters and nurtured into indigenous Nigerian context. After the departure of the colonial masters, the colonised people continued in the same manner of the colonial masters' corrupt leadership style. Pre-independence administration in Yorùbá land was relatively peaceful, focused and the society was well organised with little corruption. The Yorùbá novelists, aware of this changing culture of political leadership in Africa and the attendant corrupt practices, give vivid depictions of realities in their texts in line with the subscription of African literature to the concept of art for life's sake. They present scenes of inept leadership and corrupt practices in their novels as reflected in the selected Yorùbá novels.

The major challenge to Africa's underdevelopment is the inefficiency of its leaders who have failed the masses through monumental corruption and bad governance in the society. Nigeria as a nation is greatly blessed naturally and materially but faces challenges of inept leadership and corruption which brings about severe suffering, hardship and squalor to the masses and underdevelopment to the society. It is of note that Africa inherited corruption or corrupt practices from the colonial masters; this is reflected in the activities and operations of the leadership mode of governance in the society even till today more than six decades after the departure of the colonial master. Achebe (1983:10) observes that:

The trouble with Nigeria is simple and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to its responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership.

Literary artists are actively engaged in re-educating, restructuring and reshaping through their writings, and they furnish their readers with true

representations of social changes and political challenges in the society. The novelists are also inclusive in the works of art revolution. The experiences of man and his challenges in the society are well expressed in the works of art. People's actions to realities and challenges around them are affected by their attitude in deep and complex ways. The novel is a form of literary outlet and a vehicle of strong social and political satire advocating for liberation of the masses and serving as voice of vision for social and political radical changes in the society. Ògúnsínà (1992:6) states that the characteristics of a novel as follows:

It is essentially a written prose narrative of some length and imaginative portrayal of life, with plot, situation and characterisation based on fact of existence. Novel writing is not story reproduction, nor is it a transcription of oral tales; it is, indeed, a literary creation of a world in the author's imagination.

Novelists are visionaries whose works can reform, redeem and correct through the exploration of imagery to present personal experiences. They depict man's challenges and complex affairs in society. Literature aids societal changes and corrections of social ills and abnormalities. Novelists, through their writings, convey their repugnance against social evils and political abnormalities in the society. This explains the nexus and strong ties between the literary artist and his/her society. Literature emanates from society and remains the valuable product of society, censuring man's intimate experiences, challenges and activities in society. According to Lindfors (1997:1) "writers have served not only as chroniclers of contemporary political history but also as advocates of radical social change". Their works thus both reflect and project the course of Africa's Cultural Revolution". Olaníyan (2009:71) submits that:

Politics in African fiction is pervasively and obviously macropolitics, but it has a special orientation, a wide-ranging critical, oppositional attitude against powerful individuals and the formal institutions of state they run and the ideas and attitudes that sustain them. There is also opposition to all those individuals, informal institutions, and ideas and attitudes that are perceived as closely or remotely linked to the maintenance of the social condition under scrutiny. The composite catalyst of this orientation is the novelists' dissatisfaction with the condition of their societies, the social inequality, the widespread poverty and yawning gap between rich and poor, the nonexistent or collapsed infrastructure, the nepotism and corruption of

those in power, and the deleterious effects of all these ills on human and social development.

Yorùbá novelists are conscious of the political situation in their society and therefore engage in art revolution through their works, using political satire. There is preponderant use of realism in contemporary Yorùbá novels, as authors capture the political realities in their society the way they are. Literature is not about avoiding issues but of being crafty in portraying them or creating a world in a different light from what people have already known. Yorùbá novelists, through their writings, convey their messages and present a true representation of political situation and experience in their society. They represent Nigeria as one among the African nations that are politically free to manage their own affairs but remain politically corrupt, and their affairs are being badly managed. They present the pictures of pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial conditions, showing inept political leadership and the level of corruption from pre-colonial time up to Nigeria independence and to the era of military interruption and democratic periods in Nigeria politics.

This study examines Yoruba novelists' representations of inept leadership and corruption as big threats to societal development especially after the departure of the colonial master. It is concerned with corrupt political leadership depicted in the selected Yorùbá novels.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In recent times, leadership as a concept has become a subject of discussion virtually in all reported analyses more than ever before. Leadership question has always been an issue of global concern because it applies to all categories of human collectivities, such as groups, organisations, society, both in formal and informal settings. It is one of the important elements for efficient and effective management and administration. It is obvious that the nation's problems are anchored prominently on the failure of political leaders. This has, in many ways, affected nations' political, economic, social and developmental pace. Literary artists are consciously and unconsciously political in their writings and use arts for restoration of some inevitable values, justice, freedom and human dignity in society. The relationship between literature and politics has pre-occupied the criticism of scholars in novels, poetry and plays. A good number of Yorùbá novels have treated social ills, cultural conflicts, political radical changes,

social realities, and struggle for supremacy and abnormalities, as part of postcolonial evils in Nigeria.

There are several studies on Yorùbá literature, specifically Yorùbá novels which examine Yorùbá novels from different perspectives and dimensions. The existing ones include: Bámgbósé (1974), republished (2007); Ògúnsínà (1976, 1978, 1991, 1992, 1995); Ìsòlá (1978); Olóyedé, (1995), Adékòlá (1992), Olúfàjọ (1988), Adébòwálé (1994, 1997); Ogúnjìmí (1997); Fájényò (1997); Oḍèsèyẹ (2003); Adéyemí (2003); Òsò (2006); Adéjùmò (2008); Shehu (2010); Bólárinwá (2013); Adésànyà (2014); Àdisá (2016); Adéyemí, (2017) and Adéjùmò (2017); Adams (2019) and Aládésánmí & Ògúnjínmi (2020) Most of the existing studies on the Yorùbá novel concentrate on development and classification, literary criticism, worldview, social reality and comparative analyses with scarce attention devoted to the issue of corrupt political leadership which has been the thematic pre-occupation of many writers.

Remarkably, these previous studies are mostly directed on issues related to governance, leadership and political manoeuvring as major challenge to democratic stability, good governance and nation-building, using novel as references without linking their observations with corrupt political leadership negative effects on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria, thereby creating a gap in knowledge.

1.3. Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to examine the motifs of corrupt political leadership and other issues related to misgovernance, as portrayed in Yorùbá novels with a view to highlighting the impact of corrupt political leadership on national development in the Yorùbá society and Nigeria in particular. The objectives of the study are to:

- a. identify and analyse how corrupt political leadership motifs are depicted in the selected novels;
- b. examine the types and forms of political leadership corruption in governance depicted in the selected novels;
- c. investigate the implications of corrupt political leadership on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria as portrayed in the selected novels; and
- d. evaluate the relationship between the theme of corrupt political leadership and contemporary issues in Nigeria, as portrayed in the selected novels.

1.4. Research questions

The research is guided by the following questions:

- a. What are the corrupt political leadership motifs depicted in the selected novels?
- b. What are the types and forms of political leadership corruption or corrupt practices in governance portrayed in the selected novels?
- c. What are the implications of corrupt political leadership on political and socio-economic development of Nigeria as portrayed in the selected novels?
- d. What relationship exists between the theme of corrupt political leadership and contemporary issues in Nigeria as portrayed in the selected novels?

1.5. Significance of the study

The study is significant in many areas. It has both theoretical and practical values. Theoretically, this study contributes to better understanding of the rights of the followership to ensure good governance in the society. The study is of great importance to scholars, especially those in the areas of literary studies and political science, in increasing their knowledge and understanding of the effects of corrupt political leadership in the Nigerian society. It adds to the existing body of literature on literary perspectives to politics, leadership and corruption in the society and Nigeria as a nation. The study will also generate debates among scholars on how to tackle the problem of inept political leadership and corruption in the society and on the quest for good governance as the yardstick for installation of stabilised democratic principles in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

Practically, this study is an invaluable asset to politicians, political analysts, public office holders, lovers of democracy and the civil populace, who are concerned with efficient leadership, participatory democracy, as well as application of democratic principles and good governance. It also facilitates awareness of individual rights on the part of the followership to challenge unresponsive leadership and seek good governance through concerted efforts. The study is the creativity of the novelists' contributions to the politics of the society.

1.6. Scope of the study

In this study, eight novels of Yorùbá expression are purposively selected for analysis. The selected novels cover notable events in Nigeria's political history - pre-colonial and post-colonial periods. The selected novels are Adébáyò Fáléti's *Omọ Olókùn Èsin*; Oládipò Yémitán's *Gbòbaníyì*, representing pre-colonial period; Afólábí Olábímtán's *Baba Rere and Akínwùmí Ìsòlá's Saworoidẹ*; Olú Owólabí's *Òtẹ*

Nibò, representing both the pre-and post-colonial periods; Afọlábí Olábímtán *Orilawè Adigun*; Olú Owólábí's *Ìjàmbá Şèlú* and Léré Adéyemí's *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà*, representing the post-colonial period. Eight out of the ten available Yorùba political novels as at the time of this study are selected for analyses, the remaining ones are Bámjì Òjó's *Ọba Adikúta* and Léré Adéyemí's *Ọba Mẹwàá Ìgbà Měwàá*.

The political experiences under feudalism/monarchical institution, democratic and military/despotic/autocratic regimes in Nigeria politics are critically examined in their selected novels.

1.7. Justification for using Marxist Sociology of Literature and Postcolonial Theories

The concern of Marxist sociology of literature is on ideology of the society. The Marxists believe that class antagonism exists, but can be wiped out through masses' protest. Marxist prostrate that "the state is nothing than a machine for the oppression of one class by another". The economic system determines other features of a society, including its political structure. Marxists e.g impure form of democracy does exist in capitalist nations. The exponents of the theory believe that "democracy is a state which recognises the subordination of the minority to the majority, an organisation for the systematic use of forces by one class against another, or by one section of the population against another" (Ọpẹfẹyítímí 1997:48).

Marxists view the world as a struggle between the bourgeoisie (owners of private property and the means of production) and the proletariat (workers), with economics as the foundation on which the rest of society is built. The state represents an arena in which the haves and the have-not struggle. According to Engels(1880) "The modern state, no matter its form, is essentially a capitalist machine." It is obvious that political power is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another.

Communism is the ultimate aim of Marxists, which they believe will put the means of production in the hands of the people, abolish classes as well as the state, and lead to a world of cooperation and consensus. It is not in doubt that capitalism does not believe in welfarism; Marxists believe that political power is committed to the hand of certain group of people bourgeoisie in the society. The bourgeoisie use political power to cheat and oppress other people proletariat in the society. Marxists call for elimination of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat which will make it possible for total emancipation and freedom through masses' protest (Ọpẹfẹyítímí 1997:48).

In Yorùbá society, in particular and Nigeria, in general, the political power is entrusted into the hands of political leaders who in turn betray the trust through embezzling and looting of the state funds for their selfish advantage, thereby resulting to insincerity to the plight of the masses, insecurity, abject poverty, squalor, lack of infrastructure and underdevelopment. There is need for the masses to be united in their struggle to get rid of all forms of oppression and intimidation in the society. Although the masses are not united, thereby empowering the political class to continue in their oppressive tactics through corrupt practice to maltreat and oppress the masses in the society, if they unite and cooperate in their struggle, the political class (oppressors) will be defeated as it is portrayed in the struggle and protest in one of the selected novels, *Saworoidẹ* when the youth protest and get rid of dictatorship (oppressors) who are the political class. Although issues of sabotage and distrust manifest in the youth leader the youth at the end achieve their aim of staging the protest and Jogbo town become a new heaven on earth.

Masses are oppressed by the political class due to lack of cooperation on the part of the masses to protest and get their freedom from political oppressors. The novelists as watchdogs of their society show their disgust through their writings, calling the attention of the people in the society to the fact that there must be concerted effort, co-operation, struggle and protest of revolution to set themselves free from the political oppressors.

Postcolonial theory concerns itself with diverse and numerous issues. It is the political or cultural condition of a former colony. Hence, it is often regarded as a multidimensional theory. However, the major concern of postcolonial theory is the struggle that occurs when one culture is dominated by another. It is about the ways in which the literature of the colonial power is used to justify colonialism and present the colonised culture as inferior. Politics, being part of people's culture need to be examined based on how colonialism influences it and its effects on the socio-economic and political life of the society.

Postcolonial literature emphatically enunciates that European colonialism exists and that the British Empire was in total control and dominated the affairs of the colonised, the effects of which are still being felt till today in the polity. Postcoloniality denotes the (postcolonial) era of realities of disillusionment in Africa when the political leadership was responsible for the neo-colonial woes through leadership crisis

and corruption. The effect of colonisation is noticeable in the operations and activities of the colonised during the postcolonial period.

In Nigeria, political leadership crises and corruption are responsible for underdevelopment in the society as a result of the influence of colonialism in its governance. The novelists, as watchdogs in the society, represent this ugly situation in their writings and call for concerted efforts to get rid of this situation. In order to justify their claims, postcolonial theory is adopted because it reveals how colonial political culture influence and impact self-rule political culture, which have negative effect on general development of the society. This is noticed in governance through political leadership crisis experience and corruption or corrupt practices.

1.8. Organisation of the study

This study carried out to contribute to knowledge in Yorùbá literature and serves as a reference source to other researchers who may wish to dwell on a similar study in future. It is composed of six chapters. Chapter one, the introduction, gives general background to the study. Chapter Two is the review of relevant literature. Marxist sociology of literature and postcolonial theory provide the framework for understanding of political corruption perpetrated by political leadership that resulted in leadership failure and underdevelopment in the society. Chapter Three is on research methodology. Chapter Four provides explanation of corrupt political leadership motifs, types and forms of corruption identified, as reflected in the selected texts. Chapter Five focuses on implications of corrupt political leadership on the nation as reflected in the selected texts. The concluding chapter, Chapter Six, summarises the findings, contributions to scholarship, suggestions for further studies and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, scholarly works on Yorùbá novels are reviewed. The link between literature and society and literature and politics are equally reviewed. Also, related works on leadership, corruption, nationalist movement, governance and democracy are examined. The theoretical framework which guides the study is also discussed.

2.2. Literature and society

Literature focuses on human beings and society. It emanates from society and remains a product and creation of human imagination of the world around. The world serves as the raw material to the writers (Olive, 2013:1-4). Wellek and Warren (1980:94) posit that “literature is a social institution, using as its medium language and social creation”. In a nutshell, literature is all about human experiences and human perception of life in any given society. Literature x-rays the events and activities of man and his environment. Kéhindé (2005:90) remarks that:

Actually, the African novel, as well as all forms of African literature, is always a reflection of its enabling society. The writer lives in a society and takes his ideas, characters and situations from that society. Besides he imaginatively writes about the individuals who inhabit the society and about events which happen in that society. No matter how imaginative a writer may be, the society he knows or resides is invariably the background of his writing.

Nevertheless, we are of the view that Literature also refract, reform and re-organise society and human relations because it is a product of the society designed for the study of human and his environment. It is a light in the direction of change in any society. Literary artists are vested with the responsibility of critiqueing social acts through their writings. The oral, performing and literary artists serve as watchdogs, censuring happenings in society. Many Yorùbá literary artists have engaged in writing on issues affecting societal advancement in order to proffer solutions to the problems to ensure a stable and better future. Ìṣòlá (1995:311) opines that:

Literature often has the pleasant effect of jolting the consumer into a new awareness of hitherto remote

similarities that may now promote a better understanding. Ordinarily, a lot of changes occur around us daily that we do not seem to see because phenomena can become so familiar that we really do not see or notice them.

In a typical Yorùbá setting, the efforts of artists are noticed through their praises and condemnation of characters of the rulers before the subjects, thereby creating room for assessment in the form of accountability and encouragement. This is normally noticed during the period of festivals or rituals when performances, through praise, satirical songs and dance, show the nuptial link between art and society. Literature examines the whole life-religious, social, political and economic-of the people. This is in line with Bámidélé's (2000:4) submission that:

Literature on the other hand is concerned with man and his society. It attempts to develop, elevate, expand and transform the experience of its audience. As a vehicle of human expression, literature seeks to investigate man, his behaviour in society and his knowledge of himself.

This assertion points to the relationship that exists between literature and society and the transformatory power of arts in society. Literature is a product of society; it is all about society and human life; it assesses human life, his activities and behaviour in society. It uses transformatory power to change the cause of events and proffer solutions to man's problems in society. Literature has a major impact on the development of society. It shapes civilisation, changes political systems and exposes injustice. Literature offers detailed preview of human experience, allowing us to comment on basic levels of desire and emotion. Ògúnsínà (1987:19) confirms the foregoing assertion about literature and society, when he states that:

Literature functions as a continuing symbolic criticism of social values. As a virile vehicle of human expression, literature seeks to investigate man, his behaviour in the society, his knowledge of himself and the universe in which he finds himself. Literature is part and product of society. Its nature is essentially social.

Literary artists can act as the mouthpiece of the masses or advocate of the political leaders and their ideology through their literary works to foster a tranquil nation. Literature and politics are inseparable because if the literary artists' ideology corresponds to that of the political leaders, the artist acts as an advocate of political agenda. Where there is contradiction of ideologies or differences of opinion, the art

work takes a revolutionary stance and acts as the voice of the people. Literature is a medium through which the voice of the masses is heard because literary artists are the visionary power of society. Soyinka (1966:7) avers that

When the writer in his society can no longer function as conscience, he must recognise that his choice lies between denying himself totally or withdrawing to the position of a chronicle and post-mortem surgeon.

It can be summed up that literature reflects and refracts the economic, social, political and religious activities in society, as well as moral issues and other social experiences. Literature and society thus influence each other society influences the contents and forms of literature, while literature refracts and reflects the activities in society. Clark (1982:107) submits that “literature and society are interwoven, and none is superior to the other.” The pivot of literature is human relationship in society and the two cannot be separated. Usman (2018:41) submits that:

For the literary artists to remain relevant in their society, they must depict and interpret the realities of the cultural, political, historical, social, religious and economic issues prevalent in their societies.

Literary artists bring to the fore the happenings in their society, the exact realities for possibility of effecting needed corrections in society and to ensure overall development of their societies.

2.3.Literature and ideology

Ideology consists of ideas, value and images which tie men to their social function. It also dictates people’s way of life and how they perform their roles in a class based society. Ideology seeks to give unity of thought, interest, knowledge, judgement and actions to members of a given polity. It focuses on the attention of the generality of its adherents on a common goal. It is a variant form of outlook, creed, systems and movements of thought and programme’ it controls behaviour, demands complete conscience among those who accept it and delimits itself from other ideas in the society.

According to Ukpe (1999:8) ideology seeks for the transformation of the society by identifying loopholes in the current outlook, creed, programme, system or thought. The emergency of an ideology is therefore an indication of dissatisfaction with the prevailing outlook and on attendant vision of a positive alternative to it.

Ideology seeks for the realisation of a higher, fuller, broader and purer state of affairs than what currently exists in the society. Ideology is relevant to political power holders to sustain their continued stay in office or it can be used to justify attempts whether violent or non-violent to change the status quo by the opposition.

Literature and ideology are interwoven as literature springs from ideological view of the world. It is a social institution that uses language as its medium, a social creation. Wellek and Warren (1982: 94) argues that traditional literary devices as symbolism and metre are social in their very nature. Literature represents life and life is in a large measure, a social reality, though the natural world and the inner or subjective world of individual have always been objects of literary imitation.

According to Adeyemi (2003:130) ideology should lead to an unfolding or reality, a grasping of reality and understanding of reality. Ideology seeks to remove the veils of superstition, ignorance, oddmentism and mystification. Işola (1981:404) submits that it is important to note that not all ideas in literary text are true. He further clarifies that literature is a creative work that uses elements of history in its creativity. History is recreated many at times to suit literary artist creative goal.

Barber (1978:4) posits that 'all literature are ideological' He views literature as a productive labour that transforms raw material into finished products. (Egerton, 1976:17-19) argues that ideology shows the imaginary ways in which men experience that literature provides for its users. It is obvious that literature is more than mere passively reflecting experience it gives, but also tries to distance itself from ideology, by this literature will allow people to 'feel' and perceive the ideology from which it springs.

Literature as an instrument of change could be used to defend or oppose an ideology. Ideology is a veritable weapon in a society with classes of divergent views. Actually, these classes will hold conflicting ideologies that will eventually result into class struggle. The conflicting ideologies of the oppressors and the oppressed in a class based society will encourage class struggle between them.

2.4. Literature and politics

The relationship between literature and politics has been a sensitive and controversial issue. Politics relates to the art of governance. Human beings are all enmeshed in politics because they are part of society which they represent through their voices. Olive (2013:3) submits that "literature is an art which brings about

transformation; it is about creativity that fashions something reasonable out of somethings'. Artists cannot ignore politics in their writing because they cannot escape being shaped by political decisions. Literature is seen as the mirror of society with the purpose of representing and re-presenting to hold the mirror in a manner that enables people to perceive reality, both reflected and refracted. Dasyuva (1995:82) posits that:

Literature discusses life by reflecting, or refracting what may happen or what might (have) happen(ed), or what ought to have happen(ed), and not necessarily what had actually happened or is happening now.

Literary artists have engaged in writing on issues of 'political leadership, ineptness and corruption, which is the use of illegal and abusive means to mislead (Adéyemí 2003:11). The effort of political leaders to misrule and promotion of injustice within a human society can bring about social reaction from the masses and the use of force by the leaders, which can result in conflict between the political leaders and the followers. As a result of corruption, struggle for liberation, protest against injustice and use of political forces emerge.

Politics is the activity in which man authoritatively influences decisions and to affect development of a society or nation. The novel thrives as the dominant literary form at the end of the colonial period. At this time, there was great dissatisfaction and disappointment with the political changes experienced. West African writers could not ignore what they saw and perceived around them. They, therefore, employed the novel as a vehicle of strong social and political satire. Yorùbá novelists also engage in writing on issues of political and cultural changes. Olújìnmí (2008:181) claims that:

Òtẹ̀ Nìbò and *Sàngbá Fọ́* are works that treat politics, depicting the First and Second Republic in Nigeria. They comment extensively on policies and politicking especially on how the First Republic was ushered in with hazard, losses and gains. Both texts present to the readers reminiscence of what was then called 'wild wild west'.

The novel has both historical and political significance in relation to politics. A novel is important as a critique of nationalism and state power. Novelists in Yorùbá land notice the changes that occur in the game of politics, such as unresponsiveness of the government, lack of accountability and mismanagement. Some of the changes satirised in Yorùbá novels are political corruption before and after independence and bitter experiences of the electorate during elections in the decolonisation period.

The novel is seen as a form of literary outlet and vehicle of strong social and political satire advocating for liberation of the Yorùbá nation and Nigeria at large from the undoing of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices, and serving as voice of vision and voice of hope for the voiceless to ensure social and political radical changes in the society.

Politics is an act of government, the activity through which power is acquired and ability to influence decisions and policies that affect a society or nation. The writers, being part of the society, are also shaped by political decisions and, as creators of literature, are political animals. The novelists depict situations in the past and focus attention on the present in order to prepare the society for a well sanitised future. They serve as the recorders of the mores and experiences in their societies. Writers over the ages have found ways of dwelling on issues like politics.

Inevitably, Yorùbá novelists respond to the traumatic political and cultural changes since pre-colonial days up to the period of independence through political satire to register their dissatisfaction with the extreme situation of self-rule after colonialism which was full of dashed hopes and disillusionment. In Yémitán's (1998) *Gbóbaníyì* and Ìṣòlá's (2008) *Saworoide* satirically depict how Nigeria fell into political corruption after independence. Olaníyan (2009:73) submits that:

The fight for decolonisation was only half successful: the colonisers were driven away, so there was deracialisation of the state and bureaucracy, but there was no democratisation, the needed other half. The non-responsiveness of the government, its tyranny and lack of accountability, and the inadequate or absent infrastructure all remained or worsened after independence.

Adéyemí (2003:11) argues that “politics and literature can influence each other. Literature is capable of encouraging the masses to participate in the political process through the types of political themes the writers present in their texts. The type of political system in the society could also determine the level of production and consumption of literary works.

Literature and politics are interwoven and inseparable, as one influences the other. The purpose is to present the world in a new light through the narrative power of art. Yorùbá writers value the nature of art, especially the novel, and harness it to communicate the artist's view of society and the world around. That is why Ògúnsínà (1987:14) says:

We are looking for the causes of social evil; we study the anatomy of social classes and individuals to explain the derangements which are produced in society and man. Now it remains for the legislators to define the good and develop it. No work can be more moralising than ours because it is upon it that the law should be based. Our virtue does not consist of words but of acts, we are active labourers who examine the building, point out the rotten girder the interior crevices, the loosened stones, all ravages which are not seen from outside, and which can at any time undermine the entire edifice.

There are some Yorùbá novels that show the viable strength of the artists.

Artists cannot ignore politics in their writing. Akínyemí (2001:23) says:

Politics becomes a suitable subject for literature in Africa because the society recognises the social responsibility of the artists. Therefore, no serious African artist ignores the big social and political issues of his contemporary society in his work of art.

There are some Yorùbá literary artists that portray the political situation and corruption by political leaders in the pre- and post-colonial periods. This is a clear expression that both society and the artist influence each other; and the artist depends on the experiences acquired from society in creating work of art. The imaginative design of the literary artist is a reflection of societal ethos and experiences fashioned to present a new world of his own.

2.5. Scholarly works on Yorùbá novels

Yorùbá novels have attracted scholarly interest because of their values and importance. Ayò Bámbósé's *The Novels of D.O. Fágúnwà* (1974), which was republished in 2007, an examination of Fágúnwà's novels is the first major attempt. He examines multifarious aspects of Fágúnwà's work; the work is a revealing attempt that highlights basic hidden background sources of Fágúnwà's inspiration, his narrative techniques, nature of his language, method of characterisation, themes, plots and didactic expressions. In a related study, Ògúnsínà (1976) gives account of the historical development stages of Yorùbá novels up to the period of 1974. He provides categorisation of Yorùbá novels: novels of Fágúnwà tradition, novels of direct imitation of Fágúnwà tradition, the middle course novels, mythological novels, and the

modern novels. These novels are sub-categorised into historical, social and crime novels.

While Bámgbósé's (1974) and Ògúnsínà (1976) engage general contents and categorisation of Yorùbá novels, respectively, with focus on Fágúnwà, Ìṣòlá (1978) gives attention to the Writers Art in the Yorùbá novels. His work concentrates on the mode of narration, colour of character, use of language, presenting crime Òkédìjì's thrillers, Akínlàdé's detective stories, treatment of realism and a visit to Fágúnwà and the new realism. His work is limited to the writers' requirements and techniques for production of a novel, however, the issue of the readers or the society that the novel is address to is equally important to ensure balancing.

Further, Ajíbólá (1980) investigates the role of culture and traditional customs in Yorùbá novels. He emphasises that formal education has great influence on traditional culture and that this type of education is affecting Yorùbá people, preventing them from appreciate their traditional culture. By implication, this imparts on the writings of Yorùbá novels. Although, his analysis focuses on effect of formal education which is part of colonial legacy on culture and traditional custom without reference to political culture or its effect on general development of the society. His submission focuses on how formal education is having negative impact on traditional culture of the Yorùbá people.

While engaging in a comparative study of the novels of Olábímtán and Ládélé, Olóyédé (1986) discovers that Ládélé novels, for instance *Jé N Lògbà Tèmi*, captures the emergence of foreign social ways of life and their attendant attributes, as brought by the missionaries to Òwọ town, encourage the youths to engage in anti-social, especially the ladies that were carried away by the new styles and new ways of life at Òwọ town and its locality. In similar vein, Olúfàjọ (1988) assesses crime activities in crime novels. She recommends that there is need for the crime novel writers to bring crime to the lime-light in its totality in the Yorùbá society and the nation at large by exposing other forms of crime like white collar criminal activities, drug abuse and peddling and other criminal activities noticed in the society. We agree with Olúfàjọ that the scope of crime novel should be widened to accommodate many areas of crime and criminal activities especially, at this period the society is experiencing the good and the bad side of technological advancement.

Ìṣòlá, (1991) gives a review of image of the ọba in Yorùbá novels. He points out that the image of the ọba in Fágúnwà's novel and others that are categorised to be

of Fágúnwá's tradition, is that of ọba as the all-powerful head of his community without any rivalling authority. However in the contemporary novels the image of ọba is that of is that of modern image that is characterises with struggle for recognition for a place in the new political system, not as honoured as before and replacing his traditional council of chiefs with a group of highly placed, well to do citizen who are nearer to the corridor of modern power. He concludes that socio-political conditions will determine the fate of any traditional institution in any society. We are of the same view with Ìṣòlá that the present socio-political situation will go along way in determining the fate and position of ọbas in the society as the situation is in Nigeria today that the ọbas are giving traditional titles to political office holders who can pay the highest bid to get the title even the chieftancy titles that were not know before to the community where the ọba rules. However, his study covers only Ọbas in Yorùbá novels without linking it with the image of political elites in the contemporary novels he reviewed.

Adékó lá (1992) reviews Yorùbá novels on the Nigerian Civil War. He attributes war to selfish national economic interests, racism and the struggle for political power. He avers that war novels are of great importance in a society where the past can be forgotten easily in the wake of new social realities. He further maintains that Nigerian novels have contributed immensely to the existing body of historical literature.

Adébòwálé (1994) examines styles in Yorùbá crime novels. She carries out a comparative study of the works of Òkédijí and Akínlàdé, and points out their narrative styles, characterisation and how they use language in their texts. She explores stylistic indexto give and in-depth analysis of the work of the selected crime novelist. She submits that despite the differences notices in the writers' texts, their language serves more or less the same purpose which is to impose order upon chaos and to also give structure and meaning to the secret travail which ordinarily life hides. However, her study covers only style of the crime novelists nothing is said about the theme and other features in the novels.

Ògúnsínà (1995) reviews colonialism and the Yorùbá writer: A study of Ládélé's *Ìgbà Ló dé*. He avers that the the play is a depiction of the struggle of the traditional Yorùbá ruling class and the prolerariats against the incursion of British imperialis and its many local agencies. From this point of view, he submits that since the introduction of Indirect rule in 1914, the traditional rulers in some larger communities were relegated to mere puppets under their colonial masters. This he

points out that resulted to the peoples' recentment, and led to Iṣéyìn-Òkè-ihò revolt of 1916. There was socio-political change that characterises the Ológbòjò's reign. Outstandingly, his findings expresses views of the writers on colonisation effect on traditional institution and structure in Yorùbá land using Ladélé's *Ìgbà Ló dé* as lunchpad, he has not relate the effect of colonisation on the traditional institution structure to other effect as corruption and leadership crisis after the exit of the colonial master. It is our believe that colonialism effect is not limited to traditional institution alone, but has multiple effects on the structure and apparatus. The title of the text is a reflection of awareness of a change in life experience, *ìgbà* means period, while *ló dé* means 'has come'.

Also, Adébòwálé (1997) studies political communication in Yorùbá society as portrayed in the novels of Yorùbá expression. Her submission is limited to political communication without assessing the effect of such political communication on the general development of the society.

Ogúnjìmí (1997) reviews tradition, alienation and class struggle in *Ọmọ Olókùn-Esin*. He postulates that the novel is centred on slavery in the Yorùbá feudalistic and pre-capitalist societies in his novel. He emphasis that the lord-vasal relationship is the prominent type of slavery identified in the novel. He submits that the imposition of the hegemony of Olúmokò over the vassal states forms the core of Falétí's novel.

Akinyemí (2001) provides a documentary on Nigeria's political instability using Olú Owólabí's *Òtẹ̀ Nibò* as a lunchpad. He emphasises that African literature always centers on happenings in the society in which politics is a major event. He submits that literary works in Yorùbá, poetry, drama or novel, always present political issues and experiences of Nigeria. This is because the major concern of the writers is to sanitise the society through their writings. His view is on documentation of political instability, moreover, other issues are relating together with political instability in the society such as injustice, unequal distribution of power and wealth, bad governance which are identified as other major obstacle to societal development and denied the possibility of ensuring political stability in the society.

Similarly, Adéyemí (2003) reviews Yorùbá novels and political consciousness. He analyses the novels of Owólabí, Yémitán, Ọlábímtán and Abíódún. He points out that Yorùbá novelist have written significantly on national issues right from colonial

era to the present post colonial period in Nigeria. He submits that the struggle at the time was purely an act of political consciousness, desire for total emancipation of African personality, claim for quality of status and the right of personal dignity. His main focus is on political consciousness using Yorùbá written novels as case studies.

Adéjùmò (2008) examines general views of Afólábí Qlábímtán as a novelist. She identifies cultural diversity as the major reason for religious, ethnic and political conflicts in the society. She therefore emphasises the view of Afólábí Qlábímtán on the role of cultural integration in Nigeria society. She also enumerates the challenges facing Nigeria as a nation, and solutions are proffered to stop the trend, as depicted in Qlábímtán's novels. Certainly, her submission focuses more on cultural diversity as the major reason for religious, ethnic and political conflict without identify the role of inept political leadership crisis and corruption or corrupt practices as other factors responsible for religious, ethnic and political conflicts in the society.

Shehu (2010) investigates trends and issues in culture orthodoxy as depicted in Yorùbá novels and Yorùbá society. She points out that the influence of modernism and globalisation on the Yorùbá way of life, especially incursion of neo-colonial vices is identify as factor that has eroded sanity in the society. She is of the view that Yorùbá novels are veritable tools for culture preservation. In other words, her submission focuses on cultural decay and cultural relegation as the root cause of social vices in the society without linking her findings with other factors, we are of the view that political corruption or corrupt practices and other societal vices are part of the challenges to overall development of the society, Nigeria in particular.

Adéyemí (2011) examines the theme of politics in Afólábí Qlábímtán's *Orilawẹ̀ Àdigùn*. He asserts light on the changes and transformation that was noticed in traditional institution, which is monarchical and the shift to democratic administration in the society. He cocludes that the novelist played a greater role in the spread and sustenance of democratic governance in the society.

Bólárinwá (2013) investigates conflict management strategies in Yorùbá novels. She critically discusses different forms of conflict in the society and how they are managed. She is of the belief that if conflicts are well managed in the society, there will be greater opportunities and development of the nation. She concludes that conflict management strategies as portrayed in Yorùbá novels can be adopted to solve real life conflict situations. She highlighted political crisis and suggest alternative for its management, however, her work is limited to political crisis

management and not on leadership crisis and corruption or corrupt practices in the society, Nigeria in particular.

Adésànyà (2014) reviews the forms and functions of non-verbal communication in Yorùbá novels. He points out the importance of non-verbal communication in Yorùbá land as reflected in the selected novels with focus on their application to real life experiences. Àdìsá (2016) examines Yorùbá worldview on family and institutions as encapsulated in D.O. Fágúnwà's novels. She is able to establish the link that exists between Literature and Philosophy with emphasis on in-depth kinship relationship in Yorùbá society.

Exemplification of political conflict in selected Yorùbá novels is the concern of Bólárínwá (2016). He examines political conflict in five selected Yorùbá novels: *Otẹ Nibò* by Olú Owólabí, *Sàngbá Fọ* by Kọlá Akínlàdé, *Baba Rere* and *Orilawè Àdìgún* by Afọlábí Ọlábímtán and *Omọ Olókùn Esin* by Adébáyọ Fálétí. She argues that economic exploitation, oppression, struggle for political power and marginalisation of a group over another are the root causes of political conflict in the society as portrayed in the texts.

The foregoing establishes that intensive research have been done on politically related issues and leadership oppression of the masses in Yorùbá poetry and drama. However, little or no attention is given to political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices in the society and their effects on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria and Africa societies. Also, the plethora of studies on Yorùbá novels has not adequately explored political leadership and corruption as hybrid of the anti-social behaviour of the colonial master which was nurtured into indigenous traditional political system. This study embarks on representations of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices in the society as depicted in Yorùbá novels. The study specifically examines the portrayal of the patterns of political leadership, its failure, the causes of the failure, corrupt practices in the society and the effects of such practices on national development as portrayed in the selected Yorùbá novels. Based on its findings, the study suggests measures to be taken in arresting the ugly trend as alternative patterns that will be relevant to real life situations.

Adéjùmò (2017) analyses envisioning ideal politics, democracy and sustainable governance in the selected novels of Afọlábí Ọlábímtán. She focuses on politics, governance and democracy as depicted in the novels of Ọlábímtán. She foregrounds

the ideological views of Olábímtán on how progressive democracy and sustainable governance can be entrenched in Nigeria in order for the nation to be globally relevant in the political realm. Remarkably, she emphasises on ideal possible way to ensure good governance in the society using only a novelist, her submission silent on reasons for hinderance to non-actualisation of good governance in the polity as represented in the work of other political novelists.

Adéyemí (2017) assesses representation of the military era in Bámijí Òjó's *Oba Adikúta* which portray Nigeria as a nation and the brutality of the military on the Nigeria masses before return of democratic governance in Nigeria. He points out that the nature and situation of the novelist society that time is highly reflected as a nation that is infected with unequal distribution of wealth, love of power and money which is regarded as the root cause of political instability in Nigeria. He submits that there are studies on other Yorùbá political novels about military such as Owólabí's *Ijàmbá Şèlú*, Abíódún's *Adiye bàlókùn*, Olábímtán's *Orílawè Àdìgún* and Adéyemí *Àkùkò Gàgàrà*, but Bámijí Òjó's *Oba Adikúta* requires criticism. The author depicts an imaginative picture of a country that is under a siege of military government. However, he has not related his findings with democratic government involvement in the nation's predicament, as depicted in Olábímtán's *Baba Rere*, Yémitàn's *Gbóbáníyi*, and Işòlá's *Saworoideas* both military and democratic administration in Nigeria responsible for political instability, bad governance and underdevelopment in Nigeria society. His study is limited to only military regime atrocity without assessing democratic involvement in political instability, bad governance and underdevelopment in Nigeria.

Adams (2019) investigates novelist approach to conflict and conflict resolution using frustration aggression theory to review *Ó sojú mí Adébóyè Yínká's* novel. She points out the myriads of conflicts we may likely come across in our micro and macro societies and suggest possible ways of solving these conflicts. As good as her review is on conflict and conflict resolution, she is unable to identify and analyse political conflict and strategies for resolving them as part of myriads of conflicts in the society. Her review is limited to only one novel for analyses which could not enough to give detail review of conflict and conflict resolution by the novelists.

Aládésánmí & Ògúnjínmi (2020) analyses cultural relativism in women emancipation in *Mórémí Ajàńsorò* using feminist approach. The author submits that the roles of women are practically indispensable in the society without recourse to advancement in civilisation and technology. The authors' view is centres on cultural

relativism in women emancipation in the society making reference to iconic role of Móremí Àjànsóró. In the actual sence, the review is scanty on the role and involvement of Móremí Àjànsóró in liberation of Ifẹ people which is politically significant and relevant in the history of Ifẹ kingdom as a women leader. Her political role is mentioned on the basis of critique on her role as a liberator and goddess of Ifẹor as a traitor wife in Ùgbò kingdom.

2.6. Leadership

Leadership is an important component of any society. It is associated with governance and administration in any organisation for efficient and effective result. It also relates to qualities, such as responsibility, accountability, transparency, responsiveness and standards to ensure good result. It also refers to a body of people who lead and direct the activities of a group towards a shared goal. Leadership is required for guidance and goal accomplishments, but, at the same time, it can also misguide and engender underdevelopment. Leadership also involves the inducement of followers by the leader to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivation, the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations of both leader and followers (Burn, 1978).

Leadership has wide applications. It applies to all categories of human collectivities, such as groups and organisations, both in formal and informal settings. Leaders are those who lead, impress, organise, influence and inspire the followers to do things, either through forced obedience or voluntary consent. A leader is empowered to direct and initiate the affairs of a group with the aim of achieving the set goals of the people he/she represents. The success or failure of a leader highly depends on the situation and where he/she operates.

Yuki (2002:2) affirms that 'leadership is more or less a social influence process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person or group of persons over other people or group to structure the activities and relationships in a group or organisation'. This shows that the success or failure of a political system or organisation setting depends largely on efficient and effective leadership for goal attainment.

Ògúnmojó (1978) states that a leader is a servant or steward of the people who understands the needs and aspirations of his followers and also serves as an advocate of good conduct. Burn (1978) describes leadership as the reciprocal process of mobilising by persons with certain motives and values, as well as various economic,

political and other resources in a context of competition and conflict in order to realise goals independently held by both leaders and followers. Leadership can be summarised as the act of implying a purposeful direction of the affairs of the group or people with mutual agreement to achieve defined and common goals, which will be to the benefit of the led and the leader.

Leadership entails openness, trust, patience, impartiality, sociability, appropriateness in hearing and judgment delivery. Fádípè (1970) ascribes settlement of communal disputes, keeping and maintenance of internal and external orders and execution of authority to leadership. Oyèbámijí (2012:16) submits that:

Leadership involves shared opinion, view and ideas. It emphasises collectivism. A good leader gets the best out of his followers, not by coercion but by voluntary submission. Leadership should involve and include followership. A good leader, therefore, is one who will always understand and take cognizance of the personalities, power, attitude, standards, and needs of the followers.

A leader must always carry his/her followers along because of the love, and trust they have in him through being virtuous. He should be able to inspire others, dedicated and have a proven ability to set an example to be followed. He should possess ability to understand human behaviour.

2.6.1. Leadership Qualities

There are some attributes that are expected of a leader who is set to ensure effective results. Olúmese (1985: 54) highlights what a good leader should have as personality attributes, vision, drive, good judgement, initiative, poise, maturity and basic education with majurity, age, experience and exposure. Northouse (2004) identifies four common themes to adopt in conceiving leadership:

- a) Leadership is a process;
- b) Leadership involves influence;
- c) Leadership occurs in a group context; and
- d) Leadership involves goal attainment;

A good leader should also possess the following qualities for efficiency and good result:

- a. purposefulness;

- b. vision;
- c. ability to initiate ideas and sustain them;
- d. sensitivity;
- e. foresight;
- f. knowledge of the group or organisation he/she is leading;
- g. discipline;
- h. decisiveness;
- i. honesty;
- j. responsible; and
- k. ability to set goals and strategies, especially to develop strong capacity to respond to challenges at all times.

In line with the above enumerated attributes of a leader, Okùnádé (1989), cited in Okùnádé (2008:18), opines that ‘leadership must always identify and represent the aspirations of the people or the collectivity of the people it is leading’. This can determine acceptability of a leader by the followers and ability of the leader to gain compliance of the followership. Strongly, there should be strong tie between the leader and the led in the society as the level and degree of achievement of the leaders is largely rested on the kind of cooperation and acceptability of the followers. The Yorùbá adage says ‘*igi kan kò le dágbó ẹ*’ (a tree cannot make a forest) no matter how a leader possesses these aforementioned leadership qualities, he or she needs the cooperation of his followers to achieve maximally.

2.6.2. Types of Leadership

Leaders emerge, not that they are born with the traits. There can be good and bad leadership, depending on the character of the leaders (Okùnádé, 2008). Good leaders originate ideas, manage and perfect visions and ensure accuracy and realisation of the aspirations of the group or organisation they lead. They deliver what they promise.

Oníyèlú (2011) and Oyèbámijí (2012) establish three types of leadership. They are traditional leadership, leadership based on personal qualities and leadership based on legality. Oláyíwọlá (2013) identifies other leadership forms to include Institutional leadership, professional leadership, political leadership, democratic leadership, bureaucratic leadership, charismatic leadership, prowess leadership, clandestine

leadership, transformative leadership, spiritual leadership, temporal leadership, self-imposed leadership and servant leadership styles.

2.6.2.1. Traditional leadership

This is the leadership that is based on traditional beliefs and values. This involves traditional laws and conventions that are binding on the leaders and the followers to ensure efficiency in the discharge of duties and roles in society. It has divine right or possesses the right to rule by virtue of birth or class. In this category are *o*bas, *o*bis, *e*mirs, *o*bongs and other traditional title holders. Such people are believed to be rulers because of long existing traditional norms and ethos. They are appointed by the kingmakers, depending on the area.

2.6.2.2. Leadership based on personal qualities

Some people are appointed or made leaders based on certain identified unique personal qualities. Such persons always possess distinguishing traits that make them stand out in the society. For example, Sango, the fourth traditional king in *Òyó*, was made a ruler after *Aláàfin Àjàká* because of his metaphysical prowess and valour (Oníyèlú, 2011).

2.6.2.3. Leadership based on legality

This leadership type is essentially based on established law and constitution. In appointing such leaders, the constitution of the society must be followed. The provision of the constitution of the land will be strictly adhered to; it may be by election or appointment. In this category are presidents, governors and local government chairmen.

2.6.2.4. Institutional leadership

This kind of leadership position is relevant in schools, colleges, universities and other bodies performing teaching, research and training functions. Examples of these are provosts of colleges, rectors, vice-chancellors and directors.

2.6.2.5. Professional leadership

This is leadership position for professionals. The leaders under this leadership style must be trained professionally, with sound educational background. They are leaders of professional organisations. An example is Nigeria Bar Association (NBA).

2.6.2.6. Political leadership

Political leadership refers to those leaders that are leading a set of people or group as a result of the individual's characteristics, attributes and charisma. It does not require any form of qualification or training; claim to leadership is rather loose and free.

2.6.2.7. Democratic leadership

This emerges in an environment where the principles of governance are based on the encouragement and operation of rights of citizenship, such as freedoms of speech, opinion, religion and association. The supremacy of the rule of law and majority law must be in existence. Leaders under this category are always conscious of human rights and equality in the treatment of issues.

2.6.2.8. Bureaucratic leadership

This is for leaders of large-scale organisations and societies applying complicated official rules. This leadership style is noted for specialisation, hierarchical authority, systematised rules, impersonality and secure and meritocratic career structure. The leadership is based on selection and meeting of formal universal requirements.

2.6.2.9. Charismatic leadership

This is a leadership style where the leader exercises his power to transform the society or organisation. Charismatic leaders have powerful emotional and moral impacts on their followers. Some of the religious and political leaders fall into this category because power flows out of the charismatic leaders. At times, they may not be the best leaders; they can be the worst. As corollary to the above mentioned, Weber (1996:132) asserts that a charismatic leader is someone who is quite ordinary, but possesses exceptional qualities, supernatural, superhuman and unique qualities, that are not accessible to ordinary people through the process that sets him apart from others. He further clarifies that charisma is a revolutionary force in the social world which

leads to changes in the minds of actors by causing a subjective or internal re-orientation. As a result of lack of formal rules, no establishment of administrative organs and no precedents to guide new judgements for the staff in the organisation; it is considered greatly inferior to bureaucratic organisation. Conger (1989:17) notes that Charismatic leaders facilitate transformational processes within organisations, because they have ‘powerful emotional and moral impact’ on followers.

2.6.2.10. Prowess leadership

This leadership form refers to leaders with exceptional skills, bravery or courage and valour in the pursuit of and in attainment of organisational or societal goals or objectives. For example, the nationalist leaders struggle for political and economic freedom.

2.6.2.11. Spiritual leadership

This form caters for the leaders that are believed to be naturally endowed with extraordinary and magical powers. They elicit obedience out of awe. They possess unique or distinguished qualities that are unusual of an individual. They are equated to charismatic leaders.

2.5.2.12. Clandestine leadership

This leadership form is for leaders of clandestine organisations. They work for, and play prominent roles in various organisations and state affairs. They can be located in both developed and developing societies, in associations, clubs, even at the State Intelligence Services.

2.6.2.13. Transformational/Transformative leadership

This is a leadership type that is highly rated for its strong values and moral ideas. Leaders in this category elevate people by using conflict to engage followers and help them reassert their own values and needs. Such leaders move organisations from the current level to future state. They create visions of potential opportunities for organisation and society. They reshape organisational practices to adapt to environmental changes. They are known to possess the capacity to translate intention into reality and sustain it.

2.6.2.14. Temporal leadership

The leaders under this category are involved in the governance and administration of the state. They are the ones holding bureaucratic affairs of the state. Examples of these are judges and leading businessmen and businesswomen.

2.6.2.15. Self-imposed leadership

This type of leadership is occasioned by an impending threat of disaster or catastrophe or a crisis situation. The leader under this category takes risks to impose himself without opposition and claims to have answers to arrest the ugly situation but may not necessarily proffer any solution to the existing problems. An example is a military leader.

2.6.2.16. Servant - leadership

This is a form of leadership where the leader engages in serving others. A servant leader is one who is a servant to others. It is a real requirement approach to leadership in the service of others. It encourages and enhances building a better and more caring society (Okunade 2008).

In recent time, leadership failure has become a worrisome concern globally as it is affecting the pace of development of the society. Africa society is not left out of this ugly predicament of leadership failure. This is highlighted in the excerpt below:

Africa's biggest problem today lies with the leadership. They are so removed from the people that they are looked upon as foreigners. They are driven by self-interest, so excessive that their people interests are forgotten-hardly different from the colonial masters.
(Shahadah, A. 2012 'African Leadership: The Root of failure.' <http://www.africanholocaustnet/news/ah/africanleadershiphtml>).

In our own perspective, democracy as defined is a government of the people and by the people and for the people, if well managed is the best form of governance that can aid maximum development in any society. Military regimes are autocratic in nature with total suspension of the nation's constitution and uses of decree formulated by the administrator. This study reviews political leadership and their corrupt practices in the society, Nigeria in particular. We are of the view that servant leadership will be a requirement to enhance societal development and good governance.

2.7. Yorùbá traditional institution

Traditional leadership in Yorùbá land is anchored on the long existing traditional norms and ethos and takes cognisance of distinguished elders in the society as policy makers. The leaders under this category are ọba, chiefs and spiritual leaders. The system of government in Yorùbá land before the coming of Europeans was monarchical or chieftancy institution. The Yorùbá practised a monarchical system of government, with king (Ọba) as the symbol of authority and embodiment of the state. By the virtue of his position as supreme head and with supreme authority in theory and practice, as well as his royal appearance, the ọba in Yorùbáland is an authority; his utterances are taken to be law and highly complied with by his subjects. The king (ọba) is a symbol of power and authority. He is regarded as second in command to Olódùmarè, as he is only answerable to the Supreme Being (Olódùmarè) and not human beings (Adéoyè 2005:5 -10). The king (ọba) is the head of government with his chiefs having governance responsibility and were appointed through hereditary succession. Fádípè (1981:199) submits that the king and his chiefs are vested with executive, judiciary and legislative power because of their knowledge in the laws, customs, usages and traditions of their people. Àtándá (1996:19) avers that Yorùbá system of government ọba as the head of monarchical government is assisted in day-to-day administration by his traditional chiefs. He cannot rule his people alone. His governance is consolidated and effective through continuous advice of his traditional chiefs or council of state. They are appointed to provide basic essence of governance, which is maintenance of law and order. The chiefs are regarded as special advisers and important titles attracted portfolios; by this, they are regarded as ‘Council of State’. In Òyó Empire, Aláàfin was the head of monarchical government with the seven kingmakers (Ọyómèsi) as members Council of State and their selection is hereditary. There are ‘Baálès appointed to administer the villages, and ‘Baálés, compound heads, to take charge of their respective compounds. The quarter chiefs and Baálé determine civil cases and where they could not determine, especially in criminal cases, it is transferred to the king (ọba) for hearing. The king has absolute power to determine cases and the course of religion was used to foster the potency of law and enforcement of court decisions was in the hand of the cult’s members; for example, Ògbóni and Orò cults. Tax and taxation were collected by village heads, quarter chiefs and baáles for administration affairs of the state. Taxation were collected in form of ‘isákólè’. Àlàó (2017:508) says that:

Yorùbá societies before the intervention of British colonial rule had an organised political system. These societies had highly centralised political systems that had similar characteristics in their governance structure but with local variations to accommodate sub-cultural differences. ‘Towns became the centre of political administration under the leadership of ‘òba’ whose pre-qualification or claim to the throne must be supported by a generally accepted tradition usually referred to as a chieftancy declaration. The òba is regarded as a divine king and in theory had absolute powers.

2.8. Colonial system of governance

The system of government in Nigeria that is designed to choose political leader through the ballot is democracy. In this system, it is the people who hold sovereign power over the legislator and government. Adéníyì (2013:380) avers that in democracies, it is the people who hold sovereign power over legislator and government. He posits further that, in modern democracies, supreme authority is exercised for the most part by representatives elected by popular suffrage. It is a system of government that allows people or their representatives to decide state matters. Nigeria as a nation started this experience of self-rule government in 1957 through the adoption of London Constitution which marked the beginning of democratic government. The practice started with Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as the Prime Minister, while the clause in Lyttenton Constitution of 1954 made provision for the appointment of Premiers at the Regional level.

2.9. Nationalist Movements

Nationalism as a concept in the African context means attempt to campaign for the right to be free politically that is, agitation and struggle for independence from foreign rule. Ògúngbémí and Adéwólé (2004:14) describe ‘nationalism as “patriotic sentiments or activities on the part of Africans to assert their rights to live under a government of their own making for preservation of their political, economic and social interest”’.

The nationalist movement was in place before 1914 when Nigeria became an administrative unit. There were two stages of nationalist movement in Nigeria: pre-colonial nationalists’ and colonial period nationalists’ movements. Pre-colonial nationalists were indigenous rulers and individuals who had earlier refused to surrender their territories to the colonial authority without struggle. The Edo, the Igbo,

King Jaja of Opobo and the Olómù of the Itsekiri resisted a set of uninvited aliens in their territories. The Ìjèbù, the Edo, traditional rulers like Jaja of Opobo and Ovenramen of Benin, Kòsókó of Lagos and Herbert Macaulay believed that the white missionaries and educated Nigerians were heralds of British imperialism.

In the colonial period, nationalists and advocates were products of the mission schools. They were those denied equality with the whites. These included Edward Wilamot Blyden, Bishop James Johnson, Mojolá Agbèbi, John Rayne Jackson, William Bright Davies and Tejúmádé Oshóláńké Johnson Ògúngbèmi and Adéwólé (2004:14). There was no organised political movement until the 20th century. Through concerted efforts, they were able to channel various grievances against the British colonial rule and launched opposition. There was emergence of nationalist struggle on political consciousness, cultural nationalism, constitutional conferences and eventual formation of political parties. National Council of Nigeria Citizens was formed by Nnamdi Azikiwe; Northern People's Congress by Ahmadu Bello, while the Action Group was formed by Chief Ọbáfẹmi Awólówò, which paved the way for constitutional conferences and Nigeria independence on 1st October, 1960. The first set of political leaders steering the affairs of the nation were Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, as Prime Minister; Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, as Governor-General, and Chief Ọbáfẹmi Awólówò, the leader of opposition at the Federal level. At the Regional level, Chief Michael Okpara was Premier in the East; Samuel Ládòkè Akintólá was Premier in the West, and Sir Ahmadu Bello was Premier in the North.

2.10. Governance in the society

Governance refers to the activities of governing a nation or controlling an organisation. Governance can be summed up as the process of decision-making and how the decisions are carried out for efficient management of state and institutions, taking into consideration public accountability, transparency in government procedures, rule of law and public sector management. According to Chazan (1992:122):

Governance is the capacity to establish and sustain workable relations between individual actors in order to promote collective goals or as a process of organizing and managing legitimate power structures, entrusted by the people, to provide law and order, protect fundamental human rights, ensure rule of law and due process of law, provide for their happiness or the capacity of entrenched authority of the central state and to regularize its relations with society.

Despite the availability of both human and material resources, Nigeria is experiencing acute governance crisis. According to Yagbóyájù (2013:329), since the mid-1980s when the strong wind of liberal democracy swept across Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, governance is also used as a synonym for democracy. Nigeria embraced democracy as a system appropriate for her political terrain, but it is laced with lack of accountability, lack of transparency, lack of mutual love and openness, misappropriation of public funds, sentiment, tribalism, election rigging, political corruption, bad leadership and political instability which are hindrances to democratic practice in Nigeria.

Governance is how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources to the advantage and aspiration of the general populace for effective development of the society. It is all about decision-making and how these decisions are implemented or not implemented. Bólátító and Emmanuel (2016) posit that:

Governance as a process encapsulates layers of relationship and political nuances between policy makers (individuals who constitute the government) and the citizens. Governance presupposes a power structure with its own hierarchical categories, incorporating the economic, social, cultural, and political tensions within the society, and thus displaying an inherent dynamism which absorbs the ebbs and flow of pressures towards ensuring peaceful solutions to existential problems confronting the citizens within the society. The means of arriving at such peaceful solutions to existential problems and the implementation of such solutions into purposeful action make up what is called the governance process.

Governance signifies the process and arrangements that ensure orderliness and acceptable standard of allocation of resources (both human and material).

. Good governance entails the running of the affairs of government in positive and progressive manners beneficial to the governed, and which delivers the public good. In this regard, African nations, Nigeria inclusive, are far from reaching the level of good governance with the ineptitude of its leaders and great manifestation of corruption and corrupt practices which have resulted to underdevelopment and stagnation of socio-economic and political status of the continent. Sharma (2007:29-62) avers that:

Good governance is the extent which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competence to assure law and order and

deliver public services, able to create an enabling policy environment for productive activities; and equitable in its conduct.

Governance is the totality of executive and administrative functions of the state, the objective to fulfilling terms of social contracts or constitutional obligations to the citizens (Nínálowó, 2005:28-31). On the other hand, the World Bank (1989) contends that good governance consists of a public service that is efficient, a judicial system that is reliable, and an administration that is accountable to the public. Ebiede (2008), cited in Àrèò (2014), observes that:

Good governance is characterised by improvement of public involvement and participation in governance; improved institutional mechanism; adherence to the ideas of the rule of law; enhancement of human right; transparency and accountability.

2.11. Misgovernance/poor governance

Mis-governance is responsible for underdevelopment in Africa, Nigeria inclusive; the leaders in Africa have failed the poor masses in the area of governance as a result of manifestation of their struggle and contest for power, and possible accumulation of state wealth through corruption at the expense of interest for the yearning and aspirations of the teeming masses who are wallowing in abject poverty and suffering, subjected to frustration, insecurity and loss of hope for survival. This is as a result of lack of value and ideal virtue on the part of political leaders; instead, they are antithetical to the intrinsic worth of an *omólúàbí*. Political leadership failure or poor governance started right from the beginning of Nigeria independence which has resulted in the nation's stagnation instead of advancing or forging ahead in every sphere of her national life. The hope and aspiration of the masses are being dashed by the political leaders because much is expected from the leaders, but they performed below expectations. This cuts across African states. The political elite have weakened the state institutions through corruption and are manipulating the masses by enriching themselves illegally. Kéhindé (2016:146) argues that:

Postcolonial African writers show that their continent is under the iron grip of selfish rulers who are blemished with conflicts of values and beliefs leading to mis-governance, corruption, nepotism, kleptomania, sit-tight syndrome, and the like.

Remarkably, Nigeria has never been well governed since independence. As a result of bad leadership both civilian and military leaders have criminally mismanaged the nation's political affairs and resources.

2.12. Democracy and Democratic Administration

According to Zanden (1999) democracy is a political system in which the powers derive from the consent of the governed and in which regular constitutional avenues exist for changing government officials. Democracy emanated from Greek word *demos* meaning 'the people'; *Cratesin*, meaning 'to rule'. Aristotle described political leadership by using the concept "*demos Kratos*" which emphasised on importance and participatory nature in the act of leadership in politics. It is a system of government that is championed worldwide because it facilitates development, promotes the rule of law and its application, advocates protection of individual or citizen's rights and privileges. Nigeria is operating constitutional democracy, which promotes the rule of law. However, democracy is a form of government in which political power is committed to the hand of some people directly or indirectly through election and voting. Tijani (1986:3) submits that 'political democracy is simply the facilitation of the dominance of the majority will in a given political community'. He equally asserts that in democratic regime, conscious and meticulous efforts are made to see that the majority will prevail in the way and manner by which this leadership cadre is selected. In a nutshell, democracy gives citizens a role in choosing their political leaders.

Really, individual's right to vote, making decisions and equality of all citizens, freedom of expression are the features or characteristics of democracy. Democracy exists and grows where free and fair election are highly considered and allowed to produce purposeful and visionary leadership. From the First Republic up to the recent time, which is the current dispensation, there is no enormous improvement and development as expected by the masses in the act of governance and democratic practices. Nigeria's democracy is characterised with high level of political corruption, fraudulent elections, political instability, insecurity and low pace of progressive change and development. This trend cut across the civilian administrations that have ruled in Nigeria.

2.13. Corruption

Corruption can be viewed as dishonest or immoral behaviour that is at variance with the acceptable norms. It is also seen as improper activities and transactions aimed at changing the normal course of events, judgment and position of trust. It is Nigeria's biggest challenge; it is both endemic and epidemic in nature. As noted by Andrig and Fjedstad (2001:4), 'corruption is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon with multiple causes and effects; it takes on various forms and functions in different contexts'. The impact of corruption on socio-economic and political life of Nigeria and her people is enormous. The dynamic impact of corruption in Nigeria is felt by every layer of the population. Nigeria has a long history of corruption which is as old as the country itself (Àlùkò, 2009). The colonial era was characterised by allegations of corrupt practices against the state, and this colonial legacy of corruption was carried into the independence period. Corruption is a ruthless violation of established rules for personal gain and benefits.

Corruption is a global problem and it exists in varying degrees. This scenario is more prominent in Nigeria than in developed nations because of the effective control mechanisms that are put in place in the developed countries Àrèó (2014:196). Oláyíwọlá (2013) identifies two forms of corrupt practices as collusive and anticipatory. Collusive corrupt practice is the planned co-operation of the giver and the taker. This involves forced extraction of bribes or other favours from vulnerable victims by those in authority. Anticipatory corrupt practice entails bribes or presentation of gifts in anticipation of a favourable action on the part of the recipient of the gift.

Corruption remains the most endemic and intractable social menace in the African societies, Nigeria in particular, with its attendants of negative consequences in the society. Political corruption which involves the use of public institutions (state) as instruments of personal accumulation of wealth is seen as a major cause of Nigeria underdevelopment. This menace is the greatest form of human right violation. This has been a matter of deep concern for both the masses and elites in Nigeria because corruption seems to have become an established pattern. It has become an inherited syndrome from one administration to the other as against their promises to eradicate it in the society; they always fall into the same pattern making it a continuity pattern. While tracing the root cause of corruption in Nigerian polity, Mákindé (2016:1) avers that:

1914 Amalgamation is the beginning of Nigeria's problem. The forced amalgamation of different nationalities and languages in the northern and southern Nigeria which later led to these nationalist jostling for power and scramble for the cake unequally baked out of natural resources from regions to the centre. The struggle for power, national cake and attempt by one of the offsprings of cloned percentage, to lord it over the others after independence, led to contradictions and absurdities. The monstrous couple gave birth to two set of twins- first indiscipline and lawlessness, second, greed and corruption.

The prevalence of corruption in Africa and Nigeria, in particular, is traceable to the period of colonialism. It is of note, that, colonialism pattern and style of operations were built on corruption. The colonial pattern or legacy of corruption was fixed into the political structure of independence period. Chinua Achebe, the famous Nigerian novelist, pointed out the incidence of corruption in some of his novels to show literary concern for this menace (Achebe, 1960, 1966 and 1988). Achebe gives literary presentations of corruption to show the level of corruption and damaging effects of corruption in the society, Nigeria, in particular. Omojola (2006:217) avers that:

Because of the colonialist's corrupt disposition to exploit the state for their exclusive benefit, they liquidated social structure against corruption associated with pre-colonial Africa and replaced and or transformed them to their own purposes.

The period of colonialism was renowned for corruption and its legacy was inherited by the colonised political leaders (Nationalists) who failed the masses as presented in the literature of disillusionment during neo-colonial period. There is no other national where corruption has affected the masses and followers as in Nigeria, because of the fact that its negative effect is felt almost every where and every sector.

Corruption is a great impediment to the people of Nigeria. Despite the fact that colonisation ended more than fifty years ago, the seed and product of corruption is still alive making Nigeria to be far from being freed on independent. Àrèò (2014:192) states that:

Corruption is a structural problem which derives from, and has its existence in the political-socio-economic organisation of the society. In analysing the causes, manifestation and remedies of corruption in Africa, it is pertinent to explore the structure dependent capitalist economy (economy base) which African States were

forcefully integrated into how corruption is generated and perpetuated. The pervasiveness of corruption in Africa has to be examined from the nature and character of the African states and its ruling elites.

Corruption is persisting in African continent because the political elites who emerged at the end of colonial rule as leaders were not capitalists like their counterparts in the metropolitan cities of Europe. The capitalists are the owners of the mode of production, while the colonised leaders depend on the distribution of state resources for their personal benefits and accumulation of wealth at the expense of the masses in the society. Àrèó (2014:193) ascribes this assertion to the political elites “at political independent, they came to power because of their political power but lack secure material base”.

In an attempt to highlight the central themes of some postcolonial novels and literature of disillusionment that follow independence in most of African nations, using Meja Mwangi’s novel as reference points corruption and corrupt practices are identified as the bane to Nigrria society. Kéhindé (2004:64) opines that:

The novel shows the corrosive effects of corruption and dehumanisation which have become a conventional way of life in the society of Mwangi’s fiction. The level of intra- and inter-class dissonance and the intensity of exploitation, signified by deceit, confusion, alienation and marginalisation of the masses, also explored. It gives a bleak picture of the lacuna between the rich and the poor.

Against this backdrop, corruption is identified as the root cause of societal woes perpetrated and nurtured by the political class in Nigeria society after the demise of colonial masters’ rule. The seed of corruption and its features that have affected socio-economic and political development of Nigeria since independence were sown during the colonial period. There are numerous cases of corruption or corrupt practices on the part of political elites that took over power from the colonial master; who nurtured the legacies of corruption and primitive accumulation of wealth into the structure and institution of governance in Nigeria; these legacies are in existence till date. Without doubt, there is interface between leadership crisis and corruption as bane to underdevelopment and responsible for neo-colonial woes in Nigeria. Lawal (2006:2) submits that:

Prior to the colonial conquest and control of African polities, the traditional African societies, though not morally

perfect, were not characterised by the evils of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism which became prevalent later.

Corruption in pre-colonial period was minimal and not well pronounced, but was in full force and ascribed to an inevitable result of the dynamism of imperialism, capitalism and colonialism.

2.13.1. **Corruption in government**

Governance and democratic instability in society, Nigeria in particular, is attributed to corruption and bad leadership. Political corruption is a form of corruption noticed among the principal means of private accumulation during the decolonisation period; it has shaped political activity and struggle after independence Àrèò (2014). The Nigerian civilian and military administrations have been pervaded by corruption, which has greatly eroded the fundamental values of democracy and good governance. It has eroded the authority of the state and also challenged the legitimacy of democracy, the best form of governance. Democratic instability is inevitable as corruption in governance has affected the economic life of Nigeria, undermined the legitimacy of the state and made fiscal planning difficult. Falimoni (2005:48) submits that political corruption is ‘an act which deviates from the formal rule of conduct governing the action of someone in position of public authority as wealth, power and status’. Likewise, Àlùkò (2002:2) remarks that political corruption ‘is the use of public office in a way that forsakes the public interest in order to gain some personal advantages. Obviously, when political corruption is entrenched, political activity is dominated by a monopolistic organisation that maintains its power in part through corruption and reaps large rewards from it.

Corruption as an epidemic creates inefficiency in governance and poses a serious development challenge to society. It reduces the value of democracy and good governance by subverting the formal process. It undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance. It aggravates the suffering of the masses and increases poverty level among the masses. Vision 2010 (1997: 162-163) claims that corruption is improper activities or transactions aimed at changing the moral course of events, judgement and position of trust. It is a potent cancer that is responsible for socio-economic and political challenges in Nigeria. It is also seen as a great violation of human rights and cause of the setbacks noticeable in the society.

2.13.2. Type of corruption

Corruption is a manifestation of selfishness and greed to accumulate wealth, power and authority over others or at the expense of others. Oládíméjì (2011:185) and Àlùkò (2009:5) identify some forms of corruption. These are political corruption, bureaucratic corruption, (petty) electoral corruption, economic corruption, judicial corruption, moral corruption, bribery, fraud, embezzlement, favouritism and nepotism. These create inefficiency in governance and pose a serious development challenges to the society. Corruption undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance. It aggravates the suffering of the masses and increases the poverty level among the masses in the society.

Political corruption refers to a form of exploitation on the part of political leaders, resulting in transaction or exchange of public resources and benefits. It implies the abuse of laws and regulations by the rulers when totally ignored or tailored to suit their own purposes. This form of corruption weakens the electoral commission, law enforcement mechanism and judiciary.

Economic corruption is a form of corruption that affects the economy of a state. It is a state of undermining economic development. There will be increase in cost of business through illicit payments. Its effect weakens the state and promotes the poverty level. It propels wide income gap between the rich and the poor.

Bureaucratic corruption is corruption is perpetrated by leaders of large-scale organisations. This manifests lack of national commitment; it involves complex bureaucratic process that undermines the economy.

Judicial corruption creates room for distortion of judgments, free bail and bribery; it results in all forms of injustice. It weakens law enforcement mechanisms.

Moral corruption involves non-payment of taxation on property; it shows disrespect for the rule of law and dishonesty to the nation.

2.13.3. Effects of political corruption

Corruption is dishonesty, deviation from acceptable standards, moral and social norms, absence of transparency and accountability in public and private responsibilities. Corruption has negative effect on national development, which can be monumental. It exacerbates poverty and disproportionately affects the masses and

favours a few individuals who are politically strong and powerful. This form of corruption exerts devastating effects on developing economies. Igwe (2010) observes that “it is easier for a developed country to weather through the storms of corruption than an emerging economy to do so. “The growth of the Nigerian nation is retarded and grossly affected as a result of corruption in as much as orthodox economy theories specify that lower investment rates lead to lower rates of economic growth’.

Corruption undermines democracy and good governance by flouting and subverting formal processes. It reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; it affects the judiciary by compromising the rule of law and poses unfair and inefficient provision of services in public administrations. Aiyede (2006), cited in Ebegbulem (2012:224), asserts that “corruption poses a serious developmental challenge.” It erodes the institutional capacity of government, as procedures are disregarded and resources squandered and siphoned off. It undermines the legitimacy of government and democratic values of trust and tolerance. It undermines efficiency and human and capital development in any society or nation. Compromise is noticed in both public administration and private enterprises as a result of superimposition of informal practices over the proper rules and government procedures through inflation of costs.

Corruption is a great threat to a nation’s economy, thereby escalating high level of poverty, insecurity, unemployment and widespread diseases. It generates economic distortions in the public sector by diverting public investment into private projects. It affects and slows down the pace of economic development through manipulation of funds. In recent years, corruption and mismanagement are the reasons for lack of progress and well-being of average Nigerians. Àrèó (2014:198) avers that:

Indeed, corruption has been identified as the main obstacle to the realisation of good governance. Basically, corruption has eroded political institutions and when government structures concentrate power on decision makers who are not practically accountable to the people and when democratic processes are absent or dysfunctional, corruption thrives. This is the bane of African under development.

Aiyede (2008) points out the following as effects of corruption on political institution in Africa:

- i. It undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. In particular, monetisation of electoral processes in

Nigeria leads to state capture, hijack of policy making and implementation organs by political investors and godfathers who want to recoup or gain massive return on their investment.

- ii. If legislative bodies redress accountability and distort representation, in judiciary, it compromises the rule of law and falls victim of executive dictatorship. Election results have very little or nothing to do with the performance in office of politicians because corruption is effective in achieving electoral victory.
- iii. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government, as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned and public offices are bought and sold.

In the actual sense, his observation shows Nigeria underdevelopment, as corruption is identified as the main obstacle to realisation of good governance in Nigeria. Besides, corruption subverts standard and merit as index for good operation and effective results in governance institutions and sectors.

2.14. The concept of disillusionment

Disillusionment is when the hard truth of reality makes people lose faith in their dream and idea. It is a feeling of disappointment resulting from discovery that something is not as good as one expects it to be. Jameson (1950), *The Writers Situation and other Essays*, ascribes the emergence of disillusionment as an artistic concern to Europe. Agho (1993) as cited by Agúnbiádé argues that “the term disillusionment became familiar in the twentieth century literature especially as it symbolises the frustration man encounters in his attempt to come to terms with the sordid realities of his disordered social context. Destructive advances made in science witnessed before the First World War years in the thirties and the humidifying effects of the war years of the period contributed to the enthronement of despair as a literary theme. According to Jameson (1950: 148 - 149):

Every advance the scientists make in their exploration of the universe pushes us inexorably a little farther from what we used to believe about ourselves and the world we imagined we live in... not content with driving us underground, with making the duration of our lives uncertain, science has driven each of us, solitary, into the darkness of an atomised world.

Indeed, insecurity and fear absolutely increased in Europe after the First World War and the revolution in the world of science. According to Agho (1993), writers of this period who belong to earlier generation include Charles Dickens, Balzac and Leo Tolstoy. Such writers brilliantly handle this in their works like *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina* and others like *Bleak House and Hard Times*. These works through their titles revealed that the authors come to terms with the unfolding changing realities of that time. Also, in Yorùbá war experience, the writers reflect this in their works like Olú Owólábí's *Ìjàmbá Šèlú* and Léré Adéyemí's *Ọba Mèwàá, Ìgbà Mèwàá*. Nigeria civil war is depicted and its effect on the Nigeria populace.

As a result of the traumatic effects of the industrial age and World War on the writers, despair and disillusionment became prominent in the twentieth century as an artistic concept. Similarly, in African situation, despair and disillusionment as literary theme are upshot of African experiences on imperialist overthrow and contemporary realities; this is employed in this study as 'reversed disillusionment'

2.15. Theoretical Framework

A theory implies an idea or belief about something emanating from assumption; it may be some principles, facts and submissions explained in relation to one another and applied for explanation of ideologies or phenomena, especially in scientific study.

2.15.1. Marxist Sociology of literature

Marxist sociology of literature is a scientific theory of human societies and how the oppressed in these societies can change the oppression in the societies through organised struggles of the masses in order to free themselves from exploitation and oppression. Marxism is a scientific theory which deals with the entire world of man's experience and his behaviour with other fellow human beings. It also addresses the process of change within the society and the effects of these changes on social structure. Relationship between bourgeoisie and proletariat is based upon exploitation and class conflict. Literature in a capitalist economy is employed by the ruling class to legitimise and sustain its power (Marx and Engels, 1977). Marxist literary theory advances the understanding of the relationship between literature and the social structure of the society by examining the historical forces which are portrayed in the

contents of such a literary text. To Marx, the power struggle plays out in every novel, poem, movies and songs. This means that anytime a writer writes, he writes to advance his cause.

The Marxist theory is used in the critical analysis of history, society, revolution and economics and later found applicable to literary theory. Marxism as a literary theory developed further by various Marxists like Lenin (1970), Mao (1962), Lukacs (1973), Goldmann (1974), and Brecht (1966), from the writings of Karl Marx (1918 – 1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895). Their views are collected from their scattered writings on literature, which they did not develop systematically. Marxist literary critics are built on early views of Marx and Engels. It advocates social, economic and political experience of man toward redefining human society. Ezijiaku (2014:31) avers that:

Marxist approach to literary artistry differs from other approaches by virtue of its claim... it is characterised by its opposition to social, political and economic injustice which according to it, are products of capitalism.

Marxist theory differs from other forms of criticism in the sense that it feels a radical discomfort with the way things are, and insists on a change for better.

Marxism reveals that political power is committed into the hand of certain groups of people (bourgeoisie) in the society. The bourgeoisie' class uses their political power to cheat and oppress other classes of people (proletariat) in the society. Writers, novelists, poets, and playwrights are compelled to expose all forms of political and economic oppression by the bourgeoisies against the proletariats in the society. Also, they are expected to write on the emancipation of the masses and total freedom from political and economic oppression (Ọpéfèyítimí 1997).

Marxists are more concerned on the ideology of the society; they postulate its use in literary analysis. Lukacs, cited in Bámidélé (2002:3), feels that 'literature as a discipline expresses a world view, or ideology, a whole system of values, as it offers richly human typical characters, concrete situation, and a multidimensional reality'. Literary writers being part of the society write about the events in their societies at different times to expose the forms of oppressive tactics of the political class on the masses in the society. Marxists believe that class antagonism exists but can be eradicated through masses' protests. Marxists stress the necessity of eliminating the bourgeoisie by the proletariat which will make it possible for total emancipation and

freedom. This will eventually wipe away class struggle and eradicate class antagonism completely, and will pave way for national development. Marxists view the world as a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat with economy as the foundation on which the rest of society is built. Marxist believe that the state is an arena in which the haves and have-nots struggle.

Marxism also holds the view that capitalism is not only an economic system, but it is also a political system. Therefore, economic power leads to political power; and that this is the key to understanding of the society. Marxists espouse that capitalism can only thrive on the exploitation of the working class. Marx and Engels were of the opinion that class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would eventually lead to elimination of capitalism. This will definitely ensure social progress and possibility of speaking of freedom.

Marxist theory adopts an ideology which they believe can lead to the emancipation of the proletariat and the oppressed, thereby impacting upon national development. They believe that capitalist societies would, through revolution, embrace socialist doctrines and ultimately develop into communist society. Marxist polemics now and again revolve around the concept of the support of the artist for the revolution through their creative art. Marxist aesthetics is primarily concerned with and centred on social commitment and political commitment. Brecht Lu Hsun, cited in Àjàyí (2008:106) that:

Marxist may have developed interest in debate on the political ideology of the artist because from the classical perspective, it holds the view that, before the proletariat can carry out the revolution, they must attain a level of class consciousness analysis of the nature of power and economic relations in the society and the necessity of a new socio-political order in which the proletariat as a class would rule and advance its class interests.

Marxist stipulates that ideology dictates the way men live and perform their roles in a class society. They constitute the ideas, values and images which tie men to their social functions. Marxism is concerned about class division and social/economic contradiction that provoke class struggle. Ideology certifies realisation of a higher, fuller, broader and purer state of affairs than what currently exists in the society. In other words, ideology endorses transformation of the society by identifying shortcomings in the current outlook, creed, programme, system or thought. According to Eagleton (1976: viii),

Marxist criticism is part of a larger body of theoretical analysis which aims to understand ideology, the idea, values and feelings by which men experience their society at certain times.

Engels, as cited in Adéyemí (2006:38), observes that “literature can criticise the ideology of a particular society and can also support it. It can equally suggest the possible way of transforming the society or making it irrelevant”. Leaders’ ideology features prominently in literary works. It is of note that both the society and the author have their ideological stance. A literary artist may represent the interest and ideology of the leader in his work in order to bring about a kind of resolution. However, if the literary writer takes a critical stance against the leaders’ ideology, the work of art becomes the voice of the people.

Yorùbá novelists portray Yorùbá nation and Nigeria as a class society with invariable contradictions and conflicts and solicit emancipation of Yorùbá society and Nigeria at large. It is obvious that in capitalist and traditional societies, Nigeria inclusive, class conflict between the feudal ruling class and the proletariat has not brought about eradication of the feudal’s superstructure or capitalism in modern society. This is a recurring experience in Nigeria. The Marxist theory is employed to investigate the knowledge of selected novelists on the struggle between the bourgeoisie (politician) and the proletariat (masses). Yorùbá novelists share the view that the masses entrust social, political and economic power into the hands of few individuals, who, in turn, embezzle and loot the public treasury for their personal advantages and neglect the well-being of the masses and fail to find solutions to the plight of the masses. The oppressed are not united in their struggle on the cause of protesting against all forms of oppression in the society. Some groups of people are pulling the struggle one way, while some other groups are pulling in a different way; this in turn empowers the politicians to continue in their oppressive tactics through corrupt practices to maltreat the masses in the society. Àrèó (2014:194) avers that; the struggle of emerging capitalists for state power and primitive accumulation are major factors underlying grand corruption in Africa. Marxist theory is relevant to this study because the proponents believe that political power is committed into the hand of a group who are using his power to oppress and cheat the other group (the masses). The exponents of Marxism believe that it is through revolution and protest that the masses can liberate themselves from the capitalist oppressors through concerted efforts and

struggles. Marxist criticism calls for awareness on the part of the masses for organised class struggles.

The study adopts general Marxist Sociology of literature in its analysis of the selected novels in line with Sociology of Literature view that a work of art goes beyond mere reflectionism but to see the core of the meaning of a writer's work. It is required that the work has to be seen as a 'layered system of meanings'. It is important that the text should be subjected to holistic review, it is from this perspective that this study analyses the selected Yorùbá novels.

2.15.2. Postcolonial theory

Postcolonialism is the critical academic study of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism, focusing on the human consequences of the control and exploitation of colonised people and their land. It is the political or cultural condition of a former colony. Postcolonial theories inform that Western powers were in total control and dominated the affairs of the colonised, physical land, hegemony and ideology which propelled setback on the colonised. It is concerned with how European powers conquered and controlled 'Third World' and the resistance of the colonised to those infringements. The initial attempt of Postcolonial theory is traceable to Frantz Fanon; *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963); it becomes relevant and popular through the influence of books as: *Other Worlds* (Gayatri Spivan, 1987), *The Empire Write Back* (Bill Achcroft, 1989), *Nation and Narration* (Homi Bhabba, 1990) and *Cultural Imperialism* (Edward Said, 1993). Postcolonial discourse examines social and political power relationships that sustain colonialism and neo-colonialism which include the social, political and cultural narratives surrounding the coloniser and the colonised.

Postcolonial theory is broadbased and encompasses a wide varieties of approaches. It concerns itself with diverse and numerous issues, as heterogeneous as its approach is to the criticism of literary texts. The major concern of postcolonial theory is the struggle that occurs when one culture is dominated by another. The advancement of postcolonial discourse started with the development of colonialism. In actual sense, postcolonial theory is broadly a study of the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies, how European nations conquered and controlled 'Third World' and a deliberate attempt to destabilise European-conceived superiority over the 'Third World'. Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), is a major attempt of postcolonial criticism (Agúnbiádé, 2014:49) emphasises the view that if a colonised

nation wants to be freed of the traits of deceitful anti-social behaviour of the colonialists, the first needful step is to reclaim their past before they can dismantle colonialist ideology, structure and institution that have undervalued and ridiculed their valued cultural past and history. Irele (2011:3), as cited in Oyèshilé (2017) that:

The establishment of colonial rule in Africa brought with it a drastic reordering of African societies and human relations. The fact of domination, and all that this meant in the arbitrary political and social reorganisation of the African communities, along with the misunderstanding that neutrally followed, created 'a state of latent crisis'. Colonial rule also substitutes new poles of reference for social organisation and individual life, which were often in conflict with the established traditional pattern, and thus created a society which, in Balandier's words, 'appeared to possess an essentially non-authentic character'.

Postcolonial theory, as a theory and a study of political and cultural change, has passed and continues to go through three broad stages:

- i. an initial awareness of the social, psychological and cultural inferiority enforced by being in a colonised state.
- ii. the struggle for ethnic, cultural and political autonomy; and
- iii. a growing awareness of cultural overlap and hybridity.

Postcolonial literature encompasses three important segments. Initially; it was an intellectual attempt to write on misconceptions and assumptions enforced on the colonised people by their colonial masters during the colonial period. Their prescription in their writings was to denounce and re-write the cherished and valued identities of the colonised people which were considered to be inferior by the colonisers. Later, it was employed to present anti-colonial struggle through decolonisation of the mind of the colonised. At present, it is a veritable tool for depicting the realities that accompany independence. While discussing the nature of colonial literature in collaboration with the views above, Kéhîndé (2005:127) submits that:

African literature was a tool for celebrating the heroic grandeur of the African past; later it was used for anti-colonial struggle. Presently, it is being employed as a veritable weapon for depicting the neo-colonial disillusionment in African countries.

The third stage, which is popular and relevant in this study is on postcolonial era realities of disillusionment. This era symbolises the portrayal of the

persistent period of disillusionment when the promise of a better Africa for all has not been realised. This period denotes the failure of 'self rule' after independence which is characterised with dashed hopes and mistrust of the nationalists. The indigenous ruling Nigerian class involved itself in practices that were not different from earlier colonisers' corruption, snobbery and other evil practices, left the people only disappointed and thereby presented another colonialism which is referred to as neo-colonialism. Postcolonial leaders have betrayed the 'Nigerian revolution'. This study adopts postcolonial theory which explains how one culture dominates another, since politics is part of peoples' culture, it is of note that political culture of the colonisers have influence and shown dominance on the political culture of the Black-on-black government. This is relevant to the selected text for this study which reveals the influence and effect of colonisation on the political culture of the self-rule in the society, particularly in Nigeria. Postcolonial theory is used to complement Marxist theory.

According to Ake (1996), cited in Oyèshílé (2018:52)

The postcolonial situation has not been better than the colonial simply because political independence only resulted in some changes in the composition of state managers while the lopsidedness of the state character remained the same as it was under colonialism.

The term 'postcolonial' is a term used to refer to all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the period of independence or even to the present day. The colonial masters made effort to compel the colonised people to admit that their culture was inferior to that of their master. The 'self-rule' political class after independence imbibed Western culture and put their own culture aside. The ethos and norms of democracy has not been reflected in people's leadership as a result of inplant of anti-social behaviours and culture of the colonial masters in the Yorùbá and Nigeria polities.

Postcolonial theory is built around the concept of resistance, of resistance as subversion or opposition, or mimicry, but with the haunting problem that resistance always inscribes the resisted into texture of the resisting. It is a two-edged sword. The concept of resistance carries with it ideas about human freedom, liberty, identity and individuality, which may not have been the same way in the colonised culture's view of humankind.

This study examines the exact realities after independence in Yorùbá societies and Nigeria political climate by employing postcolonial theory to investigate emerging realities that the colonised who seek for their rights and freedom from colonial masters are the architects of and responsible for their own disillusionment and neo-colonial woes. The theory is equally suitable for this study because it centres on oppressive experiences and loss of cultural identity.

2.16. Conclusion

The scholarly works on Yorùbá novels are critically reviewed in this chapter. The link between literature and society is equally discussed to establish that the two are inseparable as one influences the other. Also, relationship between literature and politics is discussed to show that authors are, to some extent, political in their writings. Leadership as a concept, the qualities of a good leadership and its types are also examined in the chapter. Issues related to corruption, its forms and types are also discussed. Nationalist movement, governance, democracy and other related works on the topic are also critically reviewed. The concept of disillusionment is equally explained in this chapter.

The theoretical framework on which this study is anchored, that is, the fusion of Marxist Sociology of literature and Postcolonial theory is also discussed. The aspect of class struggle and oppressive tactics of the political class as highlighted by Marxists and aspects of Postcolonial era of reality of disillusionment are well explicated. The hope of the colonised are dashed and are filled with disappointment politically, economically, socially, religiously and educationally after independence because of the failure of the leadership whom the masses expect would do things better than the colonial masters. This has left an indelible reproach mark on the political structure of the Nigeria. Instead of dismantling the structure, the institution and apparatus of the colonial masters, the 'self-rule' continues in the same process, and they focus their attention on attainment of political power as this can only allow them to have access to the state funds because they are economically buoyant as their European counterparts, but depend on accumulation of the state resources to be relevant politically.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on research design, data sources, methods, sample and sampling procedures, data collection and analysis. Methodology entails a comprehensive, integrated series of specific techniques that are adopted in research procedure to collect and assemble data to show how a class of thought-intensive work ought to be performed. This chapter discusses the research design adopted for this study and the data sources. Also, samples and sampling procedures are examined under this section; methods of data collection and data analysis are equally treated.

3.2. Research design

Research design, according to Legee and Francis (1974:66), is ‘like a blueprint that tells us how to reach plausible answers to research questions’. Kerlinger (1986) avers that it is the plan, the structure and the strategy of investigations, so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems. In sum, it is a reflection of how the research questions will be connected to the data and the tools to use in answering the research questions. Arising from the foregoing, this study being a literary (textual) study of Yorùbá novels, adopts the interpretive design that is reading between the lines of theselected texts and construe the content through analyses. The primary objective of the study is to examine the motifs of political leadership, corruption and other issues related to misgovernance as portrayed in Yorùbá written novels with a view to highlighting the impact of political leadership and corruption on national development in the society and Nigeria, in particular. The selection of the texts was based on their highly representations of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices as features of pre-colonial and post-colonial experience in Nigeria political space and promotion of corruption in Africa polity as a hybrid of traits of deceitful anti-social behaviour and fraudulent practices inherited from colonial masters and nurtured in indigenous Nigerian context in the texts.

3.3. Population, sample and sampling techniques

Eight Yorùbá novels by six writers were purposively selected. The selected novels are *Omọ Olókùn Èsin* (1993) by Adébáyò Fálétí and *Gbóbaníyì* (1998) by Oládipò Yémitán; representing pre-colonial period, *Baba Rere* (1978) by Afólábí Olábímtán; *Saworoide* (2008) by Akínwùmí Ìsòlá; *Òtẹ̀ Nibò* (1988) by Olú

Owólabí, representing both pre-and post-colonial periods, while *Ìjàmbá Sèlú* (1981) by Olú Owólabí, *Orilawè Adigun* (1993) Afólábí Olábímtán and *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* (2001) by Léré Adéyemí stand for the post-colonial period. The selection was based on the representations of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices as features of pre-colonial and post-colonial experiences in the Nigerian political space and promotion of corruption in Africa polity as a hybrid of traits of deceitful anti-social behaviour and fraudulent practices inherited from colonial masters and nurtured in indigenous Nigerian context in the texts. Specifically, selection of texts was guided by the political experiences under feudalism/monarchical institution: *Omọ Olókùn Èsin* and *Saworoide*; democratic: *Baba Rere*, *Orilawè Adigún*, *Òtẹ̀ Nibò*, *Gbòbaniyi*; and military/despotic/autocratic regimes: *Ìjàmbá Sèlú*, *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* and *Saworoide*. This was done to answer the leading research questions on the neo-colonial political leadership woes and the types and forms of corruption portrayed in the selected novels. Data were subjected to analysis using Marxist Sociology of Literature and Postcolonial theory.

3.4. Sample and sampling procedures

A Sampling procedure is the method used in drawing from the population which gives a sample size of a study. It is a representative of a data too large to be managed within a limited time; such a sample must have the characteristic of the larger data. For the purpose of this research, eight Yorùbá written novels were purposively selected out of the ten Yorùbá political novels accessible as at the time of this study based on their highly representations of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices in pre and post-independence Nigeria. This serves as primary data for the analysis. Also, relevant materials were used as secondary sources to validate the arguments made and complement the primary sources. Library and archival materials, as well as internet materials were used to investigate and interpret the texts in order to make the analyses of the texts critical.

3.5. Method of data collection

To generate data for this study, quotations extracted from the selected texts were utilised. Library materials were obtained online materials were equally utilised. The various sources judiciously aided data collection.

3.6. Method of data analysis

Data were analysed using the Marxist Sociology of Literature and Postcolonial theory. The selected Yorùbá novels were closely read and the issues of neo-colonial political leadership woes and corruption or corrupt practices as features of pre-and post-independence Nigeria in them were identified and extracted. The extracted portions were subjected to critical literary analysis in order to identify the motifs of political leadership corruption that are relevant to the study. Two types of strategy deployed to perpetrate political leadership corruption were identified: manipulative strategy and exploitative strategy.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter is all about research design, sample procedures and methods of data collection and analysis. It shows the relationship between the research questions and the objectives with the research design.

CHAPTER FOUR

TYPES AND FORMS OF CORRUPT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN GOVERNANCE AS DEPICTED IN SELECTED YORÙBÁ NOVELS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on corrupt political leadership motifs in pre-and post-independence experiences in Nigeria as portrayed in the selected Yorùbá novels. The types and forms of political leadership corrupt practices in governance depicted in the novels are discussed based on the happenings during feudalism, democratic and military eras in Nigeria. The authors of the selected texts vividly document happenings in their political and cultural milieus during the pre-independence era and the post-independence period.

The experiences of the politics of pre-independence, independence and post-independence and military regime are all advanced as reasons for the country's predicament as a result of corrupt political leadership because of inappropriate political structure, inability to pursue public policies or services, and lack of vision to embark on purposeful and development driven policies and programme for the society. Political leadership in Nigeria has been characterised with dissatisfaction and dashed hopes and aspirations because of its obstacle to accomplishment of the goals of the state. A number of factors are responsible for the situation Nigeria has found itself; these include feudalism, monarchy, failure of democratic leadership and military intervention in governance.

4.2. Feudalism government

Feudalism predates colonialism in Nigeria, and it continues even after colonisation in Nigeria. During colonisation, it was greatly reduced because all the citizens of the colony were subjected to the rule of the Queen of England. Even with the attainment of independence in 1960 and the attainment of Republican status in 1963, elements of feudalism still exist in various parts of Nigeria, Yorùbá region included. It manifests in cases where poor farmers are still remitting a percentage of their farm product or money equivalent to their various land lords. This did not come to an end until 1977 when the land use act decree came into effect.

Feudal practices in Yorùbá land in particular is portrayed in Fálétí's *Ọmọ Olókùn Esin* where the issue of the lord and the serf is clearly expressed to show the political situation of those days. In *Ọmọ Olókùn Esin*, feudalism is represented as

an ideology under mornarchical system. Before the coming of colonial masters, The (Ọba) is vested with supreme power; this is enshrined in the traditional saying of ‘*Ọba ló nilè*’ (the king owns the land). The king is the owner of the land and receives royalty or farm products or its money equivalent from lesser towns and villages around his territory. Under this condition, Àjàyí, the son of Olókùn Esin, condemns the humiliation, cheating and oppression associated with political domination of Òkò people on his people in Òkè-Ògùn. He rebuffs servitude and oppression tactics of Òkò people which led to open for all fight on the farm where they were collecting thatching grass meant to be carried to Olúmokò in Òkò land.

Bèè si ni lódoḡdún, gbogbo orilè-èdè wa ní láti ru àsingbà lo si Òde Òkò. A ó pa beṛe ti Ọba yòò fi kọ ilé, a ó ru ẹran igbé ti Ọba yòò fi ẹ ọdún lọ. Ẹran tí a bá rù, a kò gbọḡọ ẹ níbẹ, ebi ì báà fẹrẹ pa olúwa-rè kú. Tálàkà kò gbọḡọ fi beṛe kọ ilé. Àfi Ọba nikan, bèè àwa ló si pa beṛe yìi.

Fálétí (Ọmọ,1970:3)

It is certain that every year, all our nations must carry royalty to Òkò. We would go with thatching grass for the king to build house, we would carry bush meat that the king will use to celebrate festivals. The meat that we carried, we should not taste out of it, even if one is hungry. The masses should not use thatching grass to build their house, only the king had the right, and we are the one that prepare this thatching grass.

The experience during feudal rule confirms the Marxist claim of oppressive and exploitative tactics of the political leaders and act of cheating which only revolution and protest from the masses can halt to ensure the emancipation from the oppressive rule of the leaders. Also, the situation of servitude in Òkè-Ògùn area to Olókò then is shown in Àjàyí’s utterance below:

Mo kóríra àìlómìnira, mo kóríra idènígbèkùn, n kò sì fẹ ki a ma sin àwọn ará òkò mó. Kò sí ẹni tí n sin àwa náà. N kò tilẹ fẹ kí ẹnikéni sìn wá, sùgbón kò yẹ kí àwà sìn èniyàn. Bí ó bá rí bẹ, n kò fẹ kí orilè-edè wa sin Òkò mó. Bí orilè-edè wa kò bá sì gbà nígbà náà. N kò fẹ kí ilẹ tíwa lẹwọ nínú àsingbà mó. Èmi kò ni sin in mó ní tẹmi.

Fálétí (Ọmọ,1969:4)

I hate bondage, I hate repression, and I don’t support our servitude to Òkò people anymore. There is no one serving us. I don’t wish anyone to serve us either, and we should not serve anyone likewise. If it is so, I don’t

want our state to serve Òkò people anylonger. If our state refused to be free. I kicked against our land servitude to Òkò people. I will not serve anylonger.

Also, he kicks against this practice of feudalism in its totality by mobilising other revolutionary fighters, Ayọwi and Ìbídùn, to stop Òkè-Ògùn people from being slaves to Òkò people forever.

A ó ẹ se ẹrú kú ni bi? Àbi Àsìngbà kò sù yín ni? Njé bi kò bá sù yín, ó sù èmi ni tẹmi. Olórun dá wa bákan náà ni. Kò wí pé ki à máa se ẹrú ẹnikan.
Fálétí (Ọmọ,1969:6)

Are we going to be slaves forever? Or are you not tired of servitude? If you are not tired of it, I don't want servitude again. God created us equally; He did not create us to be slaves to other people.

In annoyance, this struggle for liberation from servitude did not go down well with the Olúmokò and his chiefs, therefore creating tension, fight and class-conflict between Àjàyí, Olúmokò and the town chiefs. All of them are against Àjàyí Ọmọ Olókùn Esin's ideology on freedom and total liberation for all. The author is able to show oppressive and exploitative strategies of the ruling class against the masses in the society as rightly pointed out by the Marxists and also the struggle of the masses to fight for their emancipation from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Àjàyí is the symbol of liberation from oppression and protest from exploitation.

4.3. Monarchical government

The Yorùbá people practise the monarchical system of government, with the Ọba vested with judicial, executive and legislative powers. He also possesses supreme authority in the state, as he is recognised as a powerful force, as the second-in-command to *Olódùmarè* (God). He is answerable to God and not humans; he is *Aláşe èkejì Ọrìsà*. The king (ọba) is highly respectable in the society, and he is highly revered. He operates as a ruler with chiefs who serve as advisers to him on day-to-day administration. The ọba is the head in a monarchical setting, with his chiefs, each with a portfolio based on the approval of the ọba. The king has authority over all things in his domain '*ọba ní ba lóri ohun gbogbo*'. He could not however rule a state alone without the support of his traditional chiefs. He depends on them for advice and encouragement. Àtándá (1996:19) asserts that:

In practice, however, the ọba was not an absolute ruler. He administered his state with advice and active involvement of a council of chiefs known generally as igbimọ ilú, which may have specific names from kingdom to kingdom.

The king (ọba) is the head, with chiefs as members of state council, taking charge of maintenance of law and order, which is the paramount basic essence of governance. The team constitutes chieftaincy institution in a monarchical system of government. In *Şaworoide*, by  s l , monarchical system of government is portrayed with the chiefs as ministers helping the king (ọba) in day-to-day administration of the town. L pit  emerged as the king of Jogbo land, with Chief Bal gun,  t n, S r k  and Bad  as traditional chiefs assisting him in administering the state. The picture of a monarchical traditional setting is portrayed when L pit  summoned his chiefs for a meeting in the palace to know through them what the town people wanted to ask from him as he refers to his chiefs as his representatives in the midst of his subjects. The excerpt below reveals this:

O b r   r , o n ,  yin ijoye mi,   se  , mo d p  o.   k   d r t . Oj    n  ti y n o. L sik  t mi y i,   d k n o, mo f  k  il  t r . Ki ay    r j , ki Jogbo si dara si i gan-an.  yin n a si m  p   n y n n  n b  l y n D d , D d  kan k  i d  w .  yin ni igi l y n  gb  mi o. M l o loj  mi le d  r . M l o si let  mi le d  gb ?  w n  soj  il  ni  w n f   ba mi s r .  arin il   h n ni gbogbo wa s  j  w . K n ni  yin m  n pa  r  ti w n f   ba mi s   h n?
 s l  (*Şaworoide*,2008:42)

He started talking; he said ‘You my chiefs, I thank all of you. Thanks for your mutual support. You will not be put to shame. During my tenure, please, I want this to be peaceful. There should be progress, Jogbo should be greatly transformed. You all know that there are people behind D d , D d  cannot do it alone. You are all pillars of success to me, as a tree cannot make a forest. How many things can my eyes see, how many things can my ear hear? Peoples’ representatives wanted to see me for a discussion. All of us are living in the town. What do you understand by the nature of what they want to discuss with me really?’

This shows that a king cannot singlehandedly handle the affairs of his town; he needs regular assistance of his traditional chiefs to discharge his duties. This is the practice in Yor b  traditional culture and political practice.

4.4. Democratic government

The first set of political leaders emerged following the institution of post-independence government in 1960. Before this time, indirect rule system has relegated the power of traditional kings (ọba) to the minimal level with vital decisions and administration related issues committed to the hand of District officers for final approval. The king (ọba) could not exercise judicial power as before nor collect fines on civil cases. There was establishment of native courts where aggrieved members of the society could seek redress instead of being judged by traditional ruler (ọba) and his chiefs. This spelt doom for the existing administrative practice. The representative leaders that emerged in Sohó as presented in *Baba Rere* are political leaders that represent the interest of Sohó people in the state council. This has replaced the traditional council system where the king (ọba) and chiefs represent the interest of the people. The excerpt below confirms the transition from traditional institution to political leadership representation in council.

Èniyàn méjiláádóta l'ò wà nínú igbimò
Sohó. Egbé méjeejì l'ò si fi ẹnì méjiláádóta sílẹ̀.
Sùgbón nígbà tí wọn ka ibò, Egbé Tobalàṣẹ kó
méjìdínláádóta. Egbé Sohó Parapò si ko méré.

Olábímtán (Baba, 1973:138)

Fifty two people are members of Sohó council.
Representatives are from the two political groups.
But when they counted the votes, Tobalase
political party had 48 representatives, while Sohó
united group had only four.

Before the new order, the king (ọba) and his chiefs were collecting tax and fines from the people and offenders, using the money collected to administer the state. However, as represented in *Bàbá Rere*, the new political leaders perform the administrative works, such as collection of tax and performance of judiciary role; even kings (ọba) and his chiefs are included in the pay-roll of the state council headed by administrators. This is illustrated thus:

*Kò sí báálẹ̀ tí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí kò fún ní ị̀ṣòrò nítorí kò sí
olóyè tí kò fẹ́ gb'owó. Nípa báyìí òmíràn nínú wọn
kúkú fì orúkọ gbogbo olóyè wọn ránsẹ̀. Ońsohó
páápáá ní ị̀ṣòrò. B'ó ba fì ọ̀jọ̀ orí ẹ̀ é, iru Balogun
le má sí nínú àwọn tí ó yàn, bí ó ba sì fì tí ipò oyè
se é, irú Abẹ̀sẹ̀ kò sí nínú wọn. Igbà tí òun náà sì
gbọ̀ pé àwọn baálẹ̀ kan tí kọ̀rúkọ gbogbo olóyè*

wọn ransé, oun náà ya 'a fi orúkọ gbogbo olóyè rẹ ransé.

Ọlábímtán (Baba,1973:164)

All the village heads are disturbed over the matter. All the chiefs want to collect salary. As a result of this some submitted the names of all chiefs in their cabinet. King of Sohó (Onsohó) was not left out. If he used age as the criterion Balógun may not be included; if he used chieftaincy title, Abẹ̀sẹ̀ may not be included. When he learnt that some of the village heads sent all the names of their chiefs, he did the same.

In *Baba Rere*, the author partially satirises what transpired between Chief Ọbáfẹ̀mi Awólówò and Chief Samuel Ọládòkè Akíntọ̀la during the First Republic.

4.5. Military Regimes in Nigerian Politics

Military rule simply means a political situation where the military assumes the status of head of government of a society or nation. Military rule is an act of extra-constitutional phenomenon as a result of the leaders' selfishness and overambition. Nigeria as a nation has experienced eight military leaderships from 1966 to 1999. Intermittently, civilian administration steered the wheel of leadership: Major General J.T.U Aguyi Ironsi January 1966; (Lt. Col) now General Yakubu Gowon July 1966, General Mohammed Murtala 1976, General Olúségun Ọbásanjó 1976; General Muhammadu Buhari December 1983; General Ibrahim Babangida August, 1985. There was a coup attempt in November, 1993, led by Major Gideon Orkar to topple General Ibrahim Babangida, but was aborted. General Sani Abacha took over. It is not only Nigeria that experienced military intervention; it has been experienced in other African countries. Military regime is an autocratic system and despotic in nature. It is characterised with violation of human rights, abuse of power, victimisation of the press (Egi 1997:148-149, Tsoho 2004:82-92, Ugboajah 2013:39-81).

In *Ìjàmbá Sèlú*, the author gives the picture of the Military regime of Àjùwọ̀n and Táyése. After the required military training and eventual incorporation into the army, Àjùwọ̀n rose to the highest rank and eventually emerged as the head of government after undue interference of the first military regime that was characterised with what was identified as causes of the fall of civilian government as tribalism and regionalism, nepotism, corruption in public life and embezzlement of public funds. The head of the military government assured that there would be no room for

accommodating these evils in the new system, but the promise failed. After six months, another coup was staged and Àjùwọ̀n was made the head of military government. As a young man and a promising military officer, more confidence was reposed in him to move the nation forward, but the reverse was the case. Àjùwọ̀n's regime witnessed all sorts of political evils as the highest degree of corruption and non-acceptance of his leadership by a sect of the nation which eventually led to civil war. Owólábi describes Àjùwọ̀n's regime thus:

Ju gbogbo rẹ̀ lọ, àwọ̀n nnkan burúkú tí ó n ba ilú jẹ̀ gba òde kan, owó èhìn àti ribá tilẹ̀ kùrò lówó èhìn, ó ti di owó iwájú. Bí ènìyàn ba fẹ́ wọ̀ iṣẹ́, tí kò mọ̀ ènìyàn irọ̀ lásán gbàà ni, bí o tilẹ̀ wù kí olúwarẹ̀ ní iwé èrì tó. Lójú olúwarẹ̀ báyii ni yóò ríi tí eni tí kò ní iwé èrì kankan yóò gba iṣẹ́ náà mọ̀ lówó.

Owólábi (Ìjàmbá, 1981:33)

Of all, all forms of corrupt practices that fail a nation started in all places; kick-back and bribery were legalised. If one is looking for a job opportunity without having connection, no matter how valid his certificate may be, the appointment will be given to someone without certificate.

Indeed, *Ìjàmbá Sèlú* satirises corruption in the public places and offices that the military brought into the politics of Nigeria. It is the military that introduced the concept of 'settlement' into Nigeria's public service as evident during the regime of Àjùwọ̀n. The novel depicts a scene when the messianic pretensions of coup plotters never resulted in positive change in Nigeria. The author satirises the military regimes of General Àjùwọ̀n and General Táyéṣe in the political space of Ìwàlẹ̀wà town. Unfortunately, most of these military regimes gradually transformed themselves into the embodiments of the very evils they initially claimed as reason for their incursion into the political arena (Onwumechili, 1991, Howe, 2001, Igwe 2002). Military regime is noted for seizure of state power to advance personal and group interest in Africa.

Adéyemí (2001) in *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà* satirises another military regime in Nigeria. Adéyemí narrates the ill experience of military regime of General Déndèthat was characterised with corruption, victimisation, abuse of power, lack of press freedom,

political assassination, violation of human right, embezzlement of public funds, nepotism, tribalism and insensitivity to the plight of the masses.

Ìlú bèrè sí dàrú gudù lábé ijoba Déndè. Àwọn gómìnà n kówó je fúnra won.
Adéyemí (Àkùkò, 2001:29)

There was a problem in the society during Dende's regime; the governors were siphoning public funds for their personal use.

After the recovery of the missing crown (Adéide) in *Şaworoide*, Lápitè the reigning king, asked Làgàtà to ask for whatever he wanted as compensation for getting the crown back to the palace. Làgàtà having known that the town people aspired for change of leadership used the available opportunity to stage a 'palace coup' and unseat Lápitè in what is similar to a military coup, and killed Lápitè in the process. This is done to show a scene of political coup in governance as Lagata is described as a retired military officer in Jogbo. This is reflected in Làgàtà's expression at the palace during the coup:

Làgàtà ni 'Ológun ni emi o. Emi o moṣo o sọ púpò o!
Ìṣòlá (*Şaworoide*, 2008:138)

Làgàtà told them 'I am a military man, I don't know how to talk!

Wọn fẹ gba adé ilu lóri eni ti kò yẹ lóba ni. Wọn n fẹ àyípada rere ni. Ayípadà rere náà ni gbogbo awa ojúlówó omọ Jogbo n fẹ. Mo wáa kí gbogbo yín kú oríre lónií, nítorí pe àyípada òhun ti de bayii o! Awa omọ ogun ilú Jogbo gba àkóso ilú Jogbo lónií. Èbùn tí emi wá n fẹ náà ni adéide! Mo sì ké sí Lápitè ki ó gbé e le mi lóri bàyí.

Ìṣòlá (*Şaworoide*, 2008:139)

They want to collect the crown from the man that does not deserve it. They want a change. The change is what all Jogbo sons and daughters want. I therefore congratulate all of you, because the change has come! We the Military men of Jogbo have taken over political power of Jogbo today. The gift that I want is the crown, and I charge Lápitè to stand up and put the crown on my head.

The author explained what happened later to show that it was a bloody coup to some extent; Làgàtà shot Lápitè on the chest, and he died.

4.6. Types and forms of political leadership corrupt practices in governance

The types of political leadership's corrupt practices in governance that are reflected in the selected Yorùbá novels are political and moral in nature, which manifest through flamboyant demonstration of individual materialistic possession and exploitation of the masses by the few powerful rich in the society. The forms of political leadership's corrupt practices reflected in the selected novels are collusive and anticipatory corrupt practices. Collusive type is the planned cooperation of the giver and the taker. This manifests through extraction of bribes or other favours from vulnerable victims by those in authority. Anticipatory corrupt practice on the other hand reflects and takes the form of bribe or presentation of gifts in anticipation of a favourable action on the part of the recipient of the gift.

4.6.1. Abuse of power

Abuse of power means cruel or violent employment of political power. It denotes unfair use of political power vested in a person's hand. The various instances of political killings can be attributed to abuse of power by political leaders to subdue their opponents. Abuse of power is one of the features of both military regimes and civilian administrations in Nigeria. The basic features of Nigerian political leadership administration are arrest and detention of assumed political enemies, incarceration of journalists and human right activists though illegal detention without trials, closure of the offices of the newspapers that criticise government and spate of killings by hired assassins in the country. A lot of tricks are employed to silence those believed to be opposing the oppressive ideology and styles of the government. The arbitrary use of power by the reigning Prince Lagbóókùn is expressed in *Omọ Olókùn Èsin* when his escorts started burning houses to produce light so that the prince could see clearly because it was getting dark; also, how Lagbóókùn expresses his desire to the village head that he would marry Arinládé the entertainer who is a house wife to another man is a sign of abuse of power. The village head and chiefs beg the prince that he may refrain on that. This eventually leads to a crisis that results in an open fight and disruption of programme, and eventual arrest of one of the activists, Ayọwi, who forcefully carries Arinládé out of the scene to allow her to escape. Ayọwi is thus sent to Òkò as a prisoner for attacking and going against the will of the reigning prince.

“Léyín náà ni ó wá kojú sí Baálè, ó ní, ‘Baálè, n ó máa mú omọ rẹ yì lọsi ilé, n ò fẹ ẹ, ki ó máa lẹ o jó fun mi.’

“Ni Baálè ba dọ̀bálè, pẹ̀lú ọ̀hùn àánu, ó ni, Kábíyési, ọ̀mọ yin náà si ni ọ̀kọ rẹ̀ baba.”

Fálétí (Ọ̀mọ, 1993:109)

After that, he turned to the village head (Baálè); he said Baálè I will go with this your daughter so that she will be dancing for me.’

“That is how Baálè prostrated in sober mood; he said, Kábíyési, her husband is your son.”

This used to be the situation in Yorùbá land in the pre-independence days when a reigning king or prince would forcefully marry another man’s wife even on the night of her wedding. It is oppressive and abuse of political power by the political class to cheat the masses in the society.

In *Bàbá Rere*, there are traces of abuse of power by Dúrójaiyé (Balogun of Sohó). The teachers in Sohó published a press statement after their disagreement with the Council; and press release displeases the Council members. Dúróḍọ̀lá misuses his power as a political leader by directing the police boss to arrest the pressman in Sohò. Balogun the head of the Council, promises and assures the press of their needed freedom by which they can operate freely and without fear. Contrary to this, he orders for immediate arrest and detention of the journalist that resides in Sohó for publishing the faceoff between the council and the teacher on the day the Kábíyési gave his daughter’s hand in marriage. This is reflected in his comment after the arrest and detention of the journalist. Illegal arrest and detention of teachers is another form of abuse of power portrayed in the text.

Kia Ọ̀gá ọ̀lọ̀pàá padà, ó sì fún àwọn ọ̀mọ rẹ̀ ni àṣẹ. Enu ounjẹ ni wọn ba oniwè iròyìn tí n bẹ̀ ni Sohó, wọn kò tilẹ̀ dúró kó pari ounjẹ rẹ̀, latí ibẹ̀ ni wọn ti ná àn dé àtìmólé.

Ọ̀lábímtán (*Bàbá* 1973: 173)

Immediately the police boss returned, he directed his officers. They met the press man in Sohó while eating his food; they did not allow him to finish his food; from that place, they beat him up to the prison yard.

In *Orilawẹ̀ Àdìgún*, there are cases of abuse of power by Sàlímò̀nù, the party coordinator in Owódé. The author projects misuse of power, threatening the opponents from the other party, Motótán political party, with all means to silence the opponents whom the political leaders from Nínálowó political party which is the ruling party believed to be threats to them, and are assumed to be against their ideology and

political views. Sàlimónù discloses to Àlùkò and Lawẹ̀ that he would send their party thugs to search Adé’s house for the copy of investigation report conducted by the police with the chairman’s daughter and the driver that drove the vehicle before the accident. This is targeted at knowing the truth that surrounds the matter which they suspected might be with him and can work against them and their plan to blackmail Adé and destroy his political ambition. The excerpt below indicates this:

Gbolóhùn yìí tí Sàlimónù sọ já Àlùkò àti Lawẹ̀ láyà, láibá ara wọn sọ ó, oníkálùkù pinnu láti lù ú nilẹ̀ nítorí pé wọn rí i pé Sàlimónù ti mura tán láti tọ gbogbo ọ̀nà tí ó bá mọ̀ láti fi pa Adé lenu mọ̀. Ní Owódé àti àgbègbè rẹ̀ wọn mọ̀ Sàlimónù, kò sí ibi tí ó burú jù fún ún láti se si ẹ̀ni tí ó bá ń bá já. Kò ní ojú a ́ánú, ọ̀un ni ó sì ń rán àwọn jà̀ndùkú ti Egbé gbà gégé bí ọ̀sìsẹ̀ káákiri.

Olábímtán (*Orilawẹ̀*, 1973:79)

Sàlimónù’s comment created fear in Àlùkò and Lawẹ̀’ s heart; without talking to each other, they both stopped discussing further because they noticed that Sàlimónù was ready to do all things possible to silence Adé. In Owódé and its environment, they knew Sàlimónù; there was no evil that he could not do to anybody that he was opposed to. He had no concern for anybody; he was responsible for the use of thugs that were hired by his political party.

In *Ìjàmbá Sẹ̀lú*, the author portrays the scene of abuse of power by the Head of State and all his serving chiefs and colleagues. The author reflects this as a major characteristic of the military era that uses autocratic power to rule the nation. In Nigeria, the military turned down the constitution and used decree formulated by them, making the situation more difficult than what it was during the civilian regime. Àjùwọ̀n as Head of State abuses political power by silencing the voices of the critics of his government and those he assumed to be against his government. The excerpt below shows this:

Àjùwọ̀n ti gbàgbé iwà, ó ti gbé agbára wò bí ẹ̀wù. Kò sí ẹ̀nikan tí ó lè bá a sọ̀rọ̀ pé kò dára, àfi ẹ̀ni tí yóò bá jẹ̀ iyán rẹ̀ nísu ni. A tilẹ̀ ti rí àwọn diẹ̀ tí wọn kẹ̀ sí ta pé ilú ti bàjẹ̀ lábé rẹ̀, kí ẹ̀nikéni tó mọ̀ ohun tíó ń selẹ̀, wọn ti dé àtímólé, igbájú, igbámú ni kẹ̀ríkẹ̀rí í bá bọ̀ ọ̀de ni ọ̀rọ̀ irú wọn. Bí ẹ̀nikan bá sì wọ̀ itímólé lábé ijoba Àjùwọ̀n, bí ẹ̀ni wọ̀ iná iléru ni.

Owólabi (*Ìjàmbá*, 1981:34)

Àjùwọ̀n has forgotten good character, he acquired political power. Nobody dare tell him that what he was doing was

bad, unless the person will have himself blamed. We have some people that cried out that the governance was bad under his dispensation, before anybody could understand, they would be inside the prison, beating, and brutalisation would be reward for those ones. And if anyone entered prison during Àjùwọ̀n's tenure, is like entering hell fire.

This shows that all democratic principles, practices and experiences were totally out during the military rule in Nigeria because they were not elected leaders but self-imposed leaders that use force and decree to rule and always claimed to come and correct abnormalities in governance of the state. However, they themselves were involved in the political abnormalities in the society. Àjùwọ̀n subjected both the larger populace and the press to unnecessary maltreatment because of abuse of political power that the military government is known for. At the title of the text is a symbolically representation of agony as the word 'ìjàmbá' in Yorùbá land means trauma or hurt, this to a greater extent expresses trauma or agony afflicting a town – Ìjàmbá Şèlu. The agony of military regime is satirised in the text through General Àjùwọ̀n as head of state and embodiment of corruption or corrupt practices together with his service chiefs and colleagues.

4.6.2. Violation of human right

Human rights are the basic privileges and freedom to which all humans are considered to be entitled, often held to include the rights to life, civil liberty, political rights, equality and fair trial, freedom from slavery and torture, and freedom of thought and expression. Nwagwu (2014:136) maintains that 'human rights are the precious rights of all who live under the protection of a sovereign democratic government, rich or poor, young or old, black or white, man or woman, alien or citizen; The term 'human rights' is the modern name for what traditionally is known as natural rights. Human rights are inalienable rights of an individual which are very basic and necessary for his/her existence. Obaseki (1992: 246) argues that:

Human rights have been variously described as the rights of man or fundamental freedom. They are claimed and asserted as those which should be or sometimes stated to be those which are legally recognized and protected to secure for each individual the fullest and freest development of personality and spiritual, moral and other independence. They are conceived as rights inherent in individuals as rational free willing creatures, not conferred

by some positive law nor capable of being abridged or abrogated by positive law.

Violation of the most basic rights means to deny individuals their fundamental moral entitlements. It is, in essence, to treat individuals as if they are less than humans and undeserving of respect and dignity. Examples of these are ‘crime against humanity’, genocide, torture, denial of rights to fair trial, freedom of movement, abduction, arbitrary arrest, detention without trial, political execution, assassination and other forms of inhuman treatment. All these are used in some cases for punishing or maltreating political opponents who do not share the ideology of the ruling party or group, and also to individuals who pose a threat to those in power or do not share their political views. They may be arbitrarily imprisoned, and neither brought to trial nor subjected to grossly unfair trial procedures. Lack of knowledge on the part of the masses on their fundamental basic rights encourages political leaders to violate these rights, and it affects good governance in society. All these are well portrayed in the selected texts. Torture is used in some cases for punishing political opponents who do not share the ideology of the ruling party or group.

In *Omọ Olókùn Esin*, for example, Àjàyí is arrested, tied with chain and imprisoned because he revolted against undue subjection of his community and people to slavery in Òkò, the headquarters of all villages in the Òkè-Ògùn then. He is considered to be rude and arrogant. At the palace of the head of the village, severe punishment is meted out to him. He is fighting for the liberation of his people and total freedom, but the political big weights torture and imprison him to subdue and silence him.

Léyìn náà ní ó wá kojú si èmi náà, ó ní ‘Ònà ti o mò yá. Sùgbón ẹni ti ó lálàá rí Olódúmarè, òun ko ní yòò rọ àlá náà. Nítorí náà gbogbo èrò rẹ tí ó gún régé lójú rẹ un, ibòrìsà ni yòò pin si. Íwọ tí o mò pé òmìnira ní ó yẹ gbogbo ilú, bí wọn yòò tilẹ̀ dì òmìnira náà, kò ni sojú rẹ. Mo mò ònkan tí ó yẹ ọ. Nààrì ní ń ó fí ọ bọ.

Fálétí (*Omọ*, 1993:129)

After this, he faced me; he said that step you follow is the right one, but it is not he who dreams and sees God that will narrate the dream to others. Therefore, all your thoughts are in order in your own belief; it will end you as a sacrifice. You that know that it is liberation that is necessary for all; if they will regain freedom, you will not live to witness it. I know what befits you. I will sacrifice you to Nààrì god.

Àjàyí's refusal to compromise and succumb leads to his arrest and imprisonment by the political leaders. At the village heads' palace, the punishment meted on him that involved torture was severe and more than what he had done.

Èyí ti a ti n wi yìí pé wọn ti mu mi, wọn fi sẹkẹsẹkẹ bọ mí lésẹ; wọn mú apá mi, wọn kó o séyìn, wọn fi ọbàrà dè é. Àwọn ijòyè ni wọn ti fi aṣẹ lélẹ̀ lẹ̀yìn, ti a túkà lèẹ̀kan. Wọn ti mò pé tẹ̀mi yóò le ju tiwọn lọ.
Fálétí (Omo, 1993:14)

Before you know, they had arrested me; they put chains on my legs, they tied my arms. The chiefs had given order that I should be treated so. They knew that my protest will be more for them to contain.

The experience here is violation of human rights, that is individual right to talk, to express one's opinion in the society, which is one of the fundamental rights of an individual (freedom of opinions and expressions).

In *Baba Rere*, Dúróḍọ́lá, as the Local Government Chairman, violates human rights by disorganising Teachers Union in Sohò. He alleges members of Teachers Union, before the Council, to be responsible for telling people that his government is waging a war against the masses by sending police officers to harass the people for collection of tax. He considers this as an act of sabotage. This is what Dúróḍọ́lá presents before the council. He resolved to look for every opportunity to punish the teachers for mocking him when University of Tontoro conferred on him honorary degree AZ. He observes that only the Teachers Union refused to visit him or send their goodwill message on this notable honour to him.

Èṣẹ̀ tí awọn tíṣà ṣẹ̀ Balogun kò kéré ni. Eyi t'ò ṣe é sọ l'ó sọ ní ìgbìmò ni. Nígbà tí Yunifasiti Tontoro fún un lóyè nílá, oye AZ tí wọn fun imọ̀ t'ò ni lati máa fi ṣe iṣẹ̀ ajé ati fun aáyan rẹ̀ láti gbé ilú rẹ̀ ga láìrìjù owo ara rẹ̀ tí ó n ná, àwọn tíṣà n fi ṣe yeyẹ̀ kiri ni.
Olábímtán (Baba, 1973:181-182)

Teachers Union's misconducts were enormous before Balogun. He only presented the one that was presentable before the council. When University of Tontoro conferred on him honorary degree of Az, the Teachers were mocking him around.

Ṣugbọ̀n wọn ò ti i kúrò níbẹ̀ t'awọn ọ̀lọpa dé. O di bi-o-lọ-ya- fún mí. Àwọn miran gba ojú ferese bẹ̀ síta, awon miran sápaṃọ̀. Elòmìran kósí inú gorodomu omi ninu wọn;

ẹlomiran lóṣòò, ó ru pákó s'óri bí ẹni pe wọn fi pákó bo nńkan mọlẹ ni. Sùgbọn ẹni ti ó ẹ bi olóri ninu wọnko ri ibi sálo. Wọn sì mú oun ati àwọn kan lọ s'ilé ọlọpàá. Títí ilẹ ọjọ náà fi sù ọlọpàá kò dá wọn sílẹ

Olábímtán (*Baba*, 1973: 183)

But they were yet to leave the venue when the police entered. People started running up and down. Some escaped through the windows; some hid themselves. Some hid inside water drums, some pretended as if the plank that covered them covered something else. But the man that represented them as their leader was not lucky as he and others were arrested and locked up in police custody till the next day.

Dúróḍọlá violated the rights of the association as his action went against freedom of association as part of fundamental rights of a citizen.

Nigerian political leaders violate the basic rights of citizens such as denial of rights to fair trial, freedom of movement, abduction, arbitrary arrest, detention without trial, political execution, assassination and other forms of inhuman treatment in the society. This justifies realities that accompany independence as evidence of continuing disillusionment, in postcolonial theory stance on colonial masters' political culture negative effect on colonised political culture.

4.6.3. Electoral manipulation

Election is a democratic process approved as the standard means of choosing political leaders through the ballot to positions of authority, to control the nation's resources and affairs. According to Agbájé and Adéjùmòbí (2006), as cited in Nwosu (2006:22), "election is a viable mechanism for consummating representative government and facilitating leadership succession. It promotes accountability, citizen's participation and gives voice and power to the people". Nnoli (2003:230) defines "election as the manner of choice agreed upon by a group of people out of many to occupy one or a number of positions of authority" Tijani (1986:3) avers that "a political democracy is simply the facilitation of dominance of the majority will in a given political community." and that "election must always consciously go with the qualification of being free and fair".

In *Ọtẹ Nibò*, the author describes the situation before the introduction of modern politics and political experience in pre-colonial period which was peaceful and fruitful, and the advent of modern politics imposed by colonial masters on Africans

which disrupted peaceful and harmonious experiences by the people. The assertion below reveals this:

*Òrò di òrò ibò, òtẹ́ dé. Taa làá mú, ta làá jù sílẹ́. Ta ni kò kún
ojú òṣùnwòn, irú òṣùnwòn wo?*

Owólabí (*Òtẹ́*, 1988:13)

It is an era of votes; voting comes along with disgust. Who is to be chosen? who is to be disqualified? who is competent? what kind of criteria?

Electoral malpractices involve buying peoples' vote, bribing voters with money or gifts to secure their votes; ballot box snatching, purchasing of ballot papers, manipulations of election results in favour of the candidates who can buy their ways through, manipulation of voters' registration list, casting votes at unauthorised centres, and other forms of irregularity noticed during an election. Electoral malpractices in politics have negative impacts on the type of leaders produced out of an election. There were cases of ballot boxes snatching and casting of votes at unauthorised places. The standard is that a credible election must be free and fair, but cases of election rigging are reported from the remote and rural areas in Nigeria.

In *Òtẹ́ Nibò*, a form of electoral corruption is depicted. The author satirises electoral malpractice in the society.

*Àwọn kan ni àwọn ri àwọn èniyàn ti wọn jí iwé idibò gbé wọ
iyàrá idibò, ti wọn sì dà á sínú àpótí wọn, àwọn mìrán ni
àwọn ri ibi ti wọn ti yí ibò dà, tí wọn sì gbé èjọ́ ẹlẹ́bi fún
aláre. Tí wọn gbé aláre fún ẹlẹ́bi. Èyí náà l'ó wa ta oró sí
màgàlà tí ó sọ gbogbo ilú di rúdurúdu, tí o di ohun ti àwọn
Ègbé wònyí kò fẹ́ rí imí ara wọn l'ákitàn mó.*

Owólabí (*Òtẹ́*, 1973: 91)

Some people reported that they saw people snatching voters' cards and taking them to a room, and putting them inside ballot boxes; some said that they saw where they removed all the voters' cards already used, and they declared losers as winners. It is this that caused rancour which responsible for confusion in the town, this is what caused crisis between the two parties.

Electoral processes in modern politics oppose the traditional ascension to the throne of obaship in Yorùbá land, which is strictly based on merit through oracle consultation (Ifá divination) to avoid a wrong choice or a sub-standard candidate. Ascension to the throne is through heredity. In its attempt to show the realities in the contemporary

selections modalities, the issues of merit and standard are depicted in *Şaworoidęas* big challenges to leadership selection in the society. Electoral selection comes with its attendant corrupt practices which subvert standard in selection of political leaders.

As part of electoral corruption that encourages election manipulation, the authors also highlight the use of money in politics to win the heart of the electorate in order to vote for them. The political experience during the postcolonial period with its attendant fraudulent practises promotes the use of money in politics. The politicians use money to buy votes, directly or indirectly. The excerpt below indicates this:

*Bàbà Bámdélé fi náirà márùn-ún lọ wọn şugbon wọn kò.
Wọn sọ ọ di ọranyàn pé àwọn gbódò gba owó kí àwọn tó
dibò; wọn sọ ibò wọn di ọja tí èniyàn n díyelé. Àfi igbà tí
Bàbà Bámdélé fi náirà méjọ bẹ wọn ni wọn to jáwásilè.
Bàbà Bámdélé rọra fi ara mó náirà méjì tó kù ó gba kámú.
Tàbí èwo ni èniyàn ó wá şe!*

Yémitàn (Gbóbaníyì, 1972:31)

Bámdélé's father offered them five naira but they rejected it. They insisted that they must collect money before they would vote. They turned their votes to commodities that could be purchased. Until Bámdélé's father gave them eight naira, that they accepted to vote. Bámdélé's father accepted the remaining two naira. Or what could one do!

The money given was to influence the election process. This is done in order to buy the conscience and votes of the electorate.

4.6.4. Godfatherism

Godfatherism is one of the major impediments to democracy and good governance today, and it can only thrive with the full support of the government. They block the democratic process by obstructing candidates' selection and even executive selection after installation of a new government; they make elections/selections to remain a farce when they are not rule compliant. Godfatherism is well pronounced in Nigerian politics as one of the realities that accompany independence in Nigerian politics.

In *Saworoidę*, the activity of Balógun of Jogbo is similar to that of a godfather to a godson. Balógun uses his influence and status to support the candidature of Lápité against Adébòmi to become the reigning king in Jogbo. He supports Lápité to upturn the tradition of oath taking by a new king in the land, despite the fact that Bàbà Ọpálábá told him the implications of defiance to compliance to laid-down rules. He

masterminds all the political murders in the land, and he is presented as someone looking forward for profits after Lápité is installed. Godfatherism is a norm that is well established in Yoruba tradition, where a godfather will give full support to a godson to achieve and to succeed in whatever situation the godson has found himself. This is rightly captured in a wise saying ‘Ìròmi ò jó lásán, onílù tó n lù fun ìròmi n bẹ nísàlè omi’ which means ‘The water big dancing on the surface of the stream has its drummer beneath the surface’ ‘Ìròmi is not dancing appropriately on the top of the river, the drummer that makes it dancing accurately is at the bottom of the river’ The drummer is the godfather behind the scene, while the water big beneath on the surface is the godson. From the foregoing, it is established that godfatherism is a norm in Yorùbá traditional system. The activities of godfathers, therefore, may be positive or negative in nature depending on the level and reason for giving such fatherism support in Yorùbá land. Balógun gives the full support to Lapite to become the next king of Jogbo kingdom as he believes that through Lapite’s emergence as king, will be rewarding. The discussion between bàbá Ọ̀pálábá and Balógun reveals this:

“Èn, àní ẹ̀ni tó bá fẹ́ẹ́ jayé, kó má ọ̀nìjogbo. Onìjogbo ní sìn lù o, ilú kì í sìn Onìjogbo o. Onìjogbo kan ò le là, wọ̀n ò le lówó bi àwọ̀n ọ̀ba ilú ibómíràn o”.

Balógun ta gírì, ó ní kín ló dé?

Ọ̀pálábá jókòò dáadáa, ó sì jájú mọ̀ Balógun “Tariwó tí jẹ? Ọ̀rò àsírí mà ní” Balógun rọ̀ra fọ̀wọ̀ bọ ẹ̀nu, ó fọ̀gbọ̀n wọ̀ yíkà kí ó tóọ̀ tún bèèrè: Kín ló dé?

“Hà, Balógun! Šebi olóyè ni ọ? O ó sọ pe o ò mọ itumọ orò tí a máa n se fún ọba tuntun ni Jogbo?”

Balógun rúnjú pọ̀, ó ní “Mo mọ ọ̀n! Àmọ̀ šé ẹ̀ sì mọ̀ pé orísírísí àlàyé ni onikálùkù n se, Èwo la mọ̀ tó jódodo nibẹ̀?

Ọ̀pálábá rẹ̀rin-iin múšé “Èyìn kàn jẹ olóyè ni. Àwọ̀n àsírí kan n bẹ ti ẹ ẹ̀ lè mọ̀. Omi ti a fi dá ilẹ̀ yìí ni.

Balógun gbọ̀n orí, ó ní “Aniláti pa á dà ni o!”

Pa kín ni dà? Wọ̀n a máa pa orò dà? Ẹ̀ni tí kò bá tẹ̀ lórùn ni kó ní bá wọ̀n tọ̀rùn bọ̀ ó”

Balógun tún tẹ̀wó sí Ọ̀pálábá, ó ní “Èn, ọ̀rẹ̀ mi lọ̀mọ̀ tó fẹ́ẹ́ jọ̀ba yìí! Mo sì fẹ́ kó rówó túnra se kó le dàbí àwọ̀n ọ̀ba ibòmíràn, ilú tí dí ilú òlá, ó yé kí ọ̀ba náà dí ọ̀ba òlá, kó le bágbá mu Àbí?”

Ọ̀pálábá wáá tejú mọ̀ Balógun ó ní. ‘Bó bá wáá rí bẹ̀è, à fi bo bá le yẹ̀ra fún àwọ̀n orò kan o, kó mášé sìn gbẹ̀rẹ̀, kó má si fẹ̀nu ara rẹ̀ búra kankan o?’

Ìṣòlá (Saworoide, 2008:15-16)

He who wants to enjoy should not attempt to become Onijogbo. It is Onijogbo that serves his people. People will

not serve him. No king in Jogbo can become rich; he cannot accumulate wealth like other kings overthere.

Balógun staggered and asked why?

Òpálábá sat well; he then shouted at Balógun; why shouting? It is a secret. Balógun covered his mouth. He looked around before he started talking again. What happened?

Balógun! are you not a chief? Will you tell me that you don't remember the rites that we normally do for a new king.

Balógun frowned his face, he said I know! But you know we have heard different versions of the story concerning this process.

Òpálábá laughed gently. "You are just chiefs. There are some hidden secrets that you cannot know or understand in this land. That is how it has been from the beginning

Balógun nodded his head. He said, 'we must change it'

Change what! Can anyone change tradition? He who cannot comply with it should not move closer to it.

The activities of Balógun of Jogbo in the installation of Lápité, who is presented as his godson and favourite against other contestants like Adébòmi and others, is a semblance of the situation and role of godfathers in contemporary Yorùbá society and Nigerian politics. Balógun, one of the kingmakers, used his political power and influence to subvert all the approved processes and ensured that his aim was achieved. Lápité was installed as Oníjogbo, but Balogun was disappointed eventually as his hope of anticipated reward was dashed by Lápité just like the situation in the contemporary Yorùbá society. This has a similitude with the Nigerian political situation where there are, usually, problems between godfathers and godsons after the emergence of the godson to state power. Ìlòrí (2018:92) submits that:

Godfaherism is one of evils that is affecting political leadership in the society. Nigeria in particular. Godfathers are self-seeking individuals, who set to use the government, through his godson, to drive home his interest.

4.6.5. Propaganda

Propaganda can be referred to as information which is false or which emphasises just one part of a situation used by the government or political groups to make people agree with them. It is obvious that the politicians always promise to improve the standards of living of the citizens, provide social amenities and ensure infrastructural development; however, they always fail to do so. It forms part of post-independence political experience in Africa society and Nigeria in particular.

In *Şaworoidę*, Lápitę promises to bring change to Jogbo but failed to do. This is captured in the song rendered during youth protest against the activities of timber dealers that are mismanaging Jogbo’s economy with the king’s consent.

*Lápitę ko o tóó joyè,
O mọhun tó o wí
Ìlú ò rójú o
Ko ráyè o
Ìyà àirò lo n jará ìlú
Lápitę kò o tóó joyè
O mọhun tó o wi.*

Ìşòlá (*Şaworoidę*, 2008:68)

Lápitę you know what you promised
Before you ascended throne
There is a problem in the town
There are difficulties
You subject people to undue suffering
Lápitę you know what you promised
Before you ascended throne

Also, in another scene, Lápitę summons his chiefs for advice on what he would tell the people’s representatives who have come to meet with him on the situation of the town and the problems of the masses. Chief Badà’s counsel which implores the King to be objective in addressing the issue provokes Lapite. He rather prefers to go by Òtún’s suggestion, which encourages him to cajole the people. He therefore concludes that he would listen to the representatives and give them fake promises. This is captured in his remark on the discussion.

*Gbogbo wọn dákẹ diẹ.Ọba alára n fowó ra àgbọn. Ó dàbí
eni pé ọ̀rọ̀ Ọ̀tún wọ̀ ó ni ara. Ó ní “Hùn! Mo fẹ́ kí á gba ọ̀rọ̀
Ọ̀tún yìi yẹ̀wò o. Ẹ́ jẹ́ ká gbé wọ́n gẹ̀sìn aàyàn ná, ká şèlẹ̀rì
irọ̀ fún wọ́n ká le rójú şe tiwa. Tòò, ẹ́ bá mi pè wọ́n wọ́lé ó.*

Ìşòlá (*Şaworoidę*,2008:44)

All of them were silent. The king himself started robbing his mustache. It seems Òtún’s advice satisfied him. He exclaimed! I want us to consider Òtún’s advice. Let us deceive them and give them fake promises. Please call them in.

This contradicts ọba’s standard in Yorùbá land whom people see and regarded as the epitome of uprightness and truthfulness. An ọba in Yorùbá traditional culture walks his talk. Lápitę betrays this trust in Jogbo land.

In *Orilawè Adigún*, there is a rumour about Adé (the leader of Motótán political party, intention towards stopping his opposition tendencies against Nínálowo political party) the ruling party at the time. Adé is reported in the news media that he kidnapped the daughter of the chairman of Nínálowo with his car. Actually, the car is borrowed by one of Ade's friends and it is handover to a driver to deliver a message to his friend's in-law in another town. The driver connects the main road and carries a lady who is a daughter of the Chairman of Nínálowó's political party with the intention of getting taxi fare from her. Another vehicle collides with Ade's car, damaging the two, and hurting the lady in Ade's car. The plotters of Ade's assassination swiftly issue a press release, claiming that the chairman of Motótán political party kidnapped the daughter of the chairman of Nínálowo party in order to subdue Adé and silence him.

Ìgbà ti ara ọmọ̀bìnrin yá díẹ̀, o ti tú àsírí. Ó ni awakò gba owo lówó òun láti gbe òun de ibi ti òun lọ ni. Baba Egbé Nínálowo náà sì ti gbọ̀ èyí o. Àfi ìgbà ti oníwee iròyìn tún n sọ pé èmi ni mo ni kí wọ̀n lọ jì ọmọ̀ rẹ̀ gbé.
Olábímtán(*Orilawè*, 1973: 87)

When the lady was conscious, she confessed. She said that the driver collected transportation fare from her to convey her to her destination. The chairman of Nínálowó was also aware of this confession, only for the press men to carry false news that I am the one that directed that his daughter should be kidnapped.

Propaganda is also one of the attributes of all military regimes. This is captured in *Ìjàmbá Sẹ̀lú* when Àjùwọ̀n promised before returning to the country to improve the standard of his nation.

È ò wa ri ibi ti agbára n se báun o, Àjùwọ̀n ọmọ̀ bàbá ijọ̀ Ìwàléwà, ti gbogbo ènìyàn mọ̀ bi olóòtọ̀, tí o tilẹ̀ sọ̀ ní ilú̀ Ọ̀yìnbo pe bí àwọ̀n bá ti dé ilé, àwọ̀n n lọ̀ tùn nńkan se ni, se òun náà ló wa di olòri oníbàjẹ̀ báyìi?
Owólabi (*Ìjàmbá*, 1981:31)

You can see how power changes people, Àjùwọ̀n, the son of a church elder, that all people know as a trustworthy person, that even declared in UK (Britain) that as soon as they returned, they would restore the situation in the country, he is the one that has turned to be a corruptible leader?

He could not fulfil his promise because of his lust for power and corruption that characterised his regime. He promoted bribery and corruption in governance.

4.6.6. Coercion

Coercion means to frighten or threaten people to do what you want them to do. Coercion in politics means frightening or threatening people to vote for an anointed candidate presented to them. It is done with the purpose of causing another to perform or to omit the performance of any act without any lawful authority. Coercion may inflict physical harm on the person threatened or any other person, subject any person to physical confinement.

In *Saworoide*, Lápité's refusal to take an oath of allegiance to serve his people and community as the custom demands and the way he reacts to the elders coordinating the sacrifice is a reflection of coercion. Since Opálanbá, the aged royal bald, exposes that taking the oath will hinder him from becoming rich, Lápité employs intimidation to get what he wants, confirmation as the king of Jogbo. This is captured in what transpires between Lápité, Amawomárò and Àyànàgalú the custodian of the traditional instruments for oath-taking in the inner room.

*Lápité bínú, o nàka sí àwọn àgbà mejèjì, o jágbè mọ wọn
'È wá o! È ẹ ni sùúrù fún ara yín! Èyin loba abi èmi?. Bi ñ o
ti ẹ temi ni mo ñ wi un o. A ti parí orò o. A ti ẹ tan
Amawomárò gbọn orí, oni 'kin lẹ ẹ tán? A a tiii...'
Lápité pa á mọ ọn lenu, ó ní 'Hẹn ẹn babaawo! È ẹ tii ẹ kin
ni mo wi? O rọra yọ ibọn iléwọ kan jáde labé aṣọ 'Mo ni a
ti ẹ tan! Kín ni mo wí.
Àwọn àgbà mejèjì yára sọ pé "È ni a ti ẹ tan"
Ìṣòlá (Saworoide: 2008:23)*

Lápité was angry; he pointed his finger on the two elders; he shouted on them. 'Come o! be patient within yourselves! Are you the king or I am? That is how I will do my own. We had finished the rites; we had concluded. Amawomárò shook his head; he said what have you finished? We are yet.... Lápité interrupted him. The diviner! We have completed what I said. He carefully brought out a pistol; 'I said we have concluded! What did I say The two elders said, 'You said, we have concluded'.

Coercion derails standard and merit because it undermines fairness and justice in the attainment of desired result.

4.6.7. Negligence of the masses

Negligence is a state of failure to accord or give enough desired care or attention to those that need it. Negligence of the masses means failure of the

government to accord enough or required attention to the masses on their fundamental needs as citizens of a nation. This as a political stigma, is noticed in the administration of both civilian and the military governments. It can be caused by mismanagement of policies, poor policies or lack of masses' driven visions, lack of goodwill and selfish interest of the leaders. Nigerian political leadership is characterised by negative features, such as lack of direction, neglect and drift, insensitivity to the plight of the masses which has resulted in negative effects on the part of the teeming poor citizens with the presence of abject poverty, hunger, disease, destitution and squalor.

It is a recurring feature of the government in Nigeria to neglect the masses in their policies and plannings Owólabí portrays this while explaining what characterises the tenure of Àjùwòn as a military Head of Sate in his country. The author of the text *Ijàmbá Sèlú* establishes the fact that it is a common attribute of political leaders to forget their beginning, to think of the past in order to reform the present and to eventually project a better future in their nations. The extract below reveals this:

*Şugbõn kò sàihàn sí àwõn èniyàn pé nńkan kò fì bẹ̀ẹ̀ ɾõgbõ.
Şugbõn ta ní wá lẹ̀ pé Àjùwõn ọmọ baba ijọ tí ó ti jẹ olóòtọ́
láti kékeré ni ó wá di ẹni ńfì ojú fo ijẹkújẹ bí ẹni pé kò jẹ
nńkan ibi; tàbi Àjùwõn tí ó jẹ ọmọ mẹkúnù ni ó wá dédẹ̀ di
ẹni tí iyà àwõn mẹkúnù kò jọ lójú báyii, ńjẹ kò yẹ kí ẹyí ya
terútọmọ lẹnu? Şugbõn èniyàn şoro, èniyàn kì í pé yí padà;
bí agbára bá tẹ̀ èniyàn lówọ́ tán sàsà ni àrà tí kò lẹ̀ dá. Ẹ̀ ò
wá rí ibi tí agbára ń şe báun o. Àjùwõn ọmọ̀ bàbà ijọ
Íwàlẹ̀wà, tí gbogbo èniyàn mọ̀ bi olóòtọ́, tí ó tilẹ̀ ń sọni ilú
òyìnbó pé bí àwõn bá ti dé ilé, àwõn ń lọ́ tún nńkan şe ni; şé
òun náà lo wá di olórí onibàjẹ̀ báyii?*

Owólabí (*Ijàmbá*, 1981:31)

But it is clear to the people that things are not going on well. But who can call Àjùwòn the son of the church leader that is known to be faithful right from childhood that now overlooks corrupt practices as if it is not a bad stigma, or Àjùwòn that is a son of a poor man now has no concern for the suffering of the masses in the society; is not this a big surprise to all? But human beings are terrible; human beings are prone to change anytime; if given power there is nothing he cannot do. You can see the damage power intoxication is doing now. Àjùwòn the son of church leader that all people know as faithful, that was telling people in Britan that if they return back they are going to restore situation; now turn to be the leader of corrupt people?

In *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*, insincerity of political leaders to the plight of the masses is depicted. During the Council Meeting, General Déndè presents his desires to the

Council for approval, which he gets on the premise of the selfishness of the leaders of Ètanlókún. He increases the salary of the military top officers and creates the office of the first lady with budget to maintain the office and women's programmes. The first lady is accorded the status of a political office holder with a reasonable salary of all that the state Council approves. Yet, nothing is mentioned to better the lot of the masses. This shows negligence on the part of the masses.

Gbogbo idáàmú tó bá ará ilú nípa iná, omi, títì ọlódà, àìrísé-še-tó, idààmú owó, idáámú àwọn adigunjalè, wàhàlà ifipágbàjọba, kò sí lóri àjẹndà ipàdè ìgbimọ.
Adéyemi (Àkùkọ,2001:27)

All the problem facing people on epileptic power supply, water, lack of good roads, unemployment, lack of money in circulation, arm robbery attacks and the problem of coup d'état were not on the agenda of the meeting of the council.

In *Şaworoide*, Lápitè neglects the plight of the masses on their encounter with the timber dealers on destruction of their land and property because of their economic gain without making any effort to replace the plucked trees. The masses went to the palace to report the activities of the timber dealers to the king only to be disappointed by response to a vital issue as this. Lápitè's comment on the complaint of the masses is very disappointing. Below is an excerpt from Fádíyà statement after the meeting of the masses with the king on Lápitè's insincerity to the plight of the masses:

Fádíyà ní "Ara ohun tí èmi máa n sọ fún yín nìyí o. Şé ẹ ráyé lóde! Nígbà tí ẹ n sọ pé ọba tuntún ni yóò gbọn iyà wa nù, kí ni mo wi? Mo ní ó dígba náà ná! Àjá n lóşòò, a lọ rée rọbọ! Ọbọ rée kò lówò méjì ju kólóşòò lọ. Ọmọ iyá lajá òun ọbọ. Ọmọ iyá leléde òun imàdò. Ifún kan náà ní n bẹ ninù gbogbo ọmọ ọba."

Ìşòla (*Şaworoide* 2008:46)

Fádíyà answered "that is what I always say. Can you see things now! When you said the new king would liberate us from all forms of oppression, what did I say! I said, until then! Because the dog was squatting down, we went ahead to buy a monkey! Monkey has no other business than squatting down. Dog and monkey are relatives; pig and bush pig are relatives. All princes have the same trait.

The author expresses the attitude of the ruling class towards the plight of their subjects. The African political leaders, Nigerians in particular, have disappointed the masses through their responses to the plight of the masses who vote them to power. It is clear

that both civilian and military rulers are the same in their oppressive and negligent attitude to the suffering of the masses.

4.6.8. Political assassination

Political assassination means the murder of a political figure or important personnel in the political circle. This happens among the politicians to suppress, subdue or silence opposition from going against the set ideologies and policies of a party. Political assassination is portrayed in some of the texts to show the level and degree of political assassination in Nigerian politics.

In *Òtẹ̀ Nibò* a scene of political murder or political assassination is depicted in a scene after the general election.

Gbogbo Ìbàdàn ti gbòjikàn fún wàhálà. Láti Òkè-Bòlà tí tí dé Mòlété, láti Oríta-mérin tí tí dé Agodi, láti Odo-Onà tí tí dé ònà Àkánrán, láti Mápó tí tí dé Mòkólá-gbogbo ilú Ìbàdàn ti kún fún ìjà ìgboro, ilé sísun, mótò sísun, sísá èniyàn àti yíyínbon-lu èniyàn. Oju tí tí kún fún òkú èniyàn. Bí wọn bá wò sínsùn báyii, wọn a da epo bentiróò lé elémíràn l'óri; ki onítòhún tó mọ ibi tí ó wà, iná ti dáhùn l'ára rẹ̀. Ó di ejò sáré ikú nàgbòn-nàgbòn, àfi kí ó sáré tí tí yóò fì subú lulè, tí yóò sì kú.

Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1981:129)

The whole Ìbàdàn city was engulfed in cases. From Òké Bòlà to Mòlété, from Oríta-mérin to Agodi, from Odò Onà to Àkánrán, from Mápó to Mòkólá, Ìbàdàn was full of cases of house burning, vehicle burning, and stabbing people with knife and cutlass, killing with gunshots. All streets were full of human corpses. If they liked, they would wet a person with petrol, before that person knew where he was, fire had already engulfed him. He would run with all might, till he would fall down and die.

In *Şaworoidẹ̀*, Adébòmí and his wife were assassinated by Lápitẹ̀ to stop Adébòmí from going against his political schemes, since Adébòmí may pose as a threat to his reign in Jogbo kingdom. He equally attempts to assassinate Arẹ̀sẹ̀jóbàtá, who is entitled to the throne of his father. Luck finds Arẹ̀sẹ̀jóbàtá as Ayàngalu and Bàbà Amawomárò strategise to save his life.

Èyí tí ó fa ìgùdàn agánrán lówó ní “Hèn-hèn-ẹ! Èyin ni ẹ tún da ọba Láàmú?”

Adébòmí ní “Áwà wẹ! A mà ti gba kámú!”

Èyí tí ó mú ìgùdà lówó rẹ́rín-ìn, ó ní “È ẹ tí ì gba kámú! Ẹ ó sẹ̀sẹ̀ gba kámú báyii ní”. Ó kojú si oníbon, ó ní; “Jòwó bá

mi fún wọn ní kámú kòókán”. Oníbon sì ta ibon mọ ̀tokotaya láyà lókókán. Wọn subú lulè, wọn sì kú. Işola (Şaworoide, 2008:33)

The one that holds a staff “you are the one disturbing the king?”

Adébòmí said, “We are not! We have accepted our fate”

The one that holds the staff laughed. He said “you have not accepted your fate! It is now that you will accept your fate”, he then turned to the one holding the gun; he said, “please help give them a shot of gun each”. He shoots at the couple one by one. They fell down and died.

Also, in *Şaworoide*, Tinúqlá escapes from the palace after the death of her husband Lápitè masterminded by Lagata. Lágata’s attempt to marry informs her search for refuge in Láludé’s house. Meanwhile, she had earlier deserted Láludé for Lápitè, despite that the fact she was already pregnant. Unfortunately, the army officer sent after her by Lágata killed Láludé deliberately in order to go away with Tinúqlá. This is a case of homicide as portrayed by the author in the text.

Ara Láludé kò gbà á. Áánú Tinuqlá se é. Ó sáré gba enu ̀nà mọ àwọn omọ-ogun lówó. Ó n bẹ wọn pé kí wọn fi Tinuqlá silè. Şùgbón ohun rẹ le. Ó ní òun fẹ́ mọ ohun ti Tinuqlá se ki wọn tó máa mú un lọ. Ojú si n kan àwọn omọ-ogun. Wọn ó ráyè àròyé. Wọn wo ara wọn lójú, wọn si sọ èjìkà. ̀Okán nínú wọn si yin ibon mọ Láludé láyà. Ó subúlulè, ó kú. Işola (Şaworoide.2008:126)

Láludé could not bear it. He pitied Tinúqlá. He blocked the entrance to prevent the army officers. He started begging them to leave Tinúqlá alone. But his voice was loud. He asked them to tell him what Tinúqlá had done before they could take her away. The officers were in a hurry. They donot have time for long discussion. They looked at each other’s face; they shrugged. One of them shot Láludé at the chest. He fell down and died.

The author presents political leaders and politicians in Yorùbá society and in Nigeria as those who shed innocent blood as a result of power struggle and context for political posts and offices. The killing of Adébòmí and his wife is an attempt to silence any opposition against Lápitè’s ascendance to the throne in Jogbo kingdom. This of course is a recurring political experience in the contemporary Nigerian society which has witnessed a lot of political assassinations that are still mysteries and unresolved till today. It is a reflection of a reality that accompanies independence in Nigerian politics. The ruling elites in Nigeria involve themselves in killing and maiming innocent people

at the expense of attending to masses' plight and finds solution to their problems. There are important figures that have died in mysterious circumstances; what led to their deaths are still unknown till date: Alfred Rewane, Marshall Harry, Chief Bólá Ìgè, Fúnsó Williams Ayodélé, Dáramólá to mention just a few.

4.6.9. . Character assassination

Character assassination or character deformation is a state of blackmailing or deforming another man's character in a bad manner. This always involves plots, calculated attempt and set target to lure a person into serious problem. The targeted political opponents may be set up through kidnapping, rape, murder or other forms of criminal activities that are against the law and constitution of a nation. In *Baba Rere*, Òjó blackmails Balógun to destroy his political ambition so that he, Òjó, would eventually emerge as the winner in the election and to frustrate Balógun's political party and silence him.

Òjó fúnrarè wa ro ohun ti oun le se lati fi ba Balógun l'orúkò jé, kò mọ; òkàn rẹ wa lọ sọdọ ògbójú olè kan ní Ìbàdàn. Arẹmú-ò-k'ẹwọn l'orúkò òkúnrin òhún. Ojo lọ bá a se eto, o si fún un lówó. Ó ni k'o wá jalè ni Sohó k'o fi ara rẹ fún Olópa mu k'o si wa sọ nile olópa pe Balógun l'oun n sise fún, oun l'o ran oun. Arẹmú-ò-k'ẹwọn kò tilẹ lóra rara tí ó fi gba isẹ nàà.

Olábímtán (*Bàbá*, 1973:123)

Òjó thought of what he could do to tarnish Balógun's image; he did not know he then thought of a notorious armed robber in Ìbàdàn Arẹmú-ò-k'ẹwọn (Arẹmú that does not fear prison) was his name. Òjó planned with him and gave him money. He asked him to come and rob in Sohó and that he should submit himself to the police and tell them that he was working for Balógun his master. Arẹmú-ò-k'ẹwọn did not think twice before he accepted the job.

Also, in *Orílawè Adìgun*, Ade's character is assassinated in the daily newspaper after the calculated assassination attempt on him failed. The newspaper reports that Ade was responsible for kidnapping of the daughter of Nínálowo party's chairman. The dialogue between Ade and Lawè shows the content of the story in the daily newspaper.

Só o rí isókúso tí wọn n sọ? Wọn ni emi ni mo rán awakò tí o wa okò mi kí ó loba mi jì omọ bàbá Egbé Nínálowo gbé...Emi... Ni Owódé yí... kò burú... ojú wa... nítorí kí ni
Olábímtán (*Orílawè* 1973:86)

Have you heard about the baseless talk around? They said I am the one that sent the driver to go and kidnap the daughter of Ninálowo party's chairman.... I... in this Owódé...it is not bad... our eye... for what reason?

This character assassination is aimed at silencing Adé and prevent him from opposing the Ninalowo's government policies. Also, it is an attempt to force him to join their party, because he is seen as a serious threat to their political struggle in Owódé area.

In *Ọtẹ Nibò*, during a election campaign to the House of Representatives, two friends within the same party at Àiyétòrò are interested in the same position. People want Gbádéro to represent them as the lawmaker, while his friend, Ọdédèjì, also wants to become a lawmaker who will represent his people at the Federal House of Representatives. Ọdédèjì is loved by most of the villagers around because he is a teacher with good character and reputation. Their supporters resort to character assassination to discredit either opponents and to frustrate their political ambition. This is reflected in the narrator remark and the utterances of the supporters of the two political opponents in the same party. It is reflected thus:

Kò sí irú ọ̀rọ̀ ibani-lórúko-jé tí àwọn tí ó tẹ̀lé àwọn méjèjì kò ló tán: ọ̀rọ̀ ibò mà burú o!
Owolábi (Ọ̀tẹ̀, 1981:70)

There are no words that reflect character assassination that the two opponents did not use for each other; election issue is a big problem.

Bí wọn bá ti de ibi kan ti wọn ti fi Ọdédèjì hàn tán, wọn a bèrẹ̀ ọ̀rọ̀ síso; wọn a ni: 'Ọdédèjì rẹ̀-é, ẹnì t'a a fẹ́ k'o lọ s'ile Asòfin L'Ékò ọ̀nìyí. Ẹ̀yìn náà mọ ọ̀n bi ẹnì mowó; ààrin yín l'ó n gbé, kì í se bàbá Èkó. Ó ti bá yín jìyà jìnnà. Kì í se ọ̀ṣẹ̀lú tí í fi idí tì sí ilú nílá, tí í máa wá'lé wa dán ẹnù ni idákúrekú, ti a kì í s'í gbúróó rẹ̀ mọ...

Òun ló tọ sí kí ó lọ fún wa, yàtò sí bàbá Èkó bí í Gbádéro tí kò l'ádé l'óri, tí n pariwo ẹnù kiri. Ẹ̀yìn náà mọ idi ẹ̀ tí adé kò fi tẹ irán wọn lóri mọ. sé ẹ̀ tún fẹ́ gba òun láyè kí ó tún se irú ohun tí baba-nílá rẹ̀ se nígbà t'ó wa lóri oyè ni. Ẹ̀ fẹ́ fún omọ olè láyè látì rì'bi fọ ilé. Kì ó fọ ilú tán, kí ó fọ oko.
Owolábi (Ọ̀tẹ̀, 1981: 67 – 68)

As soon as they reacha place, and have introduced Ọdédèjì, they would start talking; they would say this is Ọdédèjì, the man we want to represent us at the National House of Representative in Lagos. All of you know him very well; he grew up here; he is not residing in Lagos. He has suffered

with you for long. He is not a politician that will stay in a city that will be coming once a while to use sugar quoted mouth to deceive people that will not come back again...

He is the one the cap fit apart from the man from Lagos like Gbádéró that has no crown on his head, that his boasing around. You all know the reason that his family could not wear the crown again. Do you want to allow him again to do what exactly his forefather did when he was on the throne? You want to allow a thief 's child to get access to rob houses, to rob towns, to rob villages.

Yàtò sí èyí, wọn bi Gbádéró i re, ó sì tun ara rẹ̀ bí dọ̀ba. È má f'òṣìkà sí 'pò ògá; nítòrí ọ̀kà bímọ̀ rẹ̀ silẹ̀, o n bu 'niyàn jẹ̀ kiri ni. Ọ̀dédèjì t'ò sáré kiri, kì í ẹ̀ni à á fì sí ipò àtátà; nítòrí yóò fì olá jẹ̀ ni ní iyà ni. Šebí ẹ̀ rántí ikú t'ópa babá rẹ̀ ni"lẹ̀ yí, šebí iṣẹ̀ ibi náà ni; àbí ẹ̀ kò rántí pé nṣe ni baba wọn yin ibon jẹ̀ léyìn ti wọn ti mu wọn l'óko olè tán. È má gba òsìkà láyè k'ó ẹ̀ 'lú; nítòrí iṣẹ̀ ibi ni yóò máa fì agbára ọ̀ba ẹ̀.

Owolábí (Ọ̀tẹ̀, 1981:70)

Apart from that, Gbádéró was well trained, and he equally trained himself. Do not allow a wicked soul to occupy leadership because he will be wicked. Ọ̀dédèjì that is running around, is not reliable to be placed on leadership post because he will use power to frustrate and oppress people. Do you remember what led to his father's death'? Is it not wickedness; or you do not remember that his father commit suicide after they had caught him while robbing people. Do not allow a wicked man to lead the people because he will be doing bad things with political power.

4.6.10. Political violence

Violence is a criminal act done in a way to hurt, kill or cause psychological disturbance to another person. In Nigeria, politicians use threats of violence to silence those that are not in support of their political policies and ideologies. Violence is common in politics mostly during election campaigns which usually results in collapse of physical and social infrastructure, vandalism of personal and public property and ethnic blood-letting. This has been happening since the First Republic in Nigeria and it is a recurring experience in Nigeria's political scene. Violence of any form in political struggle always spells doom for democratic principles.

Political violence is a form of violence which normally arises as a result of power struggle among politicians. Political violence always goes along with power

possession. It is done to hurt persons through psychological and confrontational means in order to gain power or win elections. During election campaigns, Nigerian politicians are fond of using tactics as violence, insult, confrontational styles and damaging of character or properties to get what they want, in terms of state power. Also, election malpractice results in electoral violence in the society. There is no doubt elections in Nigeria are marred with some forms of electoral malpractice which always result to electoral violence This is against the principles and practice of true democracy in Nigeria. This is reflected in some of the texts selected for this study. Political parties employ the use of thugs to fight their assumed political opponents so that they can get to the corridor of power with ease. In Nigeria, political parties see one another as strong enemies and threats. The novelist portrays Nigerian political leaders as being desperate and power-lust. They use thugs during party campaigns and political gatherings to harass the opponents. In *Òtẹ̀ Nibo*, the narrator describes the violence that erupts between two political thugs as follows:

Ju gbogbo rẹ̀ lọ, ọ̀rọ̀ ti àwọn ọ̀mọ ẹ̀gbé rọ̀ pé kò ní pé tán, se wéré fejú keke. Wéré, ó ti yi gidà; ó di ilé Asòfin ni Ìbàdàn, ibè ni ìjà nílá si ti bésilẹ̀ tí ó di ohun ti àwọn oniṣòkòtò pénpé tí í se ẹ̀lẹ̀wù ẹ̀tu riyeriyẹ̀ n fì kónódó dára sí ara àwọn ọ̀mọ ilé aṣòfin l'ara, ti àwọn ọ̀mọ ilé aṣòfin pàà sì n fì ẹ̀sẹ̀ àti ikúùkù dá ara si ara wọn l'ara. Ìjà t'á n wí yì burú jàì.
Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1981:98)

Above all, the issue the party members thought would end soon gradually escalates. It has gone beyond control; it escalated to the House of Assembly in Ìbàdàn. That is where serious crisis erupted and attracted the presence of police officers with the use of baton to control the crisis, while the lawmakers started beating one another. This fight was so tough.

In *Orilawẹ̀ Adìgún*, the violence that erupted between the political thugs and the Police Officers in Mushin is depicted. The thugs were set to go to the prison yard to set free Salimọnu and other political detainees by the ruling party.

Ìgbà tí ọ̀kọ̀ kejọ̀ n lọ, ọ̀lọ̀pàá kan gbé kónódó rẹ̀ lé jàndùkú tí ó yosẹ̀ síta tagbáratagbára, ọ̀kúnrin nàà sì rẹ̀bọ̀. Ìṣubú nàà pọ̀ tóbẹ́ẹ̀ ge` tí kò le dide. Kíà àwọn ẹ̀gbé rẹ̀ tó wà nínú ọ̀kọ̀ bẹ̀ sílẹ̀, ọ̀lọ̀pàá họ̀. Ìgbà tí wọn rí i pé ẹ̀ni tí ó nà án ni kónódó tí sálo, wón wa bẹ̀rẹ̀sí i na gbogbo ọ̀lọ̀pàá, àwọn ọ̀lọ̀pàá bẹ̀rẹ̀sí nà wọn nítorí wọn kere ni iye sí ọ̀lọ̀pàá. Sùgbón ìgbà tí àwọn ọ̀kọ̀ jàndùkú tó ti lọ síwájú fura pé àwọn kò ri àwọn ẹ̀lẹ̀gbé wọn, wọn yípadà. Bí wọn ti yọ̀ lọkan tí wón rí àwọn ọ̀lọ̀pàá, tí wón n lu ẹ̀lẹ̀gbé wọn bí ẹ̀ni lu aṣọ̀ ofi, wón bẹ̀ sílẹ̀

tágbaratágbara. Aláàké mú àáké, aládàá mú àdá, àwọn ti ó gbé ibón sì bèrèsì yin ibón. Ó di pèè-ntúká. Àt'òga at'òmọ-isé ọlópàá, ó di bó-ò-lọ-yà-fún-mi.
Olábímtán (*Orílawẹ*, 1973:166)

When eight vehicles were passing, one police officer used his baton to beat one thug that put his legs outside heavily; the man fell down. It was so serious that he could not stand up. Immediately the other thugs from the vehicle came down, the officer ran away. When they discovered that the officer that beat him had run away, they started beating any officer they saw around; police officers started beating them because they were small in number compared to the number of the police officers there. But when the remaining vehicles that moved before them noticed that others were not coming behind, they returned. As they viewed the police officers from a distance, that were beating their colleagues; they jumped down from the vehicle forcefully. They started using axes and cutlasses, and those that carried gun started shooting. There was confusion everywhere. Both the boss and the junior police officers ran for their lives.

In *Ọtẹ Nibo*, there is portrayal of political violence and rivalry.

Wón ẹ tii, wón purọ mó ara wọn; wón ẹ tíí, wón dimòpò láti dèná de ara wọn ki wón si fi nínà ba ti ara wọn jé. Ibo t'á n wí í l'ò ẹ bèè le o. k'a kúkú fi si 'bi pé olúkúlúkù bèrè sí wá ònà tí ẹni tí wón tẹle yóò fi jẹ ni.
Owolabi (*Ọtẹ*, 1973: 75)

They go as far as, telling lies against each other; they go as far as, they connive to attack each other and fight to finish. The election we are talking of is the one that was tough; let us conclude that each of them is working toward the success of their preferred candidate.

The political parties are fond of using thugs to cause violence and oppress their opponents. The use of thugs is highly pronounced in Nigerian politics as it has been assumed to be part of the political process or normal process to get to power by the politicians. In *Ọtẹ Nibò*, *Baba Rere* and *Orílawẹ Àdìgún*, the authors depict the use of political thugs by political office seekers to terrorise and oppress their political opponents and assumed enemies. This deadly act they exhibit in different ways.

4.6.11. Thuggery

Overambitious and disgruntle politicians use political thugs to perpetuate their frustrating desires or cause violence during and after election periods. They employ the

use of political thugs to attack their opponents and use same to cause problems when they are not satisfied with election results. In the Nigerian political scene, the activities of thugs are noticed; thuggery and hooliganism are on the increase in Nigerian politics, resulting in election rigging, snatching of ballot boxes, assassinations, maiming of live, manipulation of election results, multiple voting and destruction of both private and public properties. Categorically, the use of money and thugs for obstructing electoral process characterises Nigerian politics from the colonial period up to this moment.

In *Òtẹ̀ Nibò*, thugs are used by political parties to attack one another and to cause confusion through open fight during political rallies and elections.

Ni nńkan bi agogo mėsàn-an, àwọn jàndùkù Egbẹ̀ Alágúnfọ̀n ti jáde síta; k'a tó wí, àwọn jàndùkù Egbẹ̀ Olóko náà ti fọ̀n sí ịgboro. Wón fẹ̀ da ipàdẹ̀ ti àwọn Egbẹ̀ Alágúnfọ̀n náà rú. Ní déédé agogo mėsàn-án àbò gééré ni àwọn méjèjèjì pàdẹ̀ ni Bẹ̀rẹ̀. Ijà nílá bésílẹ̀.
Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1981:36)

At exactly 9:00 clock, political thugs of Alágúnfọ̀n's party were already out in a few moments, political thugs of Olóko also came out. They wanted to disrupt the meeting of Alágúnfọ̀n's party. At exactly 9.30am, they met at Bẹ̀rẹ̀. A big fight started.

The novelists show how political leaders in Nigeria use thugs as bodyguards and fighters at political campaigns.

4.6.12. Vandalism

Vandalism is an act done deliberately, for no good reason. It is a common occurrence during any general election to witness one form of vandalism or the other in Nigeria right from the time Nigeria started electing political office holders. Lives and properties are always destroyed after elections and the aftermath effects always cause setbacks to the development of the nation.

In *Òtẹ̀ Nibò*, Owólabí projects a picture of vandalism during and after a general election period in Nigeria.

Báyìl ni ilú ẹ̀ ri fún bi oşù méjì gbáko ti iná n sọ l'ótùn àti l'òsì; ti emí n sọ̀nù ní'le, tí ó n sọ̀nù l'òko. Iná ti wa gun ori ilé fẹ́jú hẹ̀hẹ̀-hẹ̀. Owo olopàà kò ká a mó, ẹ̀nu ijọba àpapọ̀ kò ran'lẹ̀.
Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1981:98)

This is how the situation was in the town for two months; there was fire everywhere; lives were terminated everywhere. It has gone beyond control. The police failed to curtail it, Federal Government could not stop the crisis.

In Nigerian politics, vandalism has become the order of the day; lives and properties of great values are always destroyed which causes setback to both individuals and the general public in terms of development.

4.6.13. **Betrayal of trust**

In *Ìjámhá Sèlú*, the author depicts betrayal of trust through the character of Àjùwòṅ, who betrays those who love him and consider him to be a responsible leader. Before Àjùwòṅ returns to Nigeria after his military training overseas, he told people that when he returned he was going to effect some positive changes in his country. As soon as Àjùwòṅ rose to the post of the Military Head of State, he forgot his original source and started misbehaving, involving himself in all forms of inordinate activities. He betrayed the trust that people had in him. His government concentrated on promotion of the high class in the society, to the detriment of the masses. This is captured in the extract below:

Ìjámhá sáa ti sèlú ná, olóri olòsà l'ò n sọ gboro. Eni tì bá bá ni kọ yà t'ò tún jẹ òun ni olóri eni ti n fì iyà jẹ ni òkọ? Níbo lá à sá síi?
Owólabí (*Ìjámhá*, 1981:35)

There was havoc that had befallen the society; the chief robber was the one watching the town. He who was supposed to save people from suffering was the one that was inflicting suffering on the people? Where can we run to?

Àjùwòṅs regime is full of cheat, oppression and total disappointment as it is the experience in the contemporary society. *Ìjámhá Sèlú* depicts the military regime in Nigeria after the failure of democratic government.

Also, in *Şaworoidẹ*, Lápitẹ betrays the trust that the people have in him when he disregards people-oriented projects and programmes; instead, he and his chiefs embark on enriching themselves. At the beginning of the novel, the author expresses the attributes of Oníjogbo and their commitment to the overall development of the town. This is sealed by oath taken to ensure that the kings adhere strictly to the oath of allegiance entered into on the progress of his subjects and development of the town. A new king in the land must wear golden crown, *Adé idẹ*, and the drummer must beat

Şaworoide drum for him to hear in order to complement the rites. This had been in practice for a very long time until the time of Lápité who violates the existing protocol by rejecting oath-taking in order to be able to do evils to his subjects, especially to enrich himself as the king of the land through the resources of the land. Lápité and his chiefs are involved in monumental corruption using timber dealers to facilitate their siphoning of public funds, saving them abroad and buying expensive cars without helping the masses to solve their unending suffering and maltreatment in the hand of timber dealers. This is captured in the excerpt below:

*Amawomárò fidi jálè, ó káwó léri. Àyàngalú jókòò tì í.
Káyéfi ñlá ni òrò nàà jé fun wòn. Wòn n wo gbogbo ohun
orò ti wòn ò lò nilè.
Amawomárò kò mọgbà tí ó sọ pé “Ọba ilú Jogbo!”
Àyàngalú sì dáhùn pé “Ọba ara rẹ mà leléyù!”
Ìşòlá (Şaworoide, 2008:23)*

*Bí Lápité ti jáde síta ni àwọn ijòyè àti eméwà rẹ tẹlé e. Wòn
mu un wọ inú yàrá miiran, wòn wò ó ni asọ ñlá, ó dé filà
aláràbarà, wòn gbé e gun orí esin funfun, wòn gbé adé idé
sáájú. Ó gẹsin lálú já, ó sì kọrí sí ààfin, tilú tìfọn.
Amawomárò àti Àyàngalú n gbọ ariwo, orin áti ilú bi ọba ti
n jọ lọ sí ààfin.
Wòn miri, wòn sí bèrè sí í sa àwọn ohun orò nilè.
“Bẹ̀ẹ̀ ni! Kó yára máa bá àimọkan rẹ̀ lọ. Ọwọ̀ ara rẹ̀ ni yóó fi
şe ara rẹ̀. Idà ahun nii, kúkú pahun.
Ìşòlá (Şaworoide, 2008: 23-24)*

Amawomárò sat down uncomfortably. He put his hand on his head. Àyàngalú sat beside him. The issue was a big surprise to them. They were looking at all the materials for the rite on ground. Amawomárò did not know when he said “king of Jogbo!” Àyàngalú answered that “This one is his own king!”

As Lápité came out the chiefs and his friends followed him. They took him to another room, they put on him a befitting clothe, he put on designed cap, they put on him white horse, they carried golden crown at his front. He rode horse across the town; he went to the palace amidst drum and dancing. Amawomárò and Àyàngalú started hearing the sound of the songs and drum as the king was going to the palace. They nodded their head, and started parking materials for oath taking from the ground. It is good! Let him go with his ignorance, he will cause his own misfortune. It is tortoise sword that normally kill tortoise.

The authors depict a scene of betrayal of trust in the above excerpt to show that political leadership has failed their followers and betrayed the trust people have in them by embezzling state funds for their personal and selfish needs instead of encouraging and implementing people-oriented projects that will be of benefit for the general populace that have committed political power into their hands. This justifies the Marxist view that the masses entrust both economic and political powers into the hand of a certain group that is the ruling class who in turn embezzle and loot the state treasury and neglect the well-being of their followers.

4.6.14. Suppression of pressure groups

In *Baba Rere*, Olábímtán dwells on how the State Council uses oppressive tactics to arrest the members of Teachers Association of Sohó who protest and disagree with the Council on the welfare of their members. At the meeting, the leadership of the Union is dissolved and members are arrested and detained on the grounds that the Council has warned against the coming together of the teachers as a trade union in Sohó.

Òkan nínú wọn sì tí bọ síwájú gégé bí olòrí. Kíá wọn tí pínnu pé àwọn yóò da isẹ̀ sílẹ̀ ní, kí ijọba máa fowó mú isẹ̀ rẹ̀. Şùgbọ̀n wọn ò tí kúrò níbẹ̀ t'awọn olopaá dé. O di bi-o-lọ-yà-fun-mi. Àwọn miran gba ojú ferèsé bẹ̀ síta, àwọn miran sá pamọ̀. Elomù kó sínú gorodómù omi ninu wọn; elòmù lóşòó, ó ru pákọ s'óri bí ẹ̀ni pé wọn fi pákọ bo nnkan mólẹ̀ ní. Şùgbọ̀n ẹ̀ni tí o şe bí olori ninu wọn ko ri ibi sálọ. Wọn sì mu oun ati awọn kan lọ s'ile olopa. Titi ilẹ̀ ojo keji fi sù, olopaá kò da wọn sílẹ̀.

Olábímtán (*Bàbá*, 1973:183)

One of them stepped out and presented himself as their leader. They all decided to embark on industrial strike, that government should hold his jobs. But they had not left the place before police officers arrived at the scene. They started running up and down. Some escaped through window; some hid themselves. Some hid themselves inside water drums. But the person that presented himself as their leader was arrested and detained along with others. They were detained till the evening of the second day.

The use of political power to exploit and oppress masses as postulated in Marxism is a big threat to good governance in Nigeria society today; the ruling elite use their political power to intimidate, victimise and incarcerate the masses in the society instead of addressing the peoples' plight by finding solutions to their problems.

4.6.15. Illegal arrest/Incarceration of pressmen

In *Orilawè Adìgún*, to silence Lawè, a press man, he is arrested and locked up in custody because of a politically related issue. Such illegal arrests and detention are some of the ills that characterise political experiences during the postcolonial period in Nigeria. At the party level, it is resolved to send two emissaries with àròkò osùn (a symbolic form of non-verbal communication) to Sádíkù, the chairman of Nínálowó's party.

*Bí wón ti rí ọlọpàá wón penumọ. Sádíkù fúnrarẹ ní ó to ejọ.
Kò pe àwọn egbínrín méfẹ́fẹ́fà náà ni egbínrín osùn mọ,
egbínrín òògùn ló pè wón, ó sì pàşẹ fún àwọn ọlọpàá náà kí
wón máa mú Àlùkò àti Àlàájà lọ, ó ni kí wón kó egbínrín
òògun ti wón mú wa fi pa òun dání. Bí àwọn ọlọpàá ti ń kó
wón lọ ni wón ń káàánú wón. Ìgbà ti wón sì ti rìn jìnnà diẹ,
wón ń bi wón, 'kí lẹ şe fún un? Kí lẹyin náà wa dé ọdọ rẹ?
Ọlábímtán (*Orilawè*, 1973: 137)*

As police officers entered they stopped talking. Sádíkù reported the matter. He did not call the item a local material (osun); he called it a charm; he therefore directed the police to arrest Aluko and Alàájà, and that they should go with the charm brought to kill him. As police took them away from him, they pitied them. As they went far, they asked them what is their offence before him? What are you looking for in his office?

In *Şaworoide*, during the briefing on the programme of activities to mark the 10th year anniversary of Lápitẹ on the throne of Jogbo, a journalist from 'Òkodoro' newspaper asks some heart-touching questions. He asks Lápitẹ to point out an important project he had done in the ten years of his rulership in Jogbo. He also asks question on why Lápitẹ and his chiefs are unable to curb all forms of corruption going on in the land, how the money realised from natural resources has been spent. These questions infuriate the king and his cabinet members such that they threaten to imprison the journalist. This contradicts freedom of speech and freedom of press in the land. Balogun goes further to say that they have relaxed in sending people to prison; that is why the journalist behaves that way.

*“Kábíyèsí, ẹ fi òun yẹn sílẹ́ fún mi. N ò fẹ́ẹ́ mú un ní gbangba
ni nítorí ariwo, kí ó má ba ayéyẹ́ tí à ń se jẹ́. Şùgbòn mo fẹ́ kí
ẹ gbà pé kò ní sunlé lónú. Mo ti ní kí àwọn ọlọpàá tí ò wọşọ
máa sọ ọ tí tí ilẹ́ yóò fi sù tí a ó sì mú un tímólẹ́”.*
Ìşòlá (*Şaworoide*, 2008:90)

Kábíyèsí, leave him for me. I don't want to arrest him in the open because people around can talk so that he cannot disrupt this ceremony. But I want to assure you that he cannot sleep in his house today. I have directed detective to start watching him till night before they arrest and detain him

Igbe ẹ gbà mi yìí ni Badà ké dé ìta. Bí wọn ti dé ìta, ọ́gá ọ́lọ́pàá ké sí àwọn ọ́lọ́pàá kògbéréègbè méjì, ó ní kí wọn kòkò lọọ ti Badà mólé ná, kí òun tóó mọ ilé ẹwọn tí òun ó fí ránsé sí. Wọn kó pawópé sí olóyè Badà lówó, wọn ju ú sínú ọkò kan, wọn sì wà á lọ.

Ìṣòlá (Saworoide, 2008:91)

The cry of deliever me, deliever me; is the cry of Badá till he gets outside. As they got outside, the police boss called two anti-riot police officers to go and lock Badà inside the cell, before he will decide the prison yard he would send him to. They put handcuff on Chief Badà's hands and forced him to enter the parked vehicle, and they drove him off.

Political class see journalist as enemies that always go against their ideology, programmes and plans, by publishing the true state of affairs of the state for the general public awareness

Military administration imprisons real and imaginary enemies, especially the press. Illegal arrest and detention of press men to subdue them are well pronounced, noticed and popular during the military regimes. For instance in *Ìjàmbá Sèlú Àjùwọn* subdues the press and other activists that he perceives to be his enemies or political opponents. Nobody dare criticise his administration unless such a person wants to end up in jail or prison as the situation may demand. Both Àjùwọn and his military administrators are corrupt and extravagant in spending government money at the detriment of the welfare of the masses; they back their vices with decrees. The excerpt below indicates this:

Àwọn oníwèè iròyìn kò le sòrò pátó mó, àfí ẹyí tí ó bá gbékú tà, tí ó sọ ojú abẹ níkòó, irú ẹyìni kò sì pò lákòókò ìjọba Àjùwọn. Ọkòòkan náà tí ó sì n yorí fí ara ba iyà tí ó tó iyà nì . Kò kúkú sí ẹni tí í gbódò pé ohun tí ó n sẹlẹ náà kò dára.

Owólabí (*Ìjàmbá*, 1981:34)

Press men could not talk pointblank again, except those that had concluded to forfeit their lives; those ones are not common during Àjùwọn's tenure. Those that attempted it were severely punished. Who dare criticise their bad governance.

Àjùwòn and his military administrators become untouchable in the land without anyone to check them. Those that tried to criticise his government regretted their actions because they were sent to jail. Many people were incarcerated for criticising the government because of their nefarious practices.

4.6.16. Arson

Arson is a form of crime committed deliberately by setting fire on a building, person or other properties. During election period, most especially after the results of an election might have been released, people often commit the crime of arson, by setting fire on government or individual's buildings, to show their rejection of the election results. In *Òtẹ̀ N'ibò*, the author portrays a scene that shows the crime of arson when political thugs set houses and other properties on fire in Ìbàdàn. In the novel, the police arrests Mr. Adiro and his associates on the charge of felony without bail; subsequently, violence erupted in Abẹ̀okúta, Adiro's home town, from where it escalated, and Ìbàdàn.

Bí wọn ti n sa àwọn omọ Egbé Olómi, ni wọn n yínbon lù wọn ti wọn si n fọ sọgbù àti ilé káàkiri. Bí èyí ti n lọ lówó ni ìjà nílá n sọ ní Èkó, Musin, Ìkẹjà, Kétu, Sómólú, Àgbádàrigì, Ajéròmí, Ìpònrí, Sùúrùléré, Akańnimódò, Ìkòròdú, Agége, Apápá. Gbogbo ibi ti a wi wònyí àti ọ̀pọ̀lọ̀pọ̀ ibi púpọ̀ m̀ìràn ni ìjà nílá ti bésílẹ̀, ti ilé sísun si n lọ ni kòsekòsẹ̀. Tí àwọn tọ̀gì wònyí n sọ iná si ọ̀kọ̀ akèrù, ọ̀kọ̀ ayókélẹ̀ ati ọ̀kọ̀ elèrò gbogbo. Ojú titi a kún fún táyà mọto ti iná n sọ láú nínú rẹ̀, èèfín iná n sọ láú lóri ilé olókè m̀eta, àwọn èrò n sa kíkíkíjo láàrin ìgboro.

Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1981:128)

As they were attacking members of Olómi's party, so also they were shooting them and looting shops and houses all over the place. As this was going on, a fight started in Lagos, Mushin, Ìkẹjà, Kétu, Sómólú, Àgbádàrigì, Ajéròmí, Ìpònrí, Sùúrùléré, Akańnimódò, Ìkòròdú, Agége, Apápá.. All the areas mentioned and other places experienced political fighting; house burning was going on. The thugs started burning vehicles, lorries, cars and commercial buses. All the streets were full of burning tyres. Fire smoke was noticed on top of three store buildings; people started running for their lives.

Burning of properties is a feature in Nigeria political space, especially after the general elections, when a party wins and the other loses.

4.6.17. Nepotism

Nepotism is an unethical situation where one who occupies a position of authority gives an unfair advantage to his own family; it may be jobs, contracts or positions. It is a form of corruption highly noticed in Nigerian politics. It is an act whereby a person who occupies a position of power and authority uses that power to favour his own relations or friends, and himself to the detriment of others. Nepotism entails using unethical means against existing rules to suit one's favourites at the expense of others who may merit the job or appointment. Nigerian political leaders usually engage in the act of nepotism. In some instances, job opportunities, ministerial posts, commissioners and other political posts are given to friends, relatives and in-laws, party loyalists, wives and biological children. Contracts are awarded to family members at detriment of others in the society. Yorùbá novelists project scenes of nepotism in their works to show its trend in the political system of Nigeria and its implications on actualising merits and standard in the governance.

In Yorùbá culture, appointment into whatever post is always based on merit and not on favouritism. Appointment is carefully done to avoid, or at least, manage bias, including selection and appointment of traditional kings. Many things are considered before appointments are done. At times, consultations are made through the Ifá oracle to ascertain efficacy and standard. Yorùbá people believe that if appointment is done on favour, it will affect the whole system. Therefore, traditional chiefs and serving chiefs are appointed based on merits obtained from available facts. Yorùbá traditional culture frowns at the practice of nepotism in state affairs; this is made clear in a proverb which says, '*erin kì í fọn kómọ rẹ nàà tún fọn*' When an elephant trumpets, the infant dare not do the same. In Yorùbá traditional society, the issue of upholding standard and merit is given credence in any appointment.

In *Gbòbaníyì*, Adékiìgbé is portrayed as a political leader that is notoriously used to nepotism in his operations. Adékiìgbé contested for a political post under the umbrella of Ifá Political party (Egbé Ifá) and he won the post to lead his people in Òkè Ìrá. This is revealed in the author's remark on the act of nepotism by Adékiìgbé during his tenure as a political office holder. This excerpt shows this:

Ìdí Adékiìgbé fẹrẹ ma tii ranlẹ dáadáa lóri àga tan to ti bèrẹ sí yánjú ti ara rẹ. Áwọn ọmọ ẹgbón, ọmọ àbúrò, l'ọ kẹsí pé kí wọn fi iṣẹ ti wọn n sẹ tẹlẹ sílẹ kí wọn máa bọnibi tí owó wà. Áwọn ọrẹ páapáa ri tiwọn ẹ. ìyà kò jẹ aládúgbò mọ nítóri bi ará àdúgbò bá ti kẹjọbalẹ pé ọmọ àwọn kò rí iṣẹ ni

Adékùìgbé yòò tí sọ fún wọn pé kí ni wọn tí ñ wò tí wọn kò mú ọmọ wa bá òun ní ibi isẹ. Àwọn tí kò mò ọn rí tẹlẹ ñ rábàbà nítòsì ọdọ rẹ kí ó lè mọ wọn nítorí nínú rẹ ni wọn tí lè rí bú tówò.

Yémítàn (*Gbóbaníyì*, 1972:56)

As soon as Adékùìgbé resumed duty, he started carrying out his own plans. He asked his relatives to resign their appointments and started fixing them in new profitable ones. Even his friends were considered; neighbours were treated well because if any neighbour went to him on their children's unemployment Adékùìgbé would ask them what they were waiting for before bringing the child to him. Those that did not know him before move closer to him so that he can know them because it is through this they too can benefit from him.

Adékùìgbé, in *Gbóbaníyì*, is a representation of instrumental leadership; he has more concern for his personal benefits and those that move closer to him than what the masses and the society will benefit from his administration. In *Gbóbaníyì*, the author uses Ìfà, a word in Yorùbá language symbolically to portray the character of the Council chairman as one that emerges from a party that believes in unmerited favour. The character behaves to the party's type in his administration.

In *Àkùkọ Gágàrà*, concerning ministerial appointment, the author equally satirises General Déndè's act of nepotism on how he favoured his relatives; this is reflected in the narrator's remark on the ministerial appointments during General Déndè's tenure in 'Ètánlòku' nation. One of the ministerial nominees complained bitterly on how his hope was dashed on the appointment he had been targeting, which he considered to be juicy. He remarked that the ministerial post was given to General Déndè's younger brother. Below is the ministerial nominee's comments on his disgust about the post given to him:

'He! Iwọ náa sáa ri bí ilú sẹ rí, ipò tí mò ñ fẹ kọ ni wọn fún mi. Ibi epo rọbì orílẹ̀ èdè ni ọkan mi wà. Ibi ilé owó ni èmí mi ñ wòréré rẹ. Ọgágun Déndè gbón púpọ̀, àbúrò rẹ ló fi síbẹ̀, ọmọ ọlómọ ni gbàsáméegun, èdọ eran lómọ ara ẹni ñ gbà.

Adéyemí (*Àkùkọ*, 2001:47)

He! You can see how the state is; it is not the post I wanted that was given to me. I desired petroleum ministry. It is where there is money that I want. General Déndè is intelligent; he gave it to his younger brother; other people's

children can be given bones, and liver will be given to one's child

The Head of State technically allotted the juicy ministerial post to his own blood brother without considering merit or standard. This is an act of nepotism a form of corruption that is hindering the efficacy of good governance in the society. This is a replica of the situation in Nigeria politics where juicy ministerial posts are given to relatives and children, to the detriment of others who can serve better.

In *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà*, act of nepotism is satirised during General Déndè's regime. He portrays General Déndè as a military Head of State that promotes and encourages nepotism in his government at the detriment of others in the society. He abolished the office of the Vice- President and created the office of the First Lady with a lot of benefits attached to it, just to favour his wife to become a full-paid officer of the state. The excerpt below indicates this:

Gbogbo wọn sì fowọ sii pé kí wọn pa ipò igbákejì Ààrẹ rẹ, kí iyàwó olórí ijoba ó ni ofiisi kí ó sì máa gba owó osù gégé bi ipò rẹ. Ísúná yóò ma wà fún ofiisi iyàwó Ààrẹ. Yóò si ma ẹ àkóso ètò nípa àwọn obínrin orilẹ̀ èdè.
Adéyemí (*Àkùkọ*, 2001:27)

All of them agreed that the post of Vice-President be cancelled, that the President's wife should have an office and should be collecting salary based on her post. There will be budget allocation to the office of the President's wife. She will be incharge of all matters related to women in the nation.

It is evident that nepotism is a product and hybrid of disastrous, fraudulent and oppressive tactics inherited from colonial masters and practice during the neo-colonial period to subvert standards and merits and thereby promoting celebration of mediocrity which is causing set-back and underdevelopment in the Africa society in general and Nigeria, in particular. It is an existing manipulative and exploitative reality in postcolonial period. This is contrary to the pattern of appointment and selection of leaders in Yorùbá traditional setting which is based on standard and merit to ensure good governance in the society during the pre-colonial period.

In the contemporary society, nepotism has become a menace that is working against smooth operations of governance because it derails standard and merit, but upholds mediocrity in governance. The authors capture this in their writings to show the effect of nepotism on governance. Nepotism affects good governance and democratic practices; it undermines democracy and hinders efficiency and competence.

4.6.18. Mismanagement of public fund

In *Saworoide*, the author uses cynical satire to portray political leaders and how they siphon public funds and mismanage state resources because of personal gains at the detriment of the masses. The discussion between Lápité and timber dealers reflects how public funds in Jogbo were siphoned by Lápité and his chiefs, and laundered.

'kò séwú, kábíyèsí kò séwu' Olókótó wá lọ sí ibi tí òrò wà gan-an. 'Nípa ti owó, idáméwàá ni owó àjẹmónú tiyín nínú èrè ti a bá jẹ'.

Lápité fúnjú pò. Ó sì èyìn kúrò lára àga. Ó tẹ ara síwájú kí ẹnu rẹ ó le tó etí àwọn agégedú dáadáa: 'Idáméwàá kéré o!' Aláyùn ni 'kéré wẹ, kábíyèsí? ọ̀nà mà pò! Àwon asògbó yóó gbà. Àwon olóko tí à ń rin ààlà wọn yóó gba tiwọn. A ó sì tún fún àwọn ijòyè yìn!'

Tijòyè mi ti jé? Èmi loba o. Èmi laláşẹ lórí òrò owó o. Iye tó bá wù mi ni mo lè fún wọn. Ẹ gbàgbé tiwọn un ná o.

Olókótó ni 'Hẹn, ó ti dáa bẹẹ. Nibo ni ẹ fẹ́ kí á máa san owó tiyín sí?'

'Òkè-òkùn ni o! Àwon kẹnimánì ti pò jù lódò wa níbí. N ò fẹ́ kí ẹni kankan tojú bọ owó mi'.

Ìşòlá (Şaworoide, 2008:51)

'There is no problem Kábíyèsí. Olókótó went straight to the main issue of their discussion 'about the money; your share is ten percent out of our gains.

Lápité frowned his face. He sat properly. He drew closer to the timber dealers. Ten percent is too small!

Aláyùn said, small; Kábíyèsí, there are many people to settle! Forestry guards are there; the owners of the farms we are destroying . Your chiefs will equally get their ownshare. My chiefs how? I am the king. I am the leaders on monetary issues. I will give them any amount that I wish to give them. Forget about their own.

Olókótó said, "it is alright. Where do you want us to pay your own share to?

It is overseas! There are many enemies here. I will not like anybody to pip nose into my money.

The authors of the selected novels depict African leaders, Nigerian political leaders inclusive, as enemies of the state and that of the masses through the way they siphon public funds and mismanage state resources because of their own selfishness and lust for material things at the detriment of the masses.

4.6.19. Diversion of public funds

Traditional Yorùbá society exhibits high level of humane virtues in their governance act and administration of their domains through the inculcation of the spirit of Omólúàbí into their leadership qualities which distinguish their province from other ones because the spirit of accountability, transparency and patriotism are noticed in the discharges of their leadership roles in the society. Diversion of public funds or conversion of public properties to personal use is a common occurrence in Nigerian political system. Political leaders, both civilian and military, are guilty of these ugly practices in governance. It is clear that Nigerian political leaders siphon government funds meant for developmental projects and infrastructural development, and diverting such huge amount of public funds to foreign accounts or used for personal and selfish means. These political elites corruptly convert national resources into personal projects or ventures. Yorùbá novelists opposed this wicked act in their society.

Lápité in *Şaworoide* expresses how political leaders have been diverting public funds and properties for their personal use during a conversation that ensues between him and Olókòtó, the leader of timber dealers. Also, the chiefs engage in planning how they will celebrate their new cars that are purchased through diversions of public funds; some of the journalists were listening to their discussion. One of the journalists asked Chief Badà where they got the money to purchase these cars. Annoyed, they rebuked the journalist. Balógun moved closer to the camera man and stopped him from taking the pictures of the cars.

*Badà ní “O se bi ẹnidara díẹ. A ní ki a fi èyí bèrẹ̀ ní’
Oníròyìn ní “Ẹ dákun, níbo le ti rówó ra ọkọ tuntun báyii
o?’
Ìbéèrẹ̀ nàà bi gbogbo àwọn ijòyẹ̀ nínú gidigidi.
Badà ní ‘ìbéèrẹ̀ un ju ẹnụ rẹ̀ lẹ̀
Balógun sún mọ̀ ibẹ̀, ó ní’ Yòò bá baba rẹ̀! Ìwọ̀ mà gọ̀ o!
Oníròyìn nàà ní ‘Ẹ má bínú o, alágbà!’
Işòlá (*Şaworoide*,2008:66)*

Badà said they appear to be good cars. We decided to start with these.

The journalist asked, please sir, where do you get money to purchase these new cars’?

The question annoyed all of them

[Badà replied that question is weighty than yourmouth

Balógun moved closer, he said; your father is stupid!’ You are silly!

The journalist said, ‘Sorry sir!’

Political elites are fond of diverting public funds for their personal use at the detriment of the teeming masses that they are called upon to serve and lead. The political class diverts national resources into personal projects or ventures and neglect state projects and programmes, thereby causing backwardness and setbacks in governance.

4.6.21. Bribery and Kickback

In Nigeria and in the Yorùbá traditional setting, people believe in hard work, and they are opposed to giving or receiving bribes to influence the cause of things. The people ensure faithfulness and uprightness in their dealings with fellow beings; anything contrary to this is regarded as an unpatriotic act among the people. Bribery may take the form of money, property, position or undue influences. The authors of the selected texts satirise bribery and corruption to show the disgust Yorùbá people have for bribery and corruption in their midst. Kickback is the payment made to someone especially illegally, for providing help, a job or a piece of business. They depict bribery/kickback and corruption as the seeds of mistrust and oppressive tactics, sown and germinated in African polity and Nigerian society in particular as a negative impact of Western political culture on Yorùbá political culture and practices. Bribery and corruption has been in Nigeria politics and had become a stigma before independence and during the neo-colonial period.

In *Gbòbaníyì*, Bámdélé is presented as an officer that derives joy in collecting bribes; he believes that through this, he can make it. He betrays the trust reposed in him as the agent representing his company. He starts collecting bribes from contractors. This is reflected in the narrator clarification on Bámdélé's involvement in bribe taking in the excerpt below:

Ti àwọn Kòntíràkítò tí ibi isẹ̀ àwọn Bámdélé n gbé isẹ̀ àgbàse fún ló rọ̀rùn jù. Èésú tíwọ̀n ni Bámdélé n rí kó pèlú irọ̀rùn jù lọ. Bí isẹ̀ kan bá ti wà láti ẹ̀, tí olúkálùkù siso iye tí òun yóò gbà fún isẹ̀ náà, ẹ̀ni tí isẹ̀ bá jámọ̀ lówọ̀ ti mò pé idáméwàá owo isẹ̀ náà ni òun yóò mú wá fún Bámdélé. A kì í jẹ̀ ní l'èrè rẹ̀, bí oní tòhún ti n sítò iye tí idáméwà jẹ̀ ní Bámdélé páapáa n sítò rẹ̀ kò gbọ̀dò dín kòbò.

Nígbà tí owó ẹ̀yìn kò tí í máa wọ̀lé fún Bámdélé, ilé tí Adékòyà kòni ón jowú rẹ̀. Ígbà tí owó dé tán kò ranti láti farawé Adékòyà mó.

Yémitàn (*Gbòbaníyì*, 1972:102)

That of the contractors to Bámdélé's company is very easy. Bámdélé receives bribes with ease. If there is any work to do and each of the contractors submit his quotation, he who won the contract knew that he must bribe Bámdélé with ten percent of the money collected. It is not debatable, as the person is calculating ten percent also Bámdélé will calculate his own; it should not be less than that. When bribe had not been coming for Bámdélé, he was envious of Adékòyà's house. When he realised money, he forgot about Adékòyà's house.

In *Şaworoide*, bribery is satirised when the timber dealers visited Lápité, the king of Jogbo land, to ask for his cooperation on their illegal activities in the land, with a view to exploiting the natural resources of the land. Olókòtó, the leader of the group, asked the secretary that follows them to bring out the gifts meant for the king so that he can give his blessings on their illicit activities on cutting timber trees and destroying masses farmland in the area. The author thereby depicts the scene of oil exploitation in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria by the Federal Government of Nigeria where the farmland is destroyed and masses are subjected to undue hardship. The timber dealers represent the oil company extracting oil in the area and their dealing with the Federal Government without any consideration for the land owners who cannot farm or use their land for any other purpose. The scene is a replica of the happenings in contemporary Nigeria situation. Instead of the Federal Government of Nigeria to address the suffering of the people of the region, the people are being subjected to harassment, attacks, murder and other treatments from the government. The excerpt below shows that:

Balógún fì wòn lókàn balẹ̀, ó ní òun tí mọogbón tí wòn fì máa mú Lápitẹ̀. Gbogbo wòn rẹrin-in, wòn jáde nínú yàrá. Olókòtó sáré yojú sí ita, ó kẹ sí akòwé tí ó tẹlẹ̀ wòn wá pé kí ó gbé àwọn èbùn méjì tí ó wá nínú ọkọ jáde tẹlẹ̀ wòn. Àwọn èbùn náà tóbi diẹ̀, wòn dàbí àpótí ijókò tí a fì iwé bí asọ aláràbarà wé. Wòn tún fì asọ tẹ̀rẹ̀ aláwò omi wúrà so o. Ó mà dára o. Balógún n ro ó lókàn ara rẹ̀ pé nìgbà tí èbùn náa ti pé méjì, ó niláti jẹ̀ pé ọkan nìbẹ̀ ti òun ni. Bóyá wòn fẹ̀ ẹ̀ gbe ẹ̀ fún àwọn papò lódò ọba ni.

Ìşòlá (*Şaworoide*, 2008:48-49)

Balógún assured them; he told them that he knew the trick they would apply to win Lápité's heart. They all laughed, they left the room. Olókòtó looked outside; he called on the secretary that followed them to the place to come with the two gifts inside the car. The gifts were fascinating; they looked like chairs that were decorated with colourful

clothes. They used golden wraps to decorate them; they looked attractive. Balógun started thinking that since the gifts were two, one should belong to him. May be they wanted to give it to them together.

In *Baba Rere*, bribery is represented in relation to Òjó Kúrè's bid to win an election. Òjó Kúrè who formed Egbé Sohó Parapò ('Sohó Progressive Union') started going underground to convince people both in the town and in the villages and seek their votes during the election. They started distributing gifts to the people in the villages. The use of bribes as gifts during an election is a common phenomenon in the contemporary society; this is done to get an advantage over other contestants or over the opposition party in order to win an election. Political leaders and the aspirants of political party in Nigeria always use bribery as a form of gift that is an anticipatory form of corruption to win the hearts of the electorate to get their votes during the election. This is shown in the excerpt below:

Lórúlórú ni wọn ní kiri. Ó fẹ̀rẹ̀ ma si agbẹ̀ kan ti wọn kò fún ni àdà gégé bi èbùn àbètélé̀ nítorí ìbò. Ó pé kí Balógun tó mọ̀ èyí.

Olábímtán (*Baba*, 1972:127)

They were going round in the mid-night. Hardly can one get a farmer that was not given a cutlass as bribe for the forthcoming election. It was late before Balógun was aware of this.

Also, Dúróḍolá resorts to giving bribes to the electorate in cash and kind in order to win their conscience and vote of the people after he had discovered the level that Òjo had gone to destroy his political ambition. After Dúróḍolá and Onísohó used all political tactics at their disposal to stop Òjó's evil plots against Dúróḍolá, he employed the use of money and materials as gifts to lure the electorate. This is captured in this excerpt:

Ó pé kí Balógun tó mọ̀ èyí, sùgbón ọ̀jọ̀ tó gbọ̀ gan-án lo bèrẹ̀ si pín panla kòòkan pèlú kòbò mẹ̀dógún fún ẹ̀ni kòòkan nílẹ̀ loko, ó ní kí wọn fi jẹun dáadàa kí wọn to wá dibò.

Olábímtán (*Baba*, 1972: 127)

It takes Balogun some time to know about this, but the moment Balogun heard of it, he started distributing stockfish and twenty-five kobo each to individuals in the community; he told them to eat well before coming out to cast their votes.

The author satirises bribery and corruption noticed in the police force and judiciary in Nigeria. He exposes how government agents, police officers and judges are involved in bribery and corruption in the society. The discussion that ensues between Kudoro, Selia, Lékè and Àjíké when Kudoro and Àjíké moved to the new house given to them by Bálógun of Sohó confirms this. Kudoro explains a scene where a judge collected money and landed property to favour a Korean man on an issue that involved a landed property between him and the landowners because of the bribe collected from him. The excerpt below shows this:

Séliá ni àwọn ni wọn mọ èyí tí wọn rù tí orùn n wò wón. Ó ní, 'Bí olópàá bá n gba owó-èhìn, tí adájọ́ n gba owó-èhìn, ta ni ha tún kù tí a n pè ní ijọba? Ìgbà tó bá pé wón ó se òfin pe kí a máa gba owó-èhìn bí a ti n gba tí iwájú.'
 Olabíntán (Baba, 1972:229)

Séliá said they are the ones that know what is disturbing them. She said, if police are collecting kick back, if judges are collecting bribes, who remains to be referred to as government? At times they will enact law that we should start collecting bribes as we are collecting money from the front.

In *Gbòbaníyì*, Bámdélé decides to start extorting his company's suppliers; he calls Abíódún and demands for money in order to retain him as one of the suppliers to the company. This idea does not go well with Abíódún, but he is forced to adopt the general style in the society that is laced with corruption and join the group of 'Tè-si-bi-aiye-tè-si' (follow the turn of events). This is expressed in the excerpt below:

Bámidélé pinnu láti kan ojú abẹ níkòó. 'Nínú gbogbo àwọn tí à n ra nìkan l'ówó wọn, iwọ nìkan ni kò mọ ètọ́. O kò tún omólúwàbí 'e se 'Ibi tí Bámdélé n lọ jádí Abíódún nínú wàyí. 'Ọrọ yin yé mi ọgá.'
 Yémítán (*Gbòbaníyì*, 1972: 98)

Bámidélé decided to hit the nail on the head. Out of all the contractors that we are buying products from, you are the only one that does not know the right thing. You did not show the heart of gratitude. Abíódún now understands the message of Bámdélé now. I understand your wish, boss.'

In *Ìjàmbá Sèlú*, the author portrays the tenure of Àjùwòṅ as an administration that legalised bribery in the public service. The narrator remarks that bribery was promoted and legalised in the society during Àjùwòṅ's tenure as Head of State. This

scene is depicted to show how bribery and corruption normally characterised military rule. The excerpt below reflects this:

Ju gbogbo rẹ lọ, àwọn ǹnkan burúkú tí ó n̄ ba ilú jẹ gba òde kan. Owó èyìn àti ribà tilẹ̀ ti kúrò l'owó èhin, ó ti di owó iwájú. Bí ènìyàn bá fẹ̀ wọ isẹ̀, tí kò mọ̀ ènìyàn irọ̀ lásán gbàà ni, bí ó tilẹ̀ wù kí olúwarẹ̀ ní iwé èrì tó.
Owólabí(Ijàmbá, 1981:33)

Above all, bad things that deter progress and development in the society started to happen. Kickback and bribery become a normal practice; it is a normal thing. If someone wants to secure appointment and does not know anybody he/she will not be considered, no matter how good his certificate might be.

In all the texts, bribery and corruption are portrayed as the problems affecting an effective discharge of duties and constituting bad governance in the society and it hinders the rate of progress and development of Nigeria as a nation.

Bámdélé in *Gbóbaníyì* expresses his desire to Abiódún one of the contractors supplying papers to his establishment; he requests him to start giving him kickback in order to sustain his relationship with the company. Also, the author satirises Bámidélé's compromise at kickback collection in the text. This is indicated in the author's remark in the excerpt below:

Àwọn 'obi' diẹ̀ tó n̄ wólé yìi mu kí okàn Bámdélé balẹ̀ diẹ̀. Lótító owó àimọ̀ ni, sùgbón kò bikítà fún iwọn yẹn. A tilẹ̀ ma dápára pé owó àimọ̀ kan ko sí owó ni owó n̄ jẹ̀.
Yémítàn (*Gbóbaníyì* 1972:97)

Some of the bribes that are coming in make Bámdélé to be a little bit comfortable. Truly, it is unclean money, but he did not feel disturbed. He always jokes that there is no unclean money; that money is money.

In *Ijàmbá Şèlú*, the author satirises the level of kickback in civil service and public offices during the tenure of Àjùwọ̀n as Head of State. The government officials are fond of collecting kickbacks before awarding contracts, and by so doing they deny competent hands because of kickback. This is shown in the author's remark as exemplified in the excerpt below:

Bí wọ̀n ba gbe isẹ̀ síta bíi ilé kíkọ̀ tàbí ọ̀dà dídà sọ́jú tíí, wọ̀n ko ní í gbé e fún èni tí o mọ̀ isẹ̀ e, àfi èni tí ó le fi ìdáméwàá owó isẹ̀ sílẹ̀ gégé bi owó èhin nikan ni í gba isẹ̀. Ìbàjẹ̀ ti wá dèwù.

Owólabí (*Ijàmbá*, 1981:34)

If they award contract such as house building or road construction, they will not give it to an experienced contractor; only those that can offer ten percent bribe will be given contracts. Corruption has become legalised.

The collection of kickback is highly noticed and is at increase in public offices in Nigeria as depicted by the novelists, pointing out its negative effects on the society as a stigma to celebrate standard and merit in discharge of official duty in governance. Kickback affects discharge of duties faithfully; it encourages corruption and poor service delivery in public businesses.

4.6.22. Perversion of Justice

In Yorùbá society, before the advent of Europeans, the ọba possessed judicial power; he presided over all complicated cases and criminal cases that surpassed the power of his chiefs in his court. His court was the only court with appellate jurisdiction in all cases. The laws were unwritten but were used to strengthen the societal bond and promote unity and peace. During pre-colonial period, the ọba was vested with executive, legislative and judicial power. The administration of the town and dispensation of justice were under the jurisdiction of the king, with the chiefs and the warlords, the baálé assisting him. Colonisation brought about change in the pattern of traditional administration (executive, legislative and judiciary system in Yorùbá land. Thereby, it eroded the power and functions of ọba and his chiefs who were very important in the traditional system of government. Fádípè (1970:145) submits that the king (Ọba) and his chiefs are vested with executive, judiciary and legislative power because of their knowledge in the laws, customs, usages and traditions of their people. In the new dispensation, three arms of government are introduced and recognised; the executive, the legislative and the judiciary operating independently during neo-colonial period. This causes obstruction to the existing administrative and judicial practices.

The image of the judiciary which is the third arm of government under democratic principles has been dented. The word 'justice system' presents the whole gamut or ambit of the workings of the judiciary in any given society. The systems, in a democratic setting, are seen to be independent of each other; that is, the executive, legislative and judiciary arms. For example, judiciary arm is seen to be independent in terms of interference or incursion into its workings, either on the bench or in the bar. The integrity of the judiciary remains sacrosanct and a strong defender of the state,

democracy and the people when not infringed upon by the powers or actors that be. It is a truism that a strong justice system is the efficacy of effective democracy and governance. Good justice system promotes and sustains democratic principles and government. It is the life-wire of any sustainable democracy and government.

In Nigeria, political leaders do not allow the full value of justice system to work; instead the course of justice is greatly perverted. Hart (1971), as cited in Chilaka (2013:114), argues that ‘justice system is the embodiment of legal order of a state. It does not only protect the state and its subjects but must treat all equal with no unjust denial or subverting of justice’. He adds that it must have a logical coherence, causal efficacy and embodying a power structure that can reward and punish as the case may apply. Perversion of justice means false accusation against a person. It is an act done to prevent truth to prevail in a crime. It may involve intimidation or interference with a case witness or fabricating lies to be presented as evidence. Perversion of justice is an act of changing good or right judgement to bad or wrong judgement verdict. Political leadership introduced hypocrisy into Nigeria justice system, which is the reason for poor justice delivery, justice denial, corruption and justice delay in the country. The Nigeria justice system is hollow and lacking in substance because of the involvement of the political leaders.

In *Orilawè Adìgún*, the author satirises how the course of justice is perverted through corrupt means, as characteristics of the current Nigerian political system. Nínálowó’s party has made arrangement with the chief judge on the amount which each member of Motótán’s party would pay, failure in which would result in being sentenced to prison. Nínálowó’s party has taken control of the machinery of justice (police and the judges) because they succeed in bribing the police who would influence the outcome of the investigation and prosecution. To ensure a permanent derailment of justice, the Chief Judge is compromised because cheques are already written and signed in favour of each case that is likely to attract conviction. This is shown in Ade’s explanation to Lawè, when Lawè advises him not to sleep inside the house because of assassination attempt on him in order to get the secret documents that are with him, like photocopy of the cheques duly signed by the chairman of Nínálowó’s party in favour of the Chief Judge of the state. The excerpt below indicates this:

*Ade jéwó fún Lawè pé fótò sòwédowó ti olóri Egbé
Nínálowó fúnrarè fowósí kí ó tó fún ògá ọlópàá wa lówó
òun, ó ní fótò àdéhùn láàrin Egbé Nínálowó àti adájó àgbà*

*páapàá nípa iyé tí adájó yóò má gbà lóri ọmọ Ègbé
Motótán kòòkan tí ó ba dá èwòn fún tún wà lówó òun
Ọlábímtán (Orilawè, 1973: 87)*

Adé disclosed to Lawe that a photocopy of the duly signed cheque given to the Police boss by the chairman of Nínálowó political party is with him; he equally declared that the photocopy of the agreement paper between Nínálowó political party and the chief judge on each case on members of Motótán political party that would attract conviction was with him.

In *Baba Rere*, perversion of justice is satirised when Mr. Kudoro explains to his daughter, Àjíké, and her husband, Lékè, when Kudoro and Sèlia packed into the new house given to them by Balogun of Sohó, Duróḍolá. Kudoro narrates the story of a case involved a Korean man and the landowners. The Korean man had gone before the landowners to bribe the judge before the landowners could do so. The course of justice was perverted and the case on the landed property was delivered in favour of the Korean man. This is shown in the excerpt below:

O seun, o jàre, àna mi. Àwọn onilẹ̀ pé kí wọn tó dé ọ̀dọ̀ adájó. Kòràá ti síwájú wọn dé ibẹ̀, ó ti fún un l'ówó, ó sì se ilé́rì pé òun yóò fún adájó òhún ni ilẹ̀-ilẹ̀ méjìlẹ̀lọ̀gbọ̀n nínú ilẹ̀ náà bí ó bá bọ̀ si òun lówó. Fúnra adájó ni ó sọ̀ fún àwọn ọ̀mọ̀ onilẹ̀ pé wọn ti pé. Bóyá kí bá si se tiwọn ùgbọ̀n owó ti wọn mu lọ̀ fún un kò tó idajì èyí tí Kòràá mú fún un, àwọn ò ti 'ẹ̀ si sọ̀ nípa ilẹ̀-ilẹ̀ rárá.

Owólabí (*Baba*, 1972: 239)

Thank you my in-law, the landlords were late before they came to the judge. The Korean man had come before them; he had given money to him; he promised to give the judge a large portion of land out of the disputed land if the judgement was in his favour. It was the judge himself that told the landlord that they were late. May be he should have favoured them, but the money they offered the judge was not up to what the Korean man offered him; they did not even promise land at all.

The author of the selected novels give the picture of the level of perversion of justice in Nigeria political system which has denied the common man his right to fair justice, good governance and other benefits of democracy as a system of government. The authors are able to establish the fact that justice system can only work where there is independence of the judiciary from political governance; otherwise if it is interfered,

it could promote abuse, injustice and perversion of justice as it is being witnessed in Nigerian political system today.

4.6.23. Ethnicity

According to Nnoli (1978), cited in Busari (1991) ‘ethnicity is a social phenomenon associated with some forms of interaction between various ethnic groups within a geo-political territory’. Ethnicity is a competitive struggle between cultural-linguistic groups. Language is clearly the most pervasive and crucial variable among ethnic groups in Nigeria and other parts of Africa. (Nnoli 1995). Ethnic groups are communities of people characterised by linguistic and cultural identities of history, tradition, myth and origin (Irobi, 2005). Ross (1979) cited in Akinjobi (2004), identifies two schools of thought on the definition of ethnicity. The objective school defines ethnicity by its concrete cultural institutions and patterns; a distinctive language, distinctive folktales, food, clothing and the like. The second school, which is subjective, considers ethnicity as a reflection of a shared ‘us-feeling’ and even an ‘us-against-them’ feeling. Egbokhare (1994: 507) submits that ethnicity divisions are often along linguistic lines and that often assumed that the existence of many languages means the existence of many basically antagonistic ethnic nationalities trying to form a nation common bond, such as language, race or religion. Language is said to be the ‘most important attribute of an ethnic group’ Ògúndèjì (2007:7) opines that:

Generally speaking, Nigeria is polarised along three basic axes, ethnicity, religion and politics. Ethnic loyalty is mainly linguistically determined. Though Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, are the three major ethnic groups and languages along which Nigeria is polarised, yet there are other minority languages in the middle belt and the South-east that also constitute minor polarities of ethnic and linguistic polarity is an undercurrent factor in political and religious crises in Nigeria... If Nigeria can come over the problem of ethnicity or tribalism, then the remaining problems will become very easy to solve.

According to Omoṭádé (2013:119), “the greatest challenges to Russia and Nigeria’s stability and unity are internal problems of persistent nationalism and internecine ethnic politics.” He argues that:

Ethnicity, ethnic nationalism and ethnic politics are some of the most recent, but highly complex and contentious issues

in contemporary international politics that have led to the fragmentation of many plural societies.

On this note, ethnicity has been a threat to the political stability in Nigeria and has been identified as a setback and bane to democratic stability, good governance and nation-building. Olúpòná, (2017:9) submits that:

At the time of independence in 1960. Nigeria's founding mothers and fathers felt that ethnicity and tribalism were primary problems to be tackled head on. They actively worked to create national unity.

In *Orílawè Àdìgún*, the author depicts ethnicity in Nigerian politics in the pre-colonial era and since independence, ethnicity played and still plays latent roles in the body polity of Nigeria. It is without doubt that ethnicity has been one of the most important causes of social crises and political instability in Nigeria and has been perceived in general as a major obstacle to the overall political and economic development of Nigeria. The author reveals that:

Èkó ni ìjòbá fi ipàdé òhún sí. Èyi tí wọn ẹ gbèyìn ní ilú Sàlímónù funra rẹ ni, ní Àwèrà, ọba ilú náa ni ó sì ẹ alága. Àláfèrè kó ni ọba tí ó dàgbà jú ní ibi ipàdé ọjó náà. Àwọn ọba m̀ìràn tilẹ̀ rò pé òun kó ni ó yẹ kí ó jẹ alága. Ìgbà tí Sàlímónù rí i ní ọjó náà pé wọn fẹ̀ bẹ̀rẹ̀ ik̀̀nsínú nítorí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí, òun f̀̀nrarẹ̀ ni ó lọ k̀̀ákiri láti lọ s̀̀làyé f̀̀n àwọn ọba ní ilé tí wọn fi ọ̀k̀̀òkan wọn sí. Ó fi yé wọn pé nítorí pé ilú Àláfèrè ni wọn ti ñ ẹ ipàdé ni ìjòba ẹ fi iṣe alága, àlàyé rẹ̀ sì wọ̀ àwọn ọba náà létí.

Owólabí (*Orílawè*, 1973: 105)

The venue of the meeting as arranged by the government is Lagos State. The last one was done at Sàlímónù's State, in the Northern region; the Sultan presided over the meeting. Sultan was not the most senior king that day. There were other kings that thought he was not supposed to be chairman of the meeting. When Sàlímónù observed that the kings were not happy with the development, he went round their hotel room to tell them the reason. He told them that it was because the meeting was taking place in the state of the Sultan that was why he was appointed as the chairman of the meeting. His reason was taken by the kings.

The excerpt above reveals that there was conflict of interest as a result of the amalgamation of Nigerian ethnic groups in 1914 without considering their cultures. *Orílawè Àdìgún* portrays the political leadership experiences of two notable political parties during the Second Republic: Motótán party representing the defunct Unity

Party of Nigeria and Nínálowó party standing for the defunct National party of Nigeria. The representation of Aláwèrá in terms of sharing of power as he is dominating chairmanship of Council of traditional rulers' meetings indicates that the other tribes (Ìmírín and Odùrúyà) concluded that they were being cheated in political power sharing, and the natural resources not equally distributed. Awèrá symbolises the Hausa/Fulani group from the northern parts of Nigeria, with the impression that he (Aláwèrá) is superior to other royal fathers from the Western and Eastern parts of Nigeria, Ìmírín stands for Igbo, while Odùrúyà indicates Yorùbá. The major ethnic groups, including the minority groups, are of the opinion that their people and land are being cheated and that the apparatus of government is working against their interest. Yorùbá and Igbo believes that the Hausa tribe is cheating them politically and economically making the governance nonsense of the expected reality during the postcolonial experience in Yorùbá society and Nigeria at large. According to Adéjùmò (2018: 510), the author opposes to the issue of governance through legality in *Orilawè Àdìgún*. Ethnicity is an invented phenomenon; it has negative consequences in Nigeria socio-political dispensation and a saga which has been peddled mostly by colonialism. Oyèshilé (2017:55) avers that:

It is interesting to note that the three major groups (Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yorùbá) who most often pretend to represent the interest of the minority groups are propelled by their urge to dominate and further the interest of their kinsmen within the polity. For instance, the Hausa/Fulani believe not only that they are more in population but also that they are lagging behind the Igbo and Yorùbá in terms of educational development and commerce. So they do everything possible to control the political machinery and determine who rules the nation. The Igbo, on their part, believe that the Nigerian-Biafra civil war (1967-1970) brought untold hardship on their kinsmen and that most part of Eastern region is underdeveloped. Added to this is the inability of the Igbos yet to rise to the position of head of state or president of the country. This is a development they see as punishment for their role in the civil war. In the case of the Yorùbá, they believe that the federation has not been fair to them in the allocation of federal resources and that the federal character principle works against their interest as many of their qualified hands are either not appointed or in, some cases, admitted to higher institutions since they have more qualified candidates than their federal quota allows.

Ethnicity thrives in Nigeria politics because of struggle for power especially when Nigeria regained her independence. The presence of both majority and minority tribes in Nigeria is a major factor that has been disturbing emergence of able and selfless leaders because the process for choosing Nigeria political leaders is defected when one put into consideration of standard and merit. Instead of choosing political leaders base on merit, factors such as tribe, religion are used for leadership selection during elections in Nigeria. Ethnicity has a negative effect on Nigeria, it is an evil experience during the pre-colonial period and the colonial time and infectious evil well pronounced in Nigeria political space today.

4.6.24. Marginalisation

Marginalisation is the process of pushing a particular group or groups of people to the edge of society by not allowing them an active voice, identity or place in it. Through both direct and indirect processes, marginalise groups may be relegated to a secondary position or made to feel as if they are less important than those who marginalised them. It is the process whereby something is pushed to the edge of a group and accorded lesser importance. This is predominantly a social phenomenon by which a minority or sub-group is excluded, and their needs or desires ignored. It is an act to relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or groups. *Orilawè Àdìgún* depicts marginalisation of one group the other in ministerial appointments during a civilian regime. The novel portrays the activities and experiences of the Second Republic of Nigeria politics when the then President, Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Shagari, marginalised other tribes in his ministerial appointments. The novel reveals that:

Bèè ni. Inú wón dùn. Tiámíyù níkan ni ó dàbí ẹni pé ó sàkiyèsí nńkan kan.

O ní Egbé wa kò ẹ daadàa tó fún Awèra. Ó ní ẹni tí ó bá wà ní ìdí pepẹ yẹ kí ó jẹ ní ìdí pepẹ.

òrò rírùn gbàà nìyẹn. Ẹ pé Awèra kò tí ì jẹ yó ni ìdí pepẹ báyii? Nínú ènìyàn méjọ tí a fì sí ipò, márùn-ún jẹ omọ Awèra, ó tún ń rojọ. Sàlìmònú, ẹ kí ẹni tó wà ní ìdí pepẹ jẹ pepẹ run ni?

Ipò méta yòókù ni a pín fún àwọn ara Odùràyà àti Ìmirín. Sebi omọ iyá kan ni à ń pe gbogbo wa? Ó ha tọ ki awa níkan jẹ gbogbo è? Bí ó bá jẹ bi Tiámíyù ti ń ronú ni Olóyè Sádíákù, Alága gbogbogboo ti ń ronú. Àwọn ara Odùrúyà ni ìbá má kó méfà tí ìbá fì òkòòkan silẹ fún àwa yòókùkù.

Olábímtán (Orilawè, 1973: 125)

Yes? They were all happy. It is only Tíyámíyù that observed something.

What is it?

He said the party did not favour the Awèra. He said he who stays by the orange tree is supposed to taste the sweet ones.

That is fallacy. That Aréwa has not been favoured well? Out of eight people appointed, five are from the Aréwa; he is still complaining. Sàlimónù, does it mean that he who stays at the orange tree post should drink all? It is not clear to Tíyámíyù?

The remaining three posts were divided among the people of Odúràyà and Imirin. Is it not that we call ourselves one? Is it good that we took all? If Chief Sádíákù, the party chairman, could think the way Tíyámíyù thinks, it is Odúràyà people that should have taken all the posts without given any to others.

Marginalisation derails standard and merits; it affects productivity in governance and service delivery in a nation. Oyèshilé (2017:53) argues that:

There is a need for national integration in order to avoid the evils of ethnicity and the integration can only be achieved if we resolve the problem of injustice, especially the problem of consistent marginalisation of some groups within the polity.

Marginalisation as portrayed in the above excerpt indicates that people's interests are not considered before leaders are imposed on them. Out of the eight chairmanship position of federal government parastatals boards, five are allocated to the North, while the East and West share the remaining three. With this, the spirit of participatory democracy is ignored completely, and imposition of candidates or representatives is upheld, showing the highest degree of political corruption and messing up of the democratic principles of government of the people by the people and for the people which encourage nomination and free and fair elections of credible candidates for positions.

4.6.25. Abuse of freedom of speech

Also, in *Orílawè Àdigún*, Lawè, a journalist, is illegally arrested and detained because of his publication in a daily newspaper on the wrong activities of the ruling party. Lawè disguises and uses another journalist's name, though the police detect that Lawè authors the story. Lawè condemns government's insincerity to change the arrangement of the position given to the paramount king of Owódé. The Head of

government orders for Lawè's arrest and detention. This is reflected in the following extraction from the text.

Lawè wá ʃe ètò, àwọn oníwèé-ìròyìn kọ ọ̀rọ̀ rẹ̀pẹ̀tẹ̀ nípa bí ijọba tí sọ̀rọ̀ tí kò ʃe bẹ̀, wọn sì ní ó tó, ó sì yẹ kí ijọba ʃàlàyé ìdí rẹ̀ tí wọn fì gba ipò alága lówó Kábíyèsí Arówójoyè. Wọn ní ọ̀rọ̀ ọ̀hún, bí ẹnì fì orí Adé wólẹ̀ ní. Lawè ní ó kọ ọ̀rọ̀ yìí, ʃùgbò̀n orúkọ ẹ̀lòmìí ní wọn fìgbé e síta. Sibésibé àwọn Ọ̀lópáá mò, wọn sì fì Lawè sí àtìmólé.

Olábimtán (*Orílawè*, 1973: 128)

Lawè made arrangement; journalists wrote on insincerity of government, how government made pronouncement and refused to carry them out. They pointed out that it is very important for government to explain the rationale behind relieving Kabiyesi Arówojoyè the chairmanship post. They equate this to molestation of kingship. It is Lawè that wrote the story, but he uses another person's name to publish it. Despite the police officers' knowledge of this, they still detained Lawè.

4.6.26. Non-implementation of policies

Policy connotes a design plan of action or mapped plan of action agreed or chosen by a political party to influence the lives of the citizens positively and to ensure allround development. In administration, policy-making is very crucial to the pace of development of a nation. Government always makes policies on education, economic and social life, religion and a lot of other things. Both civilian and military regimes design policies for effective governance. Invariably, non-implementation of policies is well noticed and pronounced in governance which is equivalent to political corruption and always retards the pace of progress of any nation and prolongs the suffering of the masses. For example, in Nigeria, change in government often comes with policy change without considering the valuable and workable policies of the past administrations. Nigeria as a nation has engaged elites and policy makers to formulate workable policies and the policy makers have formulated vision-driven policies for Nigeria as a nation, but these policies are turned down because of political corruption on the part of the leaders so that they will formulate their own policies that can pave the way for them to access public funds for their personal use.

In *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*, General Déndè directs political experts to formulate electoral and transitional policies to civilian rule which led to the establishment of two political parties. Déndè is too crafty and politically corrupt; he is not ready to handover power

to democratically elected government. However, because of incessant protesst from the masses and the world at large condemning military regime, he steps aside, and General Aláásà emerges as the new Head of State. Aláásà, having occupied the leadership position with his own political ambition, cancels the ongoing transitional policy of General Déndè's regime, and brought Ètànłókùn back to square one. This spelt doom and prolonged suffering for the masses, who were already tired of military administration. Aláásà formulates another political guidelines and transitional policy to suit his ambition to become a democratically elected president, to succeed himself. This is reflected in his speech immediately he ascended the leadership seat.

Ijoba ti fagilé gbogbo egbé isélú tó wà tẹ̀lẹ̀. Kò sí àyè fún egbé kankan. Orò mi kò ní pọ. Orilẹ̀ èdè yìí ti gbogbo wa ni. E jẹ́ kí a fowó sowópọ, kí á gbé e lárugẹ. Ó dàbò...
Adéyemi (Àkùkọ, 2001:69)

Government has cancelled all political parties. There is no room for any political party. I will not talk too much. This country belongs to all of us. Let us join hand together to move it forward. Bye.

In Nigerian politics, government change means policy change, without considering the good policies of the previous government. The excerpt above shows that political leaders embark on policies that will suit their intention and interest. General Aláásà cancelled the transitional policy of General Déndè to implement his own political plans of becoming a civilian president.

4.6.27. Sit-tight syndrome

Another socio-political ill addressed in the selected novels is sit-tight-syndrome. This attitude of political leaders is satirised in *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* where the author describes the attitude of General Dende to political power.

Ọ̀gágun Déndè bèrè sí fí hàn àwùjọ pé ikú nìkan ni gbasọlọ̀rùn ìgbín, kò sẹ̀ni to lẹ̀ gba ipò òun mọ, òun náà yóò díje ibò sùgbón òun ò ní kúrò nípò. Ọ̀sán kì í pọ̀ ju ganrín ganrín, oòrùn kíl wò ju pèrèpèrè, ó n bọ̀ lóko, ó n bọ̀ lódò ibi kan kò lẹ̀ gbóna jojú ogun lọ, ọ̀tẹ̀ ibò kò lẹ̀ tó ọ̀tẹ̀ sójà. Ọ̀gágun Déndè kọ̀rùn bọ̀ ọ̀sẹ̀lú tán kò fẹ̀ kúrò nípò àsẹ. A kíl jẹ̀ì lóko ọ̀dọ̀bà èyí bí àwọn ará ilú nínú, wọn gbanáje.
Adéyemi (Àkùkọ, 2001:63)

General Déndè started showing to the public that it is only death that could remove cloth from a snail's body; no one

can take his position, he too will contest during election, but he will not leave the seat of power. That there is nothing that can be tougher than war; election crisis cannot be equated to a military coup. General Déndè entered into politics; he found it difficult to leave political power. This annoyed the masses; they protested.

In Nigeria politics, both the civilian and the military are portrayed as champions of sit-tight syndrome through manifestation of their intention to stay beyond the constitutional approved tenure in office.

4.6.28. Mismanagement of public funds

The situation in Nigeria politics shows that both civilian and military leaders are involved in misappropriation of public fund. This is against the constitution of Nigeria. In *Akuko Gagara*, head of state and the state military administrators are depicted as agents of mis-management and corrupt officers who were siphoning the state money for their selfish and personal use. General Déndè and his military administrators involved themselves in the evil act of corruption and cheating of the masses. This is a reflection of the Marxist view of political power in the hand of selected few being utilised to oppress and exploit the masses in society. The excerpt below shows this:

Olóri ijoba àti àwọn gómìnà rẹ̀ bí ojú akátá bá ń sepin, ẹnu adiyé kò gbà á láti sọ. Ní àwùjọ Ètànlokù wọn sọ, ọrọ̀ ijoba Dende di bójú rí ẹnu a dáké. Ọ̀rọ̀ ijoba oloogun di àrùgbòdòwí, àmòsehùn, iyálé ilé tó ń su sọjú ọ̀lọ̀lọ̀n, baálé ilé tó ń tọ̀ sínú ìsaasùn ọ̀bẹ̀! Ilú bèrè sù dàrú gùdù lábé ijoba Déndè. Àwọn gómìnà ń kòrò jọ fúnra wọn.
Adéyemi (*Akùkọ*, 2001: 28 – 29).

Nobody dare challenge the activities of the Head of State and his governors. In Ètànlokún, Déndè's government became tyrannical. The military government became oppressive.

There is problem in the state during General Déndè's regime. The governors were siphoning government money for their personal use.

Military government always claims to have seized power to correct corruption and bad governance of the civilians only to discover that they too are corrupt and are responsible for political instability. This is what the authors of the two books, *Ìjàmbá Shèlú* and *Àkùkọ Gágàrà*, point out, that military are also corrupt like civilian.

The narrator of *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* portrays General Déndè as a dishonest Head of State that misappropriates ‘Ètańloku’s’ fund for his personal use. The excerpt below justifies this:

Ìgbà mìràn tí owó bá fẹ́ fẹ́rì lówó Ọ́gágun Déndè, olóri ìjọba, á pàṣẹ́ fún gómìnà bánkì orilẹ̀-èdè kí ó rọ owó bí ẹgbèrún míliọ̀nù owó náirà fún òun nìkan. Bí owó bá dówó rẹ́ tán, á mọ̀mọ̀ dá rúgúdù ìjà ẹ̀sìn silẹ̀ tàbí kí ó gbówó náirà fún àwọn adàlúrú kí wọn máa fàwọn tí ó rò pé ó jẹ́ òtá rẹ́ ẹ́ bí ọ̀ṣẹ́ ń ẹ́ ojú.

Adéyemí (*Àkùkọ*,2001: 32)

At times, if General Déndé is in need of money, the Head of State, he would direct the governor of Central Bank to release several millions of naira for him alone. If this money gets to his hand, he would create a religious crisis or give money to thugs to start tormenting those he perceived as his political enemies.

In *Ìjàmbá Sèlú*, the level of diversion of public funds for personal use by military administrators under the leadership of Àjùwọ̀n as Head of State is depicted.

The excerpt below shows the situation:

Bí ọ̀rọ̀ ba di ọ̀rọ̀ owó, àwọn ajélẹ̀ tó ń siṣẹ́ l’ábé Àjùwọ̀n kò ẹ́ é fí ẹ̀nu bà. Gbogbo owó tí ìjọba fún wọn kí wọn fí tún àdúgbò wọn ẹ́ ni wọn ti lò tán. Òmíràn á ní ilé bi igba, á ra mótò méfà, á ra ilé bí ẹ̀ni pé kò ní kú mọ. Wọn a ra mótò tí tí wọn a tún rà fún títa.

Owólabí (*Ìjàmbá*,1981: 33)

If it is the issue of money, the administrators that were serving under Àjùwọ̀n’s government were the worst. All money that government released to them for their constituency development was been used for personal purposes. Some of them had two hundred houses, six cars; purchased land as if they would not die. They would buy personal cars and that they would sell.

The authors represents the level of diversion and misappropriation of public funds in their texts to give a picture of a insincerity of the political class to the plight of the teeming masses who voted for them or trusted them with both political and economic powers.

4.6.29. Exploitation

Exploitation signifies a situation which is used by someone to treat a person or a situation as an opportunity to gain an advantage for oneself. It is a situation used in an unfair way in order to make money or get an advantage for oneself. It is against the principle of patriotism and moral standard in Yorùbá society. It is also referred to as the act of using resources or the act of treating people unfairly in order to benefit from their efforts or labour. In *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*, the author satirises the level of exploitation during the tenure of General Aláásà in Ètánlòkù. General Aláásà refers to national money as his own money and resources. He exploits natural resources to his own advantage. The narrator reveals the thought of General Aláásà on the state money. The excerpts below reveal the situation thus:

Ṣe iwà ibàjé ni àwùjọ́ n̄ pariwo láyé Ọ́gágun Déndè, idàámú àti ibàjé wá kúkú solè sí àwùjọ́ Ètánlókù láyé Aláásà. Ìdàámú bára ilé, ó bára oko. Àtọ̀mọ̀dé àti àgbàlagbà, àtọ̀kúnrin àti obìnrin, ló n̄ rí iyọ̀nu, ifọ̀yà, èrù, àìrísẹ̀ àti ipaya ojoojúmọ́.

Ibi tí òun bá a dé yìí, àtìrandíran òun ò le tòṣì mọ́. Owó kii wón nilé ajé lẹ̀rọ̀ ti òun. Owó ilú, owó òun náà ni. Iyọ̀ kii wón nilé olókun lẹ̀rọ̀ òun dà.

Adéyemí (*Àkùkọ̀*, 2001:72)

Is it corruption that the people were complaining of during General Déndè's tenure? Tribulation and corruption became the order of the day in Ètánlókù during the regime of Aláásà. People started experiencing hardship; both young and old, men and women, were facing challenges, tribulation and fear; unemployment and chaos were daily experiences. This stage he has reached, no member of his lineage will remain poor. Money never finish in ajé's house is his own believe. State money, is his money, salt never finish in Olókun's house is his own experience.

From this particular point his descendants cannot experience poverty in Ètánlòkù. There will be enough money for him. State money is his own money. He cannot lack anything again.

4.7. Conclusion

The leadership nature and characteristics of feudalism/monarchical, democratic and military leadership are captured by the selected Yorùbá novelists in their texts. The nature of feudalism is described as being oppressive with the traits of servitude. That of monarchical leadership is presented as peaceful and organised before the advent of

colonialism that disrupted the existing well organised structure of traditional governance. Democracy is portrayed as germinated seed of colonialism in the Nigerian political system which is described as fraudulent, corrupt, perilous, negative and regressive; it ushers in enmity, hatred and violence in African countries. Military administration is portrayed as an institution that is controlled by external forces to their states. The members are trained in foreign institutions and the pieces of operational equipment are sourced from the Western military industrial complex. The leadership style is dictatorial in nature and they use force to operate the state affairs. The authors establish the fact that both democratic and military administrations exhibit failed leadership.

The characteristics of feudalism/monarchical, democratic and military regimes are abuse of power, nepotism, extortion, vandalism, abuse of freedom of speech, diversion of public funds, corruption, human rights violation, embezzlement, lack of press freedom, tribalism and regionalism. In Yorùbá society, before the influx of colonialism, the institution, structure and apparatus of traditional leadership were peaceful and well organised, but during the postcolonial era, colonial masters in the African polity had planted all these anti-social behaviours and fraudulent practices in the governance which is still operating till date in the society. The emerged political leaders during postcolonial period had imbibed their colonial masters' traits and modes of operation which bring about disappointment in the mode of governance to the masses in the society. The authors presented, in their novels that postcolonial situations and experiences have not been better than the colonial period; it is just political-hand changes not structural, institutional and apparatus change.

The woes of both pre- and post-independence periods are captured by Yorùbá novelists in their works. The experiences of the masses during these periods were brought to the fore as the writers' present that although Nigeria as a nation got her independence in from the colonial rule in 1960, colonialism traits are still noticed within the Nigeria society. This justifies the Marxist argument that the masses should rise and fight for their freedom from any form of political oppression. The authors are also able to depict the postcolonial era reality of disillusionment as the expectations and aspirations of the masses on the, 'self-rule', political leaders have been dashed as a result of leadership failure and corruption. The woes of bribery and extortion, kickbacks, exploitation, mismanagement of public funds, perversion of justice, diversion/misappropriation of public funds and treachery are portrayed as neo-colonial

woes in the Yorùbá polity and Nigeria at large. The novelists bring to the notice of the readers that Africans are responsible for their own misfortunes by following the same paths of their colonial masters in administering their states, Yorùbá society inclusive and Nigeria in particular.

Also, the novelists identify ethnicity, marginalisation, nepotism, corruption and misrule as impediments to the stability of democracy in Nigeria. After the exist of the colonial masters, struggle to control state power became prominent as this was the only way to access state economy. The amalgamation was done without deep consideration of differences in histories and cultural backgrounds of the people which later paved way for marginalisation, nepotism and political corruption in Yorùbá society, and Nigeria at large. The writers reveal that for democracy to thrive in Yorùbá society and Nigeria, traditional institutions should not be neglected. They uphold the traditional political structure and institution during the pre-colonial Yorùbá societybefore the intervention of British Colonial rule and concluded that it is peaceful and organised political system. Adéjùmò (2018) describes this form of political system as ‘Africanised-democracy’.

CHAPTER FIVE
PORTRAYAL OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF CORRUPT POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SELECTED
NOVELS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter dwells on the portrayal of the implications of political leadership, corrupt practices and bad governance on socio-economic and political development of Nigeria in the selected Yorùbá novels.

5.2 Political intrigues that mark the eras

In *Ọmọ Olókùn Ẹsin* and *Şaworoide*, feudalism and monarchical government are portrayed with reference to the political situation during the pre-independence period in Yorùbá land. Fálétí in *Ọmọ Olókùn Ẹsin* depicts the true picture of the Yorùbá monarchical system of government with traces of feudal principles and practices. Before the advent of the colonial masters, the monarch was recognised as the owner of the land (*‘oba ló nilẹ’*; the king is the owner of all land), and he was collecting tributes, royalty (in the form of farm products or its money equivalent) from villages and lesser towns around him every year. It is noteworthy that feudalism predates colonialism in Yorùbá land and it continues even after colonialism in Nigeria. In *Ọmọ Olókùn Ẹsin*, the issues of the lord and the serf is depicted where Òkò people are humiliated, cheated and oppressed by Olúmokò as the lord, and Òkè-Ògùn people as serfs remitting tribute to Olúmokò yearly. The political intrigues experienced by the people are misuse of power, exploitation and manipulation of innocent citizens by the monarch’s servants, sons and chiefs because the people are predominantly farmers who do not know their fundamental human rights and willingly submit themselves to servitude.

Similarly, *Ìşolá*, in *Şaworoide*, portrays monarchical government. The beginning of the text exposes the sanity and organised political system and structure in Yorùbá society as represented in Jogbo’s kingdom before the coming of the colonial masters. *‘Íjánu ọ̀ràn yìi kì i jẹ̀ kí àwọn Onijogbo ronú asemáse rárá.* The author portrays the sanity and well-organised political structure that is free of corruption and political leadership corrupt practices in Yorùbá traditional setting during the pre-colonial era. The picture is captured in the explanation of Bábá Amawomaro, the diviner in Jogbo’s kingdom, on other requirements by Ifá oracle. Typically, he

explicates what is expected of all Onijogbo and what should be their disposition to the towns' people after the successful completion of all rites. He draws references from the oath of allegiance taken by the first Onijogbo and for the consequent successes recorded during his reign. This excerpt reveals this:

*Gégé bí Ifá ti wí fún wa tẹ̀lẹ̀, títorí pé kábíyèsí èyí jẹ olòdótó,
 tí kò fígbá kan bọkan nínú tí kò pọ̀nmí òkè rú todò, tí ò
 sàfowórà owó ilú, tí ò sòógùn ikà, tí ò fagbára rẹ̀ rẹ̀
 m̀èkúnnù jẹ ló fí rí bayìl fún un o!*

Ìṣọ́lá (Şaworoide, 2008:12)

As the Ifá oracle revealed to us, it is because this king is a faithful servant, not fraudulent, does not embezzle people's money, that is not wicked, not using his power to oppress the masses that he is successful.

This shows that the Yorùbá society frowns at fraudulent acts, embezzlement of peoples' money, wickedness, corruption, unfaithfulness and other anti-social behaviours in their polity. The excerpt above gives the standard or qualities of a good leader in the society.

In his explanation to Balógun of Jogbo on the importance of oath taking, Bàbá Ọ̀pálábá discloses to Balógun that Oníjogbo is an embodiment of servant leadership to his people in all ramifications.

*En, àní ẹ̀ni tó bá fẹ́ẹ̀ jayé, kó má j'Onijogbo. Onijogbo ní
 s̀nlú o, ilú k̀ í sin Onijogbo o. Onijogbo kan ò le la, wọ̀n ò le
 lówó lówó bi àwọ̀n ọ̀ba ilú ibòmíràn o.*

Ìṣọ́lá (Şaworoide, 2008:15)

He who wants to enjoy extravagance should not become Oníjogbo. Oníjogbo is accountable to his people; the people are not accountable to him. *Onijogbo* cannot be as rich as the kings of other lands.

Ìṣọ́lá depicts the political situation in Yorùbá society in the pre-independence days when the administration of the towns was based on checks and balances mechanisms. Such mechanisms prevented the first Oníjogbo from any form of fraudulent and anti-social behaviour. By implication, Jogbo progressed because the community's funds were used to develop the society.

With this, Ìṣọ́lá mirrors the transition from the long existing traditional norms and ethos of ọ̀banship political structure to the fraudulent and exploitative traits that came with colonialism. The new system of government has grave impactson the

traditional institution in Yorùbá societies with the evidence of reality of fraudulent and anti-social behaviours. Traditional rulers struggle to attain power at all cost and desire to accumulate wealth through state resources at the detriment of masses welfare and satisfaction. This is the political experience during post-independence period described as the era of disillusionment and also revelation of the Marxist quest for elimination of exploitation and oppression of the ruling class by the masses through concerted efforts. In the modern day, one of the major impediments to good governance, leadership performance and accountability is the deficiency in the selection process of political leaders, which promotes corruption or corrupt practices.

Lápité knows that passing through all the processes of traditional rights and oath-taking would deny him of accumulation of the community's money through corruption. This informs his disagreement with the custodian of tradition with regards to the installation of a new king in Jogbo kingdom. He refuses to follow due process, and the rites of oath-taking before ascending the throne. It is tradition in Jogbo land that any king elect must observe some rites and take the oath of allegiance to the people he is selected to lead. This will not allow him to involve in corruption or corrupt practices. Lapite disagrees with these conventions and uses force to stop Baba Amawomárò and Àyàngalú from completing the rite of oath taking. He threatens them with a pistol. This is shown in the extract below:

Lápité yari. "Moní èmi ò se! N ò búra, n ò sì sín gbéré! È ma fokùn ti ò dara so mí mọ àṣà èrò èyìn kankan. N ò se o!"
Lápité pa á mọ ọn lẹnu, ó ní Hẹn en babaawo! È ẹ t ii se kín ni mo wi? O rọra yọ ibọn iléwọ kan jáde labẹ asọ 'Mo ni a ti se tan! Kín ni mo wí.
Awọn àgbà mejéèjì yara sọ pe "È ni a ti se tan"
 Ìṣòlá (in *Saworoide*, 2008:23)

Lápité declined; 'I said I will not do it! I cannot take any oath, I cannot receive any incision! Do not tie me with bad luck robed with regressive culture. I will not do it!'
 Lápité interrupted him. The diviner! We have done it; what I, said. He carefully brought out a pistol; 'I said we had concluded! What did I say?'
 The two elders said 'You said we had concluded'.

Ìṣòlá in *Saworoide* also uses the monarchical institution to depict electoral/selection corruption in the Nigeria polity, depicting the impacts of influence on selection of leaders. Lápité, Adébòmí and other princes contest the rulership post of Jogbo kingdom, Lápité eventually emerges through influence and favour of the political

power-that-be as the king of Jogbo kingdom. Influence, connection, money and political power play significant roles to influence selections. It is of great concern that once the process of selection is defected through influence of any form, it becomes corrupt, and corrupt selection process is bound to produce corrupt rulers/leaders that will lack integrity, moral and skills to lead his people.

In *Gbòbaníyì*, Yémitàn depicts the use of money in politics. This is a major postcolonial experience, especially the acclaimed democratic era. In democracy, the people are empowered to select those who will lead them. The election involved keen competition and struggle to attain political power which is the only basis for having access to state money. The practice of influencing processes is portrayed as the author shows the picture of electoral practices. The authorial intrusion implies that such practice subverts merits and standard.

Baba Bámídelé rérin-in múṣe, ó ní, 'Oríi rẹ á gbó.' Owó tí Adékúnlé yòò tún nà, bẹ̀bà kòrẹ̀nsì náírà mẹ̀wàá l'ò kó lẹ̀ bàbá Bámídelé l'owó .

È yo. Owó obi ti yin nibè; kí ẹ bá mi pin iyókù fún àwọ̀nará agbolé.

Yémitàn (*Gbòbaníyì*, 1972:30)

Bámídelé's father laughed, he said, you will succeed . The hand that Adékúnlé stretch again, he brought out money. He said that the old man should take his share and give the rest to other people in the place.

The use of money in politics undermines the principles and tenets of democracy as a form of government. The tenet of a good democratic practice is a free and fair election that is devoid of fraudulent means and corruption. The use of money to buy the conscience of voters before or during an election is a form of electoral corruption that is part of the experience of political situation during the post-colonial period. Yémitàn exposes this to show the politics realities after the independence, when election became the major means of selecting/electing political leaders to public offices.

In *Òtẹ̀ Nibo*, Owolabi expresses concern over the changing political culture of Yorùbá people. He describes the pre-colonial political leadership period as organised, peaceful and stable.

Ayé àwọ̀n baba wa mà kúkú dún o, wọ̀n kí i fí ayé ni ara wọ̀n láára, wọ̀n kí dalẹ̀ ọ̀rẹ̀, wọ̀n kí í sẹ̀ké Ọ̀gún, wọ̀n kí í búra ẹ̀tàn.

Owólábí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1988:13)

The period of our forefathers was interesting; they did not make life difficult for one another; they avoided betrayal of friends; they could not give false witnesses before Ògun, and they could not take false oaths.

The experiences of the pre-independence period with the post-independence political experiences in Yorùbá society and Nigeria in general are compared to the new colonial self-rule politics that was imposed on Africans by their colonial masters undermines the peaceful co-existence and harmonious relationship of Yorùbá people because of introduction of election into the polity.

*Òrò di òrò ibò, òtẹ̀ dé. Taa làá mú, ta làá jù silẹ̀. Ta ni kò kún
ojú òsùnwòn, irú òsùnwòn wo?*
Owólabí (*Òtẹ̀*, 1988:13)

It is era of votes; voting came along with disgust. Who is to be chosen? who is to be disqualified? who is competent? what type of quality?

At the emergence of democracy in Yorùbá society and Nigeria as a nation, there was introduction of the new principle of selection which is election; people were allowed to choose the candidates of their choice who would represent their interest in governance. The author portrays the attributes of the electoral practice which was introduced by the Europeans as fraudulent, corrupt and violent. The practices include thuggery, vandalism, arson, political assassination, character assassination and coercion which are always responsible for underdevelopment in the society. They promote hatred, enmity and other evils because of the fact that it is competitive and requires struggle to attain political power. Before the coming of the colonial master, traditional leadership was peaceful, transparent, and organised, but during the post-colonial period, it is callous and destructive. The novelist reveals how political leaders use their political power to oppress and exploit the masses which calls for masses' protest to curtail tyrannical postcolonial experiences.

In *Bàbá Rere*, Òlábímtán depicts political conspiracy on the manner in which the title of Balógun of Sohó was given to Dúródọ́lá; it is a chieftaincy title that is reserved and hereditary to a lineage. His friend, Òjọ́, brings him closer to the throne and with the use of money, Dúródọ́lá dictates the chieftaincy title he prefers, Balógun of Sohó, and his wife is installed as Ìyálájé of Sohó. The effect of colonialism on the traditional culture is expressed in the action and compliance of Onísóhó to confer this chieftaincy title on Dúródọ́lá without due consultation with his chiefs. The

novel establishes the fact that influence of money is rampant in political situation during the neo-colonial era. In line with the view of the postcolonialism that a culture can dominate another, domination of colonial culture on traditional culture, reflects because of the involvement of money before given our reserve and lineage chieftancy title to non-member of the family Dúróḍọlá.

Yorùbá people accepts a man with good character and honour to lead them in their political system. They are always careful to appoint their leaders and always avoid The authors, through their works, show the negative effects of monetary power in politics, which is responsible for accepting any person or highest bidder to occupy positions of authority in the society. In *Baba Rere*, Dúróḍọlá is involved in illegal trades smuggling, trafficking and production of fake drugs for people's consumption.

The excerpt below reveals Dúróḍọlá's involvement in smuggling:

Àsírí kan ti ọ̀pọ̀lopọ̀ ò mò ni ohun ti ó fà á ti Dúró fí dẹkun isẹ̀ fàyàwọ̀. Èrù àwọn onísẹ̀ fàyàwọ̀ ti Faranse tí ó kó ni ó di eegun eja sí i lórùn tí kò le koja s' ilẹ̀ Àgànyìn mó.
Owólabi (*Baba*, 1972: 18)

Bí Dúró ti ẹ̀ kíràkítà ti ó yíjú sí i, ojú arakunrin náa l'ó gbá, igbájú náà sì pọ̀ débi pe ọ̀kúnrin náà ẹ̀subú lulẹ̀ ni. Wéré Dúró jáde, ó lọ̀si idi ọ̀kò rẹ̀, ó gbé ọ̀tí kan jáde; ó sì rọ̀ odidi igò kan sí i lẹ̀nu tipátipá, o tún lú ú ni à lùbólẹ̀ daadaa. Lẹ̀yìn èyí ni o wa gbé ọ̀kò rẹ̀ súnmọ̀ ile náà, ó sì kó gbogbo ẹ̀rù t'ó wà n' bẹ̀ patapata; ó ba tirẹ̀ lọ.

Owólabi (*Baba*, 1972: 19)

A secret that is hidden to all people is the reason why Dúró stopped smuggling business. The goods of France smugglers that he packed away were the sources of his inability to travel to Ghana.

As Dúró managed to face the man, he slapped him; the slapping was too much to the extent that the man fell down. Instantly, Dúró got outside, he went to his car; he brought a drink; he poured it on the man's mouth by force, and he beat him to the point of coma. After this, he drove his car close to the house and parked all the goods and left.

This is a proof that Duróḍọlá involved himself in criminal activities before he joined politics in Sohó. This means that the affair of the state is committed into the hands of a person with a questionable character. Although the author portrays him as a good political leader, the scene presented in this excerpt depicts the real experience and the

kind of life some of the political office holders lived before getting to the corridor of power. Also, the excerpt below shows that Duródolá is not a patriotic leader:

Kò sí òkan nínú ọ́tí tí wọn ba gbe fún àwọn ọ̀mọ̀bínrín nàà tí í ẹ̀ ọ́tí gidi. Ètò tí Dúró tí ẹ̀ ni pe bí àwọn ọ̀mọ̀bínrín nàà bá ri í pé ọ̀kúnrín tí ó fẹ́ ra ọ́tí fún wọn l'ówó l'ówó, wọn ó sọ fun un pe ọ́tí birandi ni àwọn ẹ̀ ẹ̀ sùgbón ẹ̀ni tí yóò fun wọn l'ọ́tí mò pé ògógóró diẹ̀ àti kòkà-kolà ní òun yóò gbé fún ọ̀mọ̀bínrín. Oórùn ògógóró lásán ni wọn ń fẹ́ kí wọn máa gbó. Sùgbón owo birandi ni ọ̀kúnrín yóò san. Àwọn ọ̀sìsẹ̀ ibẹ̀ sí mọ ọ̀nà tí wọn fí ń ẹ̀ ayédèrú awọn ọ́tí yíítí ó fí jẹ̀ pé ẹ̀ni ba ni oun fẹ́ rọ ọ̀kan nínú àwọn ọ̀mọ̀bínrín nàà yóò ké àbámọ̀ ni. kì í ẹ̀ birandi nìkan ni wọn ń ẹ̀ ayédèrú rẹ̀. Gbogbo ọ́tí ni. Bí wọn tí ń ẹ̀ ayédèrú ọ́tí ni wọn ẹ̀ ayédèrú sìgá.

Olábimtan (Baba, 1972:22)

Dúró sòwò tí tí ó di asojú àwọn tí ń ta oògùn ọ̀yìn bó ni agbegbe Sohó. Bí oògùn ba sí de, kí ó ba le rọ àwọn ẹ̀niyàn lórùn láti rà á l'ówó pọ́ókú. Dúró yíò dín wọn kù dièdiè yíò sí tún dé wọn pa. Àwọn tí ó jẹ́ hóró nínú wọn ni kì í ré lóri púpọ̀ nitorí pe o ni ọ̀gbọ̀n miran tí o tun ń ta sí àwọn wọ̀nyí. Dúró tí ra ẹ̀rọ kan tí o ni oun fẹ́ máa fí ẹ̀ bótìni ẹ̀wù l'órísírísí, sùgbón ko ráyè tí bótìni mọ, ẹ̀fun ikòwé tí àwọn ọ̀mọ̀ ile-ìwé ń lò ni ó ń fí ge sí iwọn hóró oògùn tí o sí ń rọ sí agolo. Yóò ko idajì oogun gidi kúrò yóò sí fí ẹ̀fun dípò rẹ̀. Igba tí ó yá, òun nàà bèrẹ̀ sí ẹ̀tò ayédèrú oògùn onihóro olorísírísí àwò. Irú àwọn oògùn tí o ń tún di yíì sí wúlò ni Sohó nitorí aàyan tí Dúró ń ẹ̀ ni kì oun le dín owo rẹ̀ kù kì ọ̀pọ̀ ẹ̀niyan ba lè rà á.

Olábimtan (Baba, 1972:23)

There is no drink that they give to these ladies that are original drinks. The plan that Dúró made was that if the ladies realise that a man wanted to buy drinks for them, he was rich, they would tell him that they wanted brandy, but the person that would give them would give them a mixture of coca-cola and local gin. It is the aroma of local gin that they wanted people to smell. But the man would pay for brandy. The workers there knew how they prepared these fake drinks to the extent that he who planned to induce the ladies to overdrink would regret it. It is not only brandy they diluted; it is all drinks. As they were producing fake drinks so also they were producing fake cigarettes.

Dúró was involved in business up to the level that he became the chairman of all patient medicine sellers in Sohó. If drugs arrived, to be more convenient for people to buy with small money, Dúró would reduce the drugs and repack them. Those that were tablets were the ones he did not

repack because he had another way of doing this. Dúró had purchased a machine meant for production of bottom all kinds. But he had no time for bottom again, it was school chalk that he started cutting to drug size and packing them. He would remove half of the original drugs and fill them with fake ones. Later, he started producing assorted fake drugs of different colours. These kinds of drugs that he was repackaging are very useful in Soho because his own concern is to reduce the prices of these drugs so that masses could afford to get them.

The influence and power of money override the consideration of Duródolá's character in determining merit in his choice as the political leader in Soho. The author raises some questions in his readers mind: What type of leadership a smuggler will offer to his society? Can a criminal become a good leader and corrupt free in the society? The author, however, establishes that money means much in today's politics. Duródolá uses money to suppress the political ambition of his close friend who later turns to be his political enemy. Possession of money dictates popularity in politics without considering the genesis of such money properly.

Duródolá has dented his character and cannot be regarded as a patriot to his land, although the author presents him as a free giver and committed politician. He is corrupt, dubious, involved in killing and illicit trades, smuggling and drug pushing. He acquires wealth through illegal means and uses the wealth to influence his appointment as Chairman of the Local Government. The author drives home the message that wealth should not be the yardstick for determining appointments into political leadership posts. It does not only derail the standard and merit, but also tells about the kind of leadership.

In *Orilawè Adigun*, the author exposes favouritism, tribalism/ethnicity and marginalisation as the major constraints to political stability in the Nigerian society, especially during the Third Republic. The Hausa/Fulani believe that despite the fact that they outnumbered the other two major tribes in Nigeria, the Igbo and the Yorùbá, they are being cheated. The Igbo believe that the Biafra War spelt doom for them which is manifested in the region's underdevelopment. They believe that Federal Character is always putting them at disadvantage in terms of allocation of state resources. The Yorùbá consider themselves to be lagging behind in terms of educational development and commerce. The amalgamation of the Southern and Northern protectorates is another problem, thereby struggling to control political

machinery and making the affairs of the nation more competitive. Of all these constraints, ethnicity has been identified as a major setback and bane to democratic stability, good governance and nation-building.

In *Orilawè Àdìgun*, Lawè, a party member of Nínálowó Party which is the ruling party, is not happy about the sharing formula of political posts in the government. Lawè discovers that out of eight key positions distributed to party loyalists, his people from Owódé are marginalised, getting no slot. He is angry and consequently uses 'isújú' (invisible power) to manipulate the appointment of two out of the eight newly appointed Chairmen from his town, Owódé. The use of invisible power is depicted during the meeting where the President announces the names of the appointed chairmen of boards. The excerpt below shows this:

Bí ó ti t́erí wọ gbòngàn, ariwo ta, gbogbo èniyàn sì dide dúró. Lawè àti 'Délakùn kò kúrò níwájú pátápátá. Bí Olóri ijọba ti dé idí àga rẹ, ó jókòó. Ó fẹrẹ ma ti jókò ti 'Délakùn ti dúró tepón síwájú rẹ.

Kí a má purọ, Olóri náà ni àjẹsára. Bí 'Délakùn ẹe dé iwájú rẹ tó dúró, ará fu ú, ó sì bèrẹ sí í làágùn. Bòya kò ní ìrírí irú rẹ rí ni. Ó ki ọwọ sí àpò rẹ ó fẹ mú asọ-ìnújú. Sùgbón àkókó náà gán-án ni eni tí ó mú èdà ọrọ rẹ dání y'ọwọ láti èyìn rẹ tí ó ñ fi èdà iwé náà le orí tábilì. Bí ó ti ñ fi lélẹ ni 'Délakùn ñ fi ti ọwọ rẹ rọpọ. Bí ó sì ti ẹe é tán, ó padá sí ọdọ Lawè. Olóri Ijọba kò mò pé 'Délakùn ti pààrọ èdà ọrọ, ó dide, ó sì bèrẹ sí kà á. Ní iwọn igbà ti ó jẹ ojú ewé kerin ni àyípada tí Lawè ẹe wà, kò sí eni tí ó fura nínú gbogbo àwọn tí ó wà nìbẹ. Bí ó ti ñ sọrọ tààrà ní ó sì ñ bó sínú àpótí ẹrọ rédiò tí gbogbo aye ñ gbó.

Ọlábimtán (*Orilawè*, 1973: 119 – 120)

As he entered the hall, there was a great shout, all people remained standing. Lawè and 'Délakùn did not leave the front side. As the President got to his chair, he sat down. As soon as he sat down, 'Délakùn stood in front of him.

To say the fact, the President is not an ordinary man. As soon as Délakùn stood in front of him, he perceived it. He started sweating. May be he had no previous experience'. He put his hand inside his pocket to pick his handkerchief. That is the exact time the person that came with the copy of his speech dropped it on the table. As he put it on the table, Délakùn swapped it with his own. As soon as he dropped it, he returned to Lawè. The President did not know that Délakùn had changed the copy of the speech; he rose up and started reading it. As it is on page four that Lawè effected the change, nobody noticed it. As he was speaking it was being broadcast on the radio to the nation.

5.3. Leadership performance during the pre-colonial era

Ọmọ Olókùn Eṣin depicts the leadership experience before the coming of the British to Africa when the power of life and death was vested in the hand of the *Ọba*. He performs executive, legislative and judiciary functions with the assistance of his traditional chiefs in day-to-day administration. The *Ọba* and the traditional chiefs collected taxes, fines from offenders in forms of tributes and royalty to run the affairs of the state. *Olúmokò* provides the traditional leadership, with his palace serving as symbol of unity and peace. No one dare question the authority of an *ọba* during the pre-colonial period because he himself was a symbol of authority. *Fálétí* portrays the exploitative and oppressive tactics of traditional rulers in those days based on the tenet of feudalism that is the lord and the serfs. *Olúmokò* owns the land, ‘*ọba ló nilẹ*’; and he received royalty or farm products or its money equivalent from lesser towns and villages in his domain. This is revealed thus:

Ó wá kojú si àwọn èniyàn gbogbo, ó ní ‘E kò rí pé irú àwọn tí n fa ibínú irúnmolè ni irú àwọn ab’enu sùàsua yìi’ Ó ní ‘Ejò là á kó, a kì í kó ijà. Èyin wulẹ n bá a ja ẹnu pétepete lẹ̀ẹkan ni. Njẹ bi èniyàn kò bá ní sùúrù fún un, èyin le gbó ọ̀rọ ẹnu rẹ̀ délẹ̀ bàyì?’ Ó ni bo ti jẹ̀ nù-un, ó ní ‘kò sihun tó dàbí ọmọ ẹni. Ọmọ! Bèniyàn n fún ẹrú lóyin jẹ̀ níjoojúmọ́, nígbà tí ó bá di ọjọ kan ni yóò máa sunkún ilé rẹ̀. Bó ti jẹ̀ nù-un. Bí ó ti n sọ̀rọ ni wọn n se “Kábíyèsí! Kábíyèsí!”

Léyin náà ní ó wá kojú si èmi náà, ó ní ‘Ọ̀nà ti o mò yá. Sùgbón ẹni ti ó làálàá rí Olódúmarè, òun ko ní yóò rọ̀ àlá náà. Nítorí náà gbogbo èrò rẹ̀ tí ó gún régé lójú rẹ̀ un, ibòrìsà ni yóò pin si. Íwọ̀ tí o mò pé òmìnira ní ó yẹ gbogbo ilú, bi wọn yóò tilẹ̀ di òmìnira náà, kò ni sojú rẹ̀. Mo mò nkan tí ó yẹ ọ. Nààrì ní n ó fí ọ bọ.

Fálétí (Ọmọ 1993:129)

He faced the audience, he said as you can see that this is the type of idiot that calls for the wrath of gods. He said one can only learn how to talk, not how to fight. You were just fighting with him before. If one has no patience for him, can you hear all these from him? He said that is how it is; he said there is no one like one child, child! If one is feeding a slave with honey everyday, one’s day he will start crying that he wants to go back home. That is how it is; as he was talking they were saying *Kábíyèsí! Kábíyèsí!*

After this, he then faced me; he said that step you took is the right one, but it is not he who dreams and sees God that will narrate the dream to others. Therefore, all your thoughts are in order, in your own mind, it will end you as a sacrifice.

You know that it is liberation that is necessary for all, if they will regain freedom, you will not live to witness it. I know what to do for you; I will sacrifice you to Nààri god.

Şaworoidę represents the monarchical government with the traditional king as head of government: Onijogbo as the head of the cabinet and his traditional chiefs as Council of State. Lápitę is portrayed as a greedy and selfish leader who has interest in accumulation of wealth through the people's money and an arrogant leader that does not consider the plight of the masses. Despite the fact that the people are complaining of the activities of the timber dealers in the area, Lápitę's concern is how to siphon the money meant for societal development. Both the king and his chiefs are greedy and selfish; they embezzle state funds and siphon state money without considering the welfare of the masses. Lápitę's tenure as king of Jogbo is portrayed as the period of highest corruption at the corridor of power which is responsible for the underdevelopment of the society. The traditional leaders in Jogbo involve themselves in monumental corruption by embezzling public funds, siphoning state money and mismanaging people's resources for their personal use at the expense of the welfare of the masses who they claim they are leading. *İşòlá* presents the reality in the contemporary Nigerian leadership situation. The author uses timber business as metaphorical representation of oil exploration which is one of the natural resources in Nigeria. It is established that the problem of Nigeria is not the issue of lack of fund for state development, but coalition of bad leadership, both civilian and military. He shows the change of baton of leadership from Lápitę (the civilian) to Lágàta (military) in Jogbo, both being characterised by same poor leadership experience of corruption and misgovernment. Corruption persists until the youths staged a protest, got rid of corrupt leaders in Jogbo and installed a right leader.

“Àwa omọ ogun ilú Jogbo gba àkóso ilú Jogbo lóni”
İşòlá (Şaworoidę, 2008:139)

We military officers of Jogbo have taken over governance today.

The author insignificantly captures the issue of poor leadership that is experienced through civilian and military rules in Jogbo ironically to depict realities that accompany independence in Nigeria situation. The leaders have not lived up to people's expectation in the society. It is reflected that the leadership has not been able to deliver what they promised; they lack integrity and moral standard to move the

nation forward. He depicts poor leadership as the source of underdevelopment being experienced in the society after the demise of colonial masters. This is revealed in Òjowòn's explanation on the poor leadership and level of corruption in Jogbo land to the youths that seek Timber dealers' assistance to get rid of Lapite's bad leadership. The excerpt below confirms this:

Olójowòn tejú mọ àwọn àlejó rẹ méjéjì. 'Şe ẹ mọ pé onísòwò paraku ni àwa, kò sì sí ohun tí ó kàn wá nínú òşèlú ilú onílúú. Àwa kì í şe omọ ilẹ̀ yìí. Şùgbón ẹ̀tọ̀ omọ̀nìyàn àti ijọba òdodo jẹ wá lógún kárí aye. Àwa n fẹ̀ ki owó orí gẹ̀dú yọ lára àwọn ará ilú Jogbo. Gbogbo àwọn ilú yòókù tí a ti n gégì ni ilòşíwájú ti ba. Àwọn omọ ilẹ̀ ibẹ̀ tí n gbádùn. Báwo ni ti ilú tiyín ti jẹ? Nínú àpò àwọn kan ni owó n lọ! Ojú sì n ti àwa, nítòrí pé àwa la n pa owó yìí fún wọn. Ọba yín kò dára. Awon ijòyè rẹ̀ kò sunwòn. Irúkírú, omi yunbun! B ẹ bá le le kúrò lórí oyè, ibá mà dára o.'

Ìşólá (Şaworoide, 2008: 96)

Olojowon focuses his attention on his two visitors. 'Do you know that we are dealers there is nothing concerning us about any nation's politics. We are not citizens of this state. But human rights and good governance are our concerns over the world. We want the proceeds from timber trade to be judiciously used for the welfare of the masses in Jogbo kingdom. All other nations that we partner with are progressing. The citizens are enjoying now. How is your own like this? The money is going into some people's pocket! We are ashamed because we are the ones generating the money for them. Your king is not responsible. The chiefs are corrupt. They are birds of a feather! If you can depose him, it would be better.

Lápitẹ uses power and influence to siphon state funds for private use and creates more social crisis in Jogbo than solving the existing problems facing the masses in the land. He directs timber dealers to be paying his own share of the money realised from the natural resources to a foreign account. Ìşólá (2008: 174) expresses the priority of Làgàtá to attain political power in Jogbo as accumulation of town's money. He gives three reasons, but the most important one is public fund; he says: 'the first one is that ọbashi post creates room for primitive accumulation of public funds'. Ìşólá identifies corruption as the major impediment to the underdevelopment of African nations during the neo-colonial period. He portrays two political leadership experiences: leadership experiences before colonisation and leadership

experiences after colonisation under self-ruled government by exposing the realities of the performances of the self-ruled leaders.

In *Saworoide*, *Ìṣòlá*, being a member of the society exposes the ills and evils of poor leadership in the society, Nigeria in particular. He exposes how political leaders use their political power to cheat and oppress the masses and the implication of this on the society, as in the case of bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the Marxist theory. The leaders in Nigeria are known to be power drunk; they abuse power anyhow; they threaten those they believe to be their opponents and suspected political enemies or those that are against their political ideologies in order to silence them, including the press.

Gbòbaniyi depicts poor leadership and corruption or corrupt means of attaining power and relates it to the cause of underdevelopment of the society during the postcolonial period. Adékúnlé's election is not a free and fair as required under genuine democratic practice. He uses influence of money to win the election and exhibits high degree of nepotism during his tenure as his people's representative in the council. The effect is exhibition of nepotism noticed in his government. '*Ìdí Adékúnlé fẹ̀rẹ̀ má tii ranlẹ̀ dáadáa lóri àga tán t'ó ti bèrẹ̀ sí yanjú ti ara rẹ̀*': "As soon as Adéribigbé assumed duty, he began to implement his own selfish plans. This is the practice in today's politics, and it is as a result of the influence of Europeans on the traditional leadership style of the Yorùbá society. The leaders, during the postcolonial period, are presented as dedicated, committed and selfless; they are concerned about their subjects' wellbeing. Adékúnlé is a symbol of a selfish leader that utilises exploitative tactics to favour himself at the expense of the civil populace that he is leading.

Òtẹ̀ Nibo offers a comparative depiction of the experiences of leadership under the traditional setting when anọba was an absolute leader. The author depicts the transition from a well-organised and peaceful government to a more complicated and rebellious government imposed by the colonial masters with its attendant fraudulent traits of electoral manipulation, political assassination, thuggery and character assassination. The author portrays self-interest, lust for power, corruption and desperation that dominate elections during the neo-colonial period. This, to a greater extent, is telling on the kind of leaders produced out of such election, merit and standard are ignored, and the people are celebrating mediocrity at times in selecting their political leaders because of the electoral process that was introduced by the

colonial masters which subvert the peaceful selection means during the pre-colonial period.

Baba Rere portrays monarchical and democratic government. The author establishes the fact that money plays a major role in leadership selection even at the traditional level, especially during the postcolonial period. Dúróḍọla is able to use the influence of money to get what he wants. This is the political situation in the society now where money plays significant role in elections of leaders. This has eroded merit and standard in selection processes thereby undermining democratic principles. Dúróḍọla uses money to attain the traditional title of Balogun of Sohó and also to get political posts. . This aligns with the Marxist claim that leaders use their political power to exploit the masses and oppress them. These include the traditional institutions who are custodians of the peoples' culture that bend the rules when money is involved.

Orilawè Àdigun portrays democratic experience of misgovernment, dissonant inter-party politics, ethnicity, marginalisation and other ills experience during democratic government. Tribalistic leadership is depicted in the novel. During post-colonial period ethnicity and tribalism are prominent factors in Nigerian politics with tribes contesting and competing for control of the central power in order to favour their people through marginalisation of other tribes. The author presents three tribes and regions struggling for presidency and other political appointments: they are Awèrà, Imirin and Odùrúyà; there are suspicion and tension over control of power. Marginalisation is noticed in the leadership style during this period, with insincerity shown in the appointments, of board members, that makes Lawè to use an marginally charm, 'isújú', to influence the appointment of two people from his own town to appear on the list of the nominees presented by the President during an open broadcast. *Orilawè Àdigun* unveils the happenings in Nigerian political situation where tribalism, regional sentiment, marginalisation and ethnicity feature in governance operations.

Ìjàmbá sèlú portrays the military rule in the society. The author of *Ìjàmbásèlú* represents the political realities of two military administrators, who, through coup d'état, overthrew a civilian administration, on the allegations of corruption and poor leadership. The author depicts military tyrannical regime under the leadership of Àjùwọ̀n with suspension of the constitution and application of decrees that facilitate corruption in public life, nepotism, embezzlement of public funds, breakdown of law and order arising from tribalism and regionalism. Because of brazen graft and

corruption his tenure is portrayed as a failure that lacks performance. The excerpt below shows the situation of corruption and corrupt practises then:

Èyí tí ó wá burú jù ní pé lákòókò Àjùwòn ní ètò ọ̀rọ̀ ajé ìjọba ñ gòkè, tí owó ñ wólé fún ìjọba, ẹ̀ghọ̀n owó náà dà? Sèbí àpó àwọn aláakòóso àti àwọn ọ̀rẹ̀ Àjùwòn diẹ̀ l'owó yìí ñ bọ sí, tí ebi sì ñ pa ọ̀mọ̀ mẹ̀kúnnù ní àpakú.
Owólabí (*Ìjàmbá*, 1981:35)

The worst was that, during Àjùwòn's tenure, the nation experienced economic boom; government financial status improved, but where is the money? The money is going to the administrators and Àjùwòn's friends' pockets; the masses were subjected to hardship and hunger.

The author equally depicts what transpired during the short reign of General Táyése who ascended the rulership of his nation, Àjùwòn. He is portrayed as a performer and a committed leader that has the interest of his nation at heart, and considers the plight of the masses in his administration. This is captured in the author's remark while describing the political situation of Táyése's regime. The excerpt below indicates this:

Lààrin ọ̀sù m̀éta ti jagunlabí gun orí oyè, gbogbo ǹnkan ti yípada pátápátá. Ilé isẹ̀ ti pò sii, àlàáfíà ti wà láàrin ilú, kò sí ibèrù m̀ọ̀, kò sí ìjẹ̀kújẹ̀, ẹ̀ni tí ǹnkan tó sí ní í gbà á. Kò sí owó ẹ̀yìn gbígbà m̀ọ̀, kò sí gbígbà ìdámẹ̀wà lórí owó isẹ̀, kò sí jìbìtì lábé ìjọba Táyése. Táyése gori oyè aye rójú.
Owólabí (*Ìjàmbá*, 1981:47)

Within three months that he ascended the rulership, things started taking shape. There were industries; there was peace everywhere; no fear; no extortion; there was equal distribution of things; no bribery; no kickback on contract awards; there is no room for corruption under Táyése, Táyése ascended rulership, everything becomes normal.

Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà depicts two military governments headed by two Generals in Ètánlókùn, General Dende and General Alááshà. The two military heads of state promoted corruption during their tenures. The tenures were characterised with irregularities, corruption, suspension of constitution, violation of human rights, nepotism, bribery, kickback, sit-tight syndrome and political assassination. The political situations during these periods are captured in the author's remarks thus:

Şé iwà ìbàjé ní àwùjọ̀ ñ pariwo láyé Ọ̀gágun Déhndè. Idaamu ati ibaje wa kuku sole si awujo Etanloku laye Alááshà..
Idaamu bara ile, o bara oko.
Adéyemí (*Àkùkọ̀*, 2001: 72)

People were complaining of corruption during General Déndè's tenure. Tribulation and corruption spread throughout Ètànólókùn during Alááṣà's tenure. The general populace were suffering.

5.4. Level of oppression and human right violation during these eras

The authors of the selected novels establish the fact that feudalism/monarchical, democratic and military government as oppressive. However, the authors present military regime as the most corrupt, undemocratic, despotic in nature and an unacceptable government in the society.

5.4.1. Oppression and human right violation during pre-colonial period

Feudalism is a system of government that operates base of the serf and the Lords In *Ọmọ Olókùn Èsin*, the narrator presents Òkè Ògùn people as been under servitude to the people of Òkò. Servitude is against the fundamental human rights of the citizens. The practice of servitude is humiliating, cheating and oppressive, and it shows the domination of the Òkò people over the Òkè-Ògùn people. This is captured in the excerpt below as explained by Àjàyí Ọmọ Olókùn Èsin:

Ṣùgbọ́n bí a ti tóbi to nni, ẹ́rú ni wá. Ìgbèkùn ni a jẹ́. Oúnjẹ Òkò ni wá. Bí egbẹ́egbẹ̀rún àwọn ọmọ-ọba Òkò ni wọn máa n wá si Òkè Ògùn ni ọdọdun, tí wọn yóo gba orisirisi nńkan àlejò, tí wọn yóò máa ta ènìyàn nítakútà, tí wọn yóò má jẹ ayé ijekúje
Fálétí (Ọmọ, 1970:3)

But as large as we are, we are slaves. We are in bondage. We are foods for Òkò people. Almost thousands of the princes visited Òkè-Ògùn every year that would collect different types of gifts, that they would be disturbing people, that they would be violating human rights.

The experiences of the Òkè Ògùn people then were a real violation of fundamental human rights of individual citizens in the society.

5.4.2. Oppression and human rights violation during monarchical era

The oppression and violation of human rights is minimal during the monarchical era as the period is presented by the authors as bearable, peaceful and well-organised. This is captured in the remark of the author of *Ọtẹ Nibò*:

*Kí òyìnbó tó gòkè odò, àwọn ọba, baálẹ̀, ijòyè ní maa se ètò
ijoba agbègbè wọn
Owólabí (Ọtẹ̀,1988:1)*

Before the arrival of the whites, the ọba, baálẹ̀ and chiefs were the ones controlling the affairs of their domains.

In *Saworoide*, Badà, one of the cabinet members who tried to convince the seating against illegal arrest and detention, is arrested and sent to prison as punishment for taking side with the masses.

*Igbe ẹ gbà mi yìi ni Badà ké dé ita. Bí wọn ti dé ita, ọgá
ọlópàá ké sí àwọn ọlópàá kògbérégbè méjì, ó ní ki wọn
kókò lọọ ti Badà mólé ná, kí òun tóó mọ ilé ẹwọn tí òun ó fi
rànsẹ sí. Wọn kó pawópé sí olóyè Badà lówó, wọn ju ú sínú
ọkọ kan, wọn sì wà á lọ.*

Ìṣòlá (*Saworoide*,2008:91)

The cry of deliever me, deliever me; is the cry of Badà till he gets outside. As they got outside, the police boss called two anti-riot police officers to go and lock Badà inside the cell, before he will decide the prison yard he would send him to. They put handcuff on Chief Badà's hands and forced him to enter the parked vehicle, and they drove him off.

5.4.3. Oppression and human rights violation during Democratic government

Violation of human rights and leadership oppression are noticed in *Baba Rere* when Dúróḍọla violates human right by directing the police boss to arrest the journalist in Sohò. Although the author records incidents of human rights violation, the authors of the selected novels advance that despite the traits of colonial masters in the operations and styles of democratic government, it is still preferable to military rule in the society. The violation of human rights in terms of violation of right of freedom, of opinion and expression against the journalist indicate that democratic government is not left out of this arrogant act of human rights violation. This is captured in the excerpt below:

*Kíá ọgá ọlópàá padà, ó sì fún àwọn ọmọ rẹ ní àṣẹ. Ẹnu
oúnjẹ ni wọn bá onítwè iròyìn tí n bẹ ni Sohó, wọn kò tilẹ̀
dúró k'ó parí oúnjẹ rẹ, láti ibẹ̀ ni wọn ti nà án dé itimólé.
Ọjọ kẹta ni Balógun t'ó sọ pé ki wọn fi sílẹ̀.
Owólabí (*Baba*,1972: 172-173)*

Immediately the police boss turned back, he directed his officers. The journalist residing in Sohó was met eating;, they did not wait for him to finish his food; from there he

was beaten to the police cell. It was after three days that Balogun directed that he should be released.

5.4.4. Oppression and human right violation during the military regimes

The authors of the two selected novels that present the era of military rule are able to establish the fact that the military rule is undemocratic and not an acceptable system of government in Yorùbá society and in the World around. The military era is always marked with violation of human rights because it is not a legitimised government, but self-imposed government through coup d'état. The government is unconstitutional, and rule of law is always neglected in the governance. The authors of the texts (*Ìjàmbá sèlú* and *Àkùko Gàgàrà*) are able to establish the fact that military regimes promote violation of human rights more than democratic government. In *Ìjàmbá sèlú*, the author shows the level of violation of human rights during the tenure of 2Ajuwọn as a military head of state, thus:

Bí èniyàn bá sì wọ ìtímọlé lábé ijọba Àjùwọ̀n, bí ẹnì wọ iná iléru ní. Ìyà á tó ìyà fún olúwa rẹ̀, ebi á ni òun l'ebi. Ta ni je ri ojú ẹ̀kùn kó wòó fín, ta ní je so pé lébe ò pọ̀n 'mọ re. Aja wo ní dúró bọ ẹ̀kù lẹ̀wọ̀, àfi è yí ti yóò bá wọ ẹ̀wù ẹ̀jẹ. Àwọ̀n oníwéè ìròyìn kò lè sọ̀rọ̀ pátó mó, àfi ẹ̀yi tí ó bá agbékú tà, tí ó sọ ojú abẹ̀ níkòó, irú eyìni kò sípọ̀ lákòókò ijọba Àjùwọ̀n.

Owólabí (*Ọ̀tẹ̀*, 1988:1)

If one entered the prison yard during the tenure of Àjùwọ̀n, it looked like hell fire. The person would suffer greatly; hunger would threaten him. Nobody dare say that what the government was doing was wrong. The journalist could not say the truth; only those that were ready for the worst, and they were not many during Àjùwọ̀n's regime.

Also, in *Àkùko Gàgàrà*, the author's comment on the degree of violation of human rights and oppressive tactics of General Déndè and his military administrator shows that military regimes are characterised by the highest degree of human right violation.

The excerpt below indicates this:

Ni ojú Déndè olórí ijọba àti àwọ̀n gómìnà rẹ̀ bí ojú akátá bá n sepin, ẹ̀nu adiyẹ̀ kò gbà á láti sọ. Ní àwùjọ Ẹ̀tànlókù wọ̀n sọ ọ̀rọ̀ ijọba Déndè di bójú rí ẹ̀nu a dákẹ̀. Ọ̀rọ̀ ijọba oloógun di àrìgbọ̀dòwí, àmosehùn, ìyaálé ilé tó n su sọjú ọ̀lọ̀ ata, baálé ilé tó n tọ̀ sínú isasùn ọ̀bẹ̀!

Adéyemí (*Àkùko* 2008: 28)

To Déndè and his state governors, if government is not doing well, it is not the masses that will say it. In Ẹ̀tànlókù,

Déjà's regime was autocratic; nobody dare talk; military government became tyrannical, frustrating and oppressive, that should not be complained about.

The military regime, as presented by theselected novelists is characterised by oppressive tendencies, violation of rule of law, violation of human right and brutality.

5.5. Conclusion

The novelists present the traditional institution as preferable, peaceful and organised, compared with the modern system of government that is built on deceitful anti-social behaviours and fraudulent practices. They establish the fact that the woes of post-independence political leadership experience is manifestation of the implantof colonialism in African politics. To further prove this, the novelistsreveal that, for modern political system to be relevant and sustained, some important values of traditional system of government should be inculcated for efficiency and efficacy in governance.

Although not at the same level, the novelists are able to establish that, there is leadership failure in all the eras represented in their texts ranging from feudalism/monarchical, democratic and military eras. The political leaders operate in the tenets of the colonial masters which are deceitful, fraudulent and oppressive in nature. This, to a greater extent, is affecting democratic stability, good governance and societal development. The operation of self-rule leaders are not better than those of the colonial masters, because the indigenou political leaders are just serving as agents to the colonial masters.

Also, the level of oppression and violation of human rights were well pronounced during the military era than in any other government. It is a truism that there are traces of oppressive acts and violation of human rights during feudalism/monarchical and democratic dispensations, but not as pronounced as in the case of the military regime. The military rulers suspend the operations of constitution and instead use decrees, they use force which subvert the principles of democracy.

Furthermore, the efficacy of the power of oath-of-allegiance-taking or undergoing rites before emergence as a political leader, as it was the practice in the olden days in Yorùbá society, is brought to the fore. If political office holders are subjected to oath- taking or passing through traditional rites, the issue of corruption

will be reduced as is expressed in Saworoide: *‘Íjánu ọ̀ràn yìí kìí jé kí àwọn onijogbo ronú aṣemase rárá. Jogbo ẹ̀ ní ilọ̀síwájú púpò. Wọ̀n ń rí owó tún ilú se* -This mechanism stops Onijogbo’s corrupt practises. Jogbo experienced development; they had money to develop the kingdom.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This chapter sums up the findings of the study, its contributions to existing knowledge, through reiteration of key points earlier discussed. The implication of these findings on the society, as well as the researcher's recommendations, are also presented in the chapter.

6.2. Summary of findings

The study examines political leadership corruption and features of pre- and post-colonial Nigeria against its projection as a phenomenon of the post-independence period. The study establishes that corruption has its root from pre-colonial era manifesting in forms of cheating, oppression and abuse of power exhibited by political leadership as portrayed in *Omọ Olókun ẹsin* and evolved to the period after the departure of the colonial masters. The rate of corruption was minimal during the pre-colonial period; it only became more prevalent and intense during the post-colonial period. *Gbòbaniyì, Baba Rere, Orilawè Àdìgún, Saworoide, Òtẹ̀ Nibò, Ìjàmbá Şèlú* and *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà* reveal that the indices of corruption are a hybrid of deceitful anti-social behaviours, which were inherited from the colonial masters and nurtured into indigenous Nigerian context.

Political leadership and corruption have been identified as responsible for democratic instability, misgovernance and underdevelopment in Nigeria. After the end of colonial administration the nationalists who took on Nigeria's political leadership were considered to be failure and non-performing because of the existence of colonial mentality and its influence on governance. The political class in Nigeria responsible for underdevelopment of the society under their leadership watch. The period is referred to as post-independence of disillusionment, when the people's hope of a sanitised and developed society were dashed by the activities of the leaders. The leaders were responsible for neo-colonial woes as a result of using public institutions (state) as instruments for primitive accumulation of wealth.

The selected Yoruba novels vividly represent the influence of colonialism on traditional leadership structure. The recurrent representations of realities in the texts point to the fact that the traditional leadership structure which was hitherto well

organised, stable and peaceful has been eroded and replaced with an imposed structure. The ‘new replacement’, colonial masters’ political structure, unfortunately, is built on fraudulent and exploitative tactics, and it has entrenched the same in the post independence period.

The study advances what the vision of the Yorùbá novelists is. It is established that the writers make use of the happenings in their society as raw materials in order to reshape the society that continuously shapes them. There is confirmation that the ideology of a nation influences the thinking and reasoning of the novelists as literary artists cannot ignore politics in their writings because they cannot escape being shaped by political decisions, all the novels examined satirised and portayed issues relating to the Nigerian political scene during pre-and post-colonial Nigeria. The study also reveals that Yorùbá novelists have been interrogating the political situation in Nigeria right from the pre-colonial period to the contemporary period.

Bàbá Rere portrays the character of Dúróḍolá to foreground what characterises the electoral process in Nigeria politics. It is a reflection of the political scene in Nigeria as one in which people of questionable characters manoeuvre their ways to seats of power. Criminals are elected into positions of authority to lead the people, in most of the cases, in Nigeria politics. *Òtẹ̀ N’ibò* portrays the political situation during the First Republic with the memory of its electoral violence and political assassination that is popularly referred to as ‘Operation Wet E’ in the South western part of Nigeria, that ushered in the Military government. *Orilawẹ̀ Àdìgún* depicts the political situation during the Third Republic in Nigeria. The picture of what transpired between the NPN (National Party of Nigeria) and UPN (Unity Party of Nigeria) in Nigeria is exposed. It is a reflection of struggle for political power and supremacy among the ethnic groups in Nigeria notably, Hausa, Igbo and Yorùbá tribes as emphasis is made on issues of maginalisation and conflict in party politics.

Saworoide depicts the political situation in Nigeria and the reason for struggle for political power. It advances greed and selfishness of the political leaders as the major cause of struggle for political power and political leadership crisis in Nigeia. It exposes political leadership corruption which is directly linked to exploitation of the natural resources of the state for personal use through diversion of public funds and collaboration with foreigners to do this. The novel reflects the political situation during the civilian administration and military regime as represented in Lapite who

assumed kingship role fraudulently without upholding the standard norm of leaders' selection and the approved process, Lágàta, a retired military officer, also exhibits military dictatorship style to administer the state. Both governments are guilty of economic corruption, insincerity and insensitivity to the plight of the masses. It advances collective struggle in terms of protests to fight political leaders' oppressive stances and corruption or their corrupt practices, as depicted through the youth's protest in the novel.

In *Ìjàmbá Sèlú*, what characterised the military regime in Nigeria politics are depicted as represented in General Àjùwòn and General Tayese respectively. The identified political leadership failure, ethnic crisis, high level of corruption, insensitivity and insincerity of Àjùwòn's government which called for another military coup and another regime under the leadership of General Tayese who led shortly but reshaped the system through fighting corruption are depicted. He was killed in a bloody coup.

Àkùkọ Gágàrà depicts the military regimes in Nigeria at a particular time. The two regimes were described as being anti-human rights governments. Corruption is highly apparent in public sectors; undue hardship is the experience of the masses without hope, absence of freedom of speech and political assassinations reign supreme. All forms of corruption are exhibited by political leaders during the period and emergence of civilian administration. The incidents during the period are well treated as there is a sign of relief on the part of the masses. The scenes are presented using General Déndè, General Aláásà and Chief Ìwàlẹwà.

The study demonstrates that although Nigeria claims to be politically independent, the country is still dependent on the forces of the Europeans that colonised the land, because the political operations in Nigeria still nurture the colonial structure, institutions and apparatuses in her polity. Consequently, the hope and aspiration of the masses are dashed.

Ìşọlá advocates for the use of rites and oath-taking as a way of curbing the trend of corruption in the society. He advances that oath-taking is a precondition for appointment of a king in Jogbo before the final declaration as the recognised king of the land. This oath of allegiance which will stop him from involving in corruption or corrupt practices. The king is conditioned to observe some rites and take the oath as prescribed. The land was flourishing during the tenure of the kings that took the

oath, while there was wide spread corruption in the land during the tenure of the kings that refused to observe the rites and taken the oath of allegiance to the people they were to lead.

Ìṣọlá avers that unless there is protest by the masses to stop the oppressors and exploiters that are leading them in the society, the situation may continue. The masses are being oppressed by those that occupy positions of authority and leadership. He depicts mobilisation of youths for protests to get rid of tyrannical reign of corrupt leaders in Nigeria, in particular. The youths protested and overpowered Làgàtà; this ends the tyrannical reign in Jogbo land.

The study establishes that both democratic leadership and military leadership are corrupt and involve in corruption; '*kò sọmọ re Kankan nínú ìbọ̀n*' (there is no good one among the guns). Both civilian and military oppress the masses, and the leaders in either administration are not patriotic in the discharge of their constitutional roles as political leaders. What the military identified as the reason for taking power from the civilians were the things which they themselves involved in when they got hold of power. Furthermore, it is revealed that the selected novels (especially, *Ìjàmbá Sèlú* and *Àkùkọ̀ Gàgàrà*) advance greed and selfishness of the political leaders as the major causes of struggling for political power and political leadership crisis in Nigeria. This is also depicted in *Saworoidẹ* which opines political leadership corruption which is directly linked to exploitation of the natural resources of the state for personal use through diversions of public funds and collaboration with the foreigners to do this. It advances collective struggle in terms of protest to fight political leaders' oppressive stances and corruption as depicted through the youths' protest in the novel. Olábímtán's *Baba Rere* blames the society for celebrating wealth at the expense of merit and standard. The author exposes nefarious activities of Balógun of Sohò in the illegal smuggling and production and selling of fake drugs. He emphasises that this is not limited to the society, but the traditional institution is also involved in celebrating wealth to give chieftaincy titles to people of questionable characters in the society.

It is evident, from all the eight selected texts, that Yorùbá culture is against injustice, oppression and perversion of justice as the characters in them revolt against and condemn the flaws noticed in the leadership styles of the political class and bad governance. Dúrójàiyé is accused of abuse of power, illegal detention, favouritism, nepotism and perversion of justice in *Baba Rere*. The youths and some elders wage war against tyrannical rule of Lápitẹ and Làgàtà in *Saworoidẹ*, through mass protests.

The dictatorial actions of the rulers during the regimes of General Déndè and General Aláásà are satirised and revolted against by the masses and the press in *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà*. Inept political leadership, corruption or corrupt practices are criticised and rejected in *Gbọ̀baniyì* and *Ọmọ Olókùn Èsin*. Also, abuse of power, corruption and ineffective and inefficient political leadership are condemned in *Ìjámhá Sèlú* especially through the regime of General Àjùwọ̀n. In Yorùbá culture, good deeds and virtues are extolled, while corruption, injustice and oppression are denounced.

However, from the study it is discovered that the masses and general populace in the world prefer the civilian rule, despite its shortcomings to the military rule because of its features of deprivation of freedom of expression, as well as corruption and dictatorship style of administration. This is expressed in *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà (Bí ọ̀gágun Déndè bá kọ lẹ̀tá sí Ààrẹ orilẹ̀ èdè mìíran bí Amẹ́ríkà, wọ̀n á dá èsì padà pé kó má wáa sílù wọ̀n, nítorí ètò isèlú àwọ̀n kò fàyẹ̀ gba Ààrẹ ológun)* ‘If General Déndè writes to other nations like America that he wanted to pay a visit there, they will reply him that he should not come because their government do not recognise the Military rule.

6.3. Contribution to knowledge

The thesis examined the earlier works on Yorùbá written novels, especially those that centre on the political situation in Nigeria. References made to other literary works on related issues. The study reveals the causes, forms and types of corruption and political leadership corrupt practices in Nigeria. It identifies corrupt political leadership as bane to development in Africa and Nigeria, in particular.

The study establishes the facts that corrupt political leadership is a major obstacle to the overall development of Nigeria as other factors revolve around it. The novelists represent Nigeria as a nation blessed with both natural and human resources, but unfortunate to be governed and led by coalition of bad and inept political leaders.

The study also discovers that the novelists are unique visionaries who through their creativity employ satirical tactics to represent the political scenes and situations in their society. They represent the socio-political realities of their society, especially the political events after the independence in Nigeria. The novelists are able to establish that post-independence political leaders operate the tenets of the colonial masters which are deceitful, fraudulent and oppressive in nature. This, to a great extent, is affecting democratic stability, good governance and societal development. The

operations of self-rule leaders are not better than those of the colonial masters because the indigenous political leaders are just serving as agents to the colonial masters.

The study also finds out how to get rid of corrupt political leadership in the polity, collective efforts and joint struggles of the masses are required with a view to ending political leadership oppression and injustice in the society. This is a conformity with Yorùbá philosophy that ‘the hand that is paining one should not be folded (ọwọ ti bá ń dún ni, ẹnikan kì í fi sáábé asọ), and that silence is overendurance, while suffering prolongs it (ẹni tó bá dákẹ́, tara rẹ a bá a dákẹ́). The masses, especially the youths in *Şaworoide* react to political oppression and injustice in their kingdom, and they overcome the trauma of bad leadership through protests. Communal effort is required to get rid of bad leadership and to institute good governance in the society.

The study is a necessary addition to the existing literature on issues of political leadership, poor governance and corruption, and their effects on political, socio-economic and general developments of Nigeria, as a nation, as it investigates corrupt political leadership, not only as post- independence experience, but also as a feature of pre-independence period. It will serve as a robust material in Yorùbá novels in the areas of political leadership and corruption or corrupt practices.

It is established that corrupt political leadership constitutes a major impediment to good governance, democratic stability and overall development in Nigeria as a result of the negative effects of colonialism on the traditional political structure, apparatus and institution.

Lastly, the study demonstrates corrupt political leadership as a stigma and feature that characterises governance in Africa and Nigeria, in particular right from the feudalism/monarchical period up to the democratic and military intervention regimes.

6.4. Conclusion

Corrupt political leadership and other issues related to misgovernance have been identified as the major factors that have eroded the basis of authority of the state and a challenge to the legitimacy of democracy as the best form of governance. There is need for reshaping and restructuring of electoral process in order to produce purposeful and committed leaders in the society. Issues of accountability, transparency and responsiveness on the part of political leadership and awareness on the part of the followership on their basic human rights should be well taken care of in the polity. There is a great link between democracy and development in the society which can

only be realised through effective and efficient leadership that be. Participatory democracy should be encouraged as rightly suggested by the novelists in their respective works.

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OMO OLÓKUN ẸSIN

Adébáyọ Fálétí , 1970

Ájáyí, the son of olókun ẹsin, a lesser chief, dissatisfied with the humiliating effect of political domination of Olókò and oppressive treatment his people experienced from Òkò people in form of servitude. He rebuffs servitude to Òkò people and risks his life to liberate his people from the servitude. Ájáyí fights with Róti, the king's representative on the field where they are collecting tathching grass. He is humiliated, maltreated and undergoes series of physical suffering, together with his co-activists, Ibiwùmí, the daughter of Òtu village head and Àyòwí.

Àjáyí and others were imprisoned and condemned to death by Olókò before they eventually regain their freedom, and the people of Òkè-Ògùn are able to regain their freedom from Òkò people. There is a serious crisis between Àjáyí, Olúmokó and his chiefs as a result of misunderstanding of Àjáyí's view and ideology on freedom and liberation of his people. Olúmokó declares Òkè-Ògùn people a free from any form of servitude at last. Àjáyí and other freedom fighters are humiliated, maltreated, oppressed and punished, but because of their strong determination to free their people, they get freedom from their serfdom to Olúmokò.

ŞAWOROİĐE

Akinwùmí İşòlá, 2008

Lápité contested the kingship post of Jogbo with other contestants including Adébòmí. Eventually, Lápité was elected. It is tradition that the king-elect must undergo some rites and observe oath-taking before he can be finally presented and declared king before the people. Because of the inordinate motive of Lápité to involve himself in corruption and shady acts in Jogbo, he vehemently disagreed to take the oath of allegiance that serves as check to any Oníjogbo not to involve in corruption or corrupt practices and other nefarious acts. Lápité became king and involved himself in all sorts of corruption or corrupt practices such as from moral corruption, spiritual corruption and financial or economic corruption. He started embezzling state money and diverting public funds to foreign accounts. His chiefs also involve themselves in corrupt practices at the expense of being responsible and embarking on socio-economic development of the town. He ignored the cry of the masses who were being oppressed and abused by the political leaders in Jogbo. He assassinated prince Adébòmí

that contended with him and his wife. The crown, one of the symbols of the oath, was taken away by the youths to dethrone him. He was eventually killed by Làgàta, who shot him on the chest, without fulfilling his promise to regain the missing crown for him.

Làgàta, another native of Jogbo who was a retired soldier promised to recover the stolen crown for Lápité, but instead, he seized power from him. Làgàta was also involved in corruption, and his reign was too short because of his death as a result of non-compliance with the tradition of oath taking in Jogbo.

The youths of Jogbo staged a protest that ushers in a new lease of life and absolute end to the tyrannical rules of the bad leaders in Jogbo. At last, Arésèjóbàtà was installed as Oníjogbo, and married Arápájàngan. His reign witnesses peace and development of Jogbo kingdom.

GBÓBANÍYÌ

Oládipò Yemítan, 1972

Bámdélé Atipàkó travelled abroad to study but returned empty handed. He was appointed the Chairman of Egbé Ọmọ Ọkè-Irà (Association of Ọkè-Irà Indigenes in London). He was so actively involved in the association's activities that he could not pay the required attention to his studies. Therefore, he ended up a failure academically. He was fond of criticising other peoples views and practices.

Adéríbigbé exhibits favouritism in his leadership operations by involving in nepotism. Adéríbigbé, who was the Local Government Chairman, offered Bámdélé a job, but disappointedly, he started collecting bribes and kickbacks from people- what he himself had criticised while he was away in London. He was considered to be a trustworthy person and was given a chieftancy title 'Gbóbaníyi. After the demise of the reigning king, Bámdélé shows intention to contest for the kingship post in Ọkè-Irà.

Bámdélé abandons Tífilọlá the wife he married right from London and followed Síkirá he met after he started involving himself in corrupt practices. Síkirá cherished clothes and jewelries, and this led to Bámdélé's misfortune; they later separated, and he went back to his wife Tífilọlá when he had lost all his possessions to reckless life.

Ọ TÈ NÌBÒ

Olú Owólabí, 1988

Before the advent of colonialism, the people were practising the traditional system of administration in which the ọba was the head of government. It was peaceful, orderly, well organised and harmonious. The introduction of the democratic system of government represents a transition from the traditional system of government to democratic system with introduction of elections and their attendant chaos and violence. The contest and electioneering experiences between Olókò and Alágùnfon party were problematic and violent in nature. Aríkàwé and Ọbayẹmí contested for the House of Assembly election. The experience was bitter. The election in the house favoured Ọbayẹmí against Aríkàwé, Ọbayẹmí became the leader of the new government in Ìbàdàn, but there was violence everywhere. The violence that erupted after the election claimed the life of Ejalónibú.

The contest between Gbadéro an Ọdédèjì resulted in enmity and hatred, and disrupted their friendship. The two are contested for senate post. Also, Akinkúnmi and Babátúnde became enemies as a result of the contest for the senate seat at the national level.

After four years, another election conducted was not in favour of Ọbayẹmí. This time, he had to leave the political power in the hand of his deputy, who was Ọgbéni Seéni Akínjọlá. Ọbayẹmí's political power was relegated in Lagos which is the centre of national government; he was just an opposition leader, instead of head of government. This generated interpersonal conflict between the Ọbayẹmí and Akínjọlá and their wives; they became arch enemies.

As a result of political rivalry, Ọbayẹmí, together with some other famous politicians was alleged and charged for felony. The judge convicted Ọbayẹmí. and he was sentenced to imprisonment.

Another election after this time resulted in violence and tribulation. Because of this development the military overthrew the democratic government, and many people were killed, among them was Mr. Seéni Akínjọlá who was murdered in cold blood.

BABA RERE

Afolábí Olábimtan, 1978

Duródọla is a smuggler; he has questionable character and became wealthy through an illegal trade. He is involved in criminal activities as he is always ready to kill any custom officer on his way. He serves as an enemy of the state through remodelling and selling of fake drugs, drinks and other prohibited items to the citizens of Sohò. He stops the business and turns to politics using the proceeds from illegal business to get what he wants in Sohò.

Dúródọlá, through the influence of money and cooperation of his close friend, Ojo Kure, is able to secure the traditional title of Balogun of Sohò, a title that is meant for a particular lineage in Sohò. Duródọla uses money to buy the chieftancy title for himself and his wife; also uses money to win the hearts of electorate.

Òjọ who is an intimate friend of Dúródọlá starts envying him and is looking for an opportunity to blackmail him. This is done because of Òjọ's inordinate ambition for political power.

Dúródọlá is elected as the Chairman of his local government after he had used money and influence to suppress Òjọ, his friend, who formed another political party to frustrate Duródọlá's political ambition. Duródọla has questionable character but contested for a chairmanship post in Sohó and won.

ORÍLAWÈ ÀDÌGÚN

Afolábí Olábimtan 1993

There are political contests and elections in Owódé; their campaigns witness blackmail, violence, vandalism, character assassination, perversion of justice from propaganda, political opponents, and the like. Nínálowó eventually wins the election by defeating Motótán political party. The elected party dominates power at the Federal level.

Lawè is a journalist that is deeply involved in politics. He always defends the course of his people in Owódé, as a member of the ruling political party. The ruling party, Nínálowó under the leadership of the Head of government (President) shares political offices to people the position of Chairmanship of Boards of parastatals. In the distribution of political posts, ethnicity and marginalisation become important factors. Out of the eight political posts shared, people from Owódé are not considered for any

post. Instead, five political posts are given to the people from Àwẹra, two posts given to Imirin people, while only one is given to Odùràyà. This generates communal conflict, as Owódé people and other sections of the state feel marginalised and cheated.

Lawẹ is seriously angry with this development, that none of his kinsmen from Owódé is considered for any political post; this resulted to the use of diabolical means to upturn the initial arrangement of the political posts by Nínálowo party. He influences the arrangement by re-arranging the names and the posts and giving some posts to his people, despite the fact that he was aware that the chairmen had been notified about their appointments before the meeting with the president. This causes destabilisation among the members of Nínálowo family.

At last, the military took over power as a result of these inordinate and undemocratic practices of nínálowo party in Owódé.

ÌJÀMBÁ ŞÈLÚ

Olú Owólabi, 1981

Àjùwọ̀n received military training and was commissioned into the army; he rose to the highest rank in military and eventually became the head of state after a civilian administration in the state was alleged to be corrupt, oppressive and unfocused. His tenure was characterised with high level of bribery and corruption; kickback was legalised; there was suspension of constitution and all sorts of indiscipline acts. The economy of the state was booming but mis-management of the economy by the military administrators, under Àjùwọ̀n, affected the socio-economic and political status of the state. His government was toppled by another military officer with a view to correct the wrongs noticed in Àjùwọ̀n's government.

Táyése was named the head of military government after the coup that ousted Àjùwọ̀n's corrupt and oppressive rule in the state. Not quite long that he assumed power, things started taking normal shape in the society. There was a relief for the masses, and corruption was brought under check.

ÀKÙKỌ GÀGÀRÀ

Lérè Adéyẹmí, 2001

General Déndè is the military Head of State in Ètànłókùn. His tenure is characterised by misgovernance, corruption, oppression of the masses, abuse of power,

incarceration of the press men and alot of other anti-democratic tendencies. There were meetings and plans to overthrow him in order to bring sanity to the governance in the land. General Déndè abuses political power, and is involved in political murder and monumental corruption. He and his military governors are also corrupt and tyrannical. He is out of power when he notices that people are vehemently against his government, and his safety could not be guaranteed anymore.

General Aláásà is announced as the Head of the military government after the end of the tyrannical rule of General Déndè in Ètànłókùn. The level of atrocities and corruption noticed during General Aláásà's regime is more than that of General Déndè in Ètànłókùn. He embezzles state funds and abuses political power; his tenure is shortlived as he was reported dead, not quite long he ascended the leadership of the state.

There was an election after this Chief Ìwàlẹwà emerged as the democratically elected President of Ètànłókùn. As soon as he came on board, the masses started breathing a sigh of relief from the oppressive rule and undemocratic experiences of the two military regimes of General Déndè and General Aláásà in Ètànłókùn.