Post-Independence African Literature and the Theme of disillusionment: Reflections on Achebe’s A Man of the People and Armah’s The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born

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ABSTRACT

The theme of disillusionment is a prevalent and dominant issue in post-independence African literature. As a result, many African writers and Achebe and Armah in particular had an enduring tendency to the social and political aspects of their societies. Perhaps all their texts pinpoint the socio-political events in their societies. More generally, it’s commonly known that African literature goes through different stages which differ in the subject matters. First, African literature was an instrument for rejoicing the heroic grandeur of the Africa past, and later it was used for anti-colonial resistance. Actually, it is being used as an absolute weapon for depicting post-independence disillusionment in African nations. In this paper an effort will be made to inspect the theme of disillusionment in post-independence African literature. Two of the most powerful novels which deal with betrayal of the masses, Achebe’s A Man of the People and Armah’s the Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born will be used as the case studies for the discussion.

Keywords: Literature, Africa, Disillusionment, post-independence

INTRODUCTION

Africa has been betrayed. Fifty years of freedom from colonial rule has evolved into dissent, and the wanton slaughter of peasants. When African nationalists fought the battle for independence against the colonial power, they did so believing that upon accession to power, the wealth of the continent would remain in Africa for African development. The assumption was that political power would enhance this process. It has been over five decades since African countries started gaining their freedom; yet political and economic stability has eluded the continent. Indeed, the continent has become more underdeveloped today than it was in the past. And this underdevelopment is due to the fact that political and economic stability resulted in no more than
many promises. However, these promises still unfulfilled. This malicious betrayal drives the deep sense of disillusionment, despair and anger among Africans.

For most Africans, independence did not bring a better life or even greater political and civil liberties. This comparative statement troubles many because they misinterpret it as a "veiled justification of colonialism". Nothing could be further from the truth. Africans overwhelmingly rejected colonial rule. Colonialism was "invidious", and Africans expected the quality of their lives to improve markedly after the independence. They were sorely disappointed.

The disillusionment of the African people with their leaders began earlier in 1960s. The colonial injustice was perpetrated against the African people. But the leadership, which assumed power after independence, continued with the same denigration and oppression of the people. It was more painful when the atrocities were being committed by the very leaders who claimed to have brought freedom to Africa (Ayittey, 1992).

The reality of Africa after the independence is usually depicted in the literary works produced by African writers. Ngugi put it bluntly when he said: “To the majority of African people in the new state, independence did not bring fundamental changes. It was independence with the ruler holding a begging bowl and the ruled holding a shrinking belly. It was independence with question mark". (Ngugi, 1993, p.65)

Unfortunately, political independence did not lead to the desired freedom and transformation. The elite who took over from colonialists rather than dismantling colonial structures of social injustice and oppression almost preserve them for opportunistic ends.

_A Man of the People_ and _The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born are_ both outlets for the expression of their authors' dissatisfaction with what Africans generally made of political independence. These novels can be considered as powerful novels written on political and moral decay in independent Ghana and Nigeria. Achebe in _A Man of the People_ tried to find where they went wrong, where the rain began to beat us. (Ngugi, 1972) The disillusionment in this novel is brilliantly captured in the image of the rain and the house in which the writer reveals the reality of the nation immediately after the years of the independence.

Armah’s novel, _The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born_ depicts the confusing harshness, the post-independent Ghanaian society. The temporal setting concurs with the twilight of Kwame
Nkrumah's government. The work in division was encouraged by the author's disenchantment with the unexpected collapse of socialist democratic ideals inaugurate at the independence in 1957. (Adeodi, 2006)

Perhaps the strongest message that Armah wants to reveal is the betrayal of Africa by its leaders. Armah was galled by the reality of new nation. He asks a question in a surprising way, how far Africa will be cursed with its horrible leaders. The crises of leadership in *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Born* are underscored in the man's lack of faith in new military leaders of 1966. (Hay, 2000)

Surprisingly, if someone looks at the period after the independence, the people who had fought for the independence were betrayed. The principal cause of Africa's demise is the failure of its leaders to provide effective government. The people who now run the government were actually on the other side. These ruling elites have been preoccupied with holding power for the purpose of self-enrichment, not for the advancement of their own people. Once they replaced the colonial rulers, they became just like them. Henceforth, one can say that there are no changes just the white faces were replaced by black faces. (Ayintey, 1992)

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This paper is based on the qualitative method. It deals with analyzing and scrutinizing texts. More importantly, the paper is inspired by the major African writers who have written very extensively on the theme of disenchantment in post-independence African literature such as Chinua Achebe and Ayi Kwei Armah. It endeavors to inspect two of the most powerful African novels. *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* which are two example of post-independence disillusionment. These novels considered to be among the most powerful novels of disillusionment and bitter self-criticism. Achebe and Armah tried to express their views on the betrayal of Africa after the independence, which many people expected to be the beginning of the golden era where political freedom can be seen with its real meaning, but it was not more than a hope.

**DISCUSSION**

The disenchantment of the masses in post-independence literature has been clearly shown in most of African literature, be it prose or poetry. Both *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful
Ones Are Not Yet Born are existential and societal realities portrayed in a fictional way. Achebe and Armah’s views of their societies’ filth, decadence, pains, corruption and political conflicts are well exposed in these two novels.

In A Man of the People and the Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born, the reader encounters new realistic fiction from Nigeria and Ghana. However, the tone of disillusionment and pain are stronger in the Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born than in A Man of the People. Achebe tried to express the disillusionment about the last promises of African independence. In terms of the socio-political contradiction that are being considered, particularly at the level of the stated ideas, the metaphor of the rain and house is in A Man of the People can be regarded as the crux or theme of the work. Nevertheless, Odili uses the metaphor of one who has been in the rain in order to justify how corrupt Nanga is:

We had all been in the rain together until yesterday. Then a handful of us – the smart and the lucky and hardly ever the best – had scrambled for the one shelter our former rulers left, and had taken it over and barricaded themselves in. And from within they sought to persuade the rest through numerous loudspeakers, that the first phase of the struggle had been won and that the next phase – the extension of our house – was even more important and called for new and original tactics; it required that all argument should cease and the whole people speak with one voice and that any more dissent and argument outside the door of the shelter would subvert and bring down the whole house. (Achebe, 1966, p. 42)

In this statement everyone is viewed as responsible for this dilemma: The masses with their cynicism; and the elite even people like Odili are shown as being close to Nanga with their greed, lack of creativity and dependence on their former colonial rulers (Ngugi, 1972). Odili suggests that in a man, who has just come in front of the rain, dried himself and put on new clothes. From Odili point of view this person is unwilling to leave his place than another one who has been indoors all the time. From Odili perspective those who are inside the house are more reluctant to go out. So, he surmises this is the trouble with the new nation. Odili sees the people as having been all in the rain together until yesterday, which means independence. Odili considers the smart and the lucky are the new ruling elite, because of their privileged position.
Nevertheless, Odili tries in the metaphor of the house to use poverty as a good reason of African politicians` compromise of honesty. The foundation of such justification comes when it draws on him if he becomes a minister “I had to confess that if I were at that moment made a minister I would be most anxious to remain one for ever”. (37). According to him, the whole society is neck deep in corruption; and such an ugly state. But when someone ponders about this metaphor we can say that people are incapable of rejecting the strong temptation to become corrupt. This might be true when one looks at it from Nanga’s perspective. He becomes a minister after several years as a poor teacher. His ministerial position offers him the opportunity to enrich himself and he can hardly reject such a powerful temptation. But it is also indicative of the line of action Odili might be seduced when he finds his opportunity (Udumukwu, 1996). In the following passage Odili reveals the situation of the new nation after the independence:

A common saying in the country after independence was that it didn’t matter what you knew but who you knew. And, believe me, it was no idle talk. For a person like me who simply couldn’t stoop to lick any Big Man’s boots it created a big problem. In fact one reason why I took this teaching job in a bush, private school instead of a smart civil service job in the city with car, free housing, etc., was to give myself a certain amount of autonomy. So when I told the Minister that I had applied for a scholarship to do a post-graduate certificate of his help. (Achebe, 1966, p. 17)

As Lindfors cited from Erritouni’s article 2006 that colonial departure is not a real case, Africa has faced a new phase of dependency, namely, neo-colonialism. Speaking of A Man of the People, he says:

The colonial departure from the scene was not really a departure. I mean independence was unreal, and people like Nanga the Chief-government minister in A Man of the People were actually used as front men, as puppets, by the former colonial power...so I think in every basic sense characters like Nanga flourished because the colonial situation leading to the independence period in Africa made it possible. (Lindfors, 1972, 10-11 appeared in Erritouni)
The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born is a richly suggestive work and its publication placed Armah in the front position of the new generation of African writers. In his depiction of a society on the edge of suicide, Armah has created a deeply disturbing picture of the foibles of all decadent political systems of all late bourgeois’ world where morals and values have been lost and even the man of good intentions begins to doubt his sanity, begins to feel that he is the guilty one for not being corrupt. It is a novel which burns with passion and tension, with a fire so strongly flamed that in every word and every sentence one can almost hear or smell the burning of the author’s own flesh (Larson, 1971).

Armah in The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born gives a graphic picture of the disillusionment and pain after the independence. His outrage emanates from the failure of the leaders to fulfil the promises. He asks:

How long will Africa be cursed with its leaders? There were men dying from the loss of hope, and others were finding gaudy ways to enjoy power they did not have. We were ready here for big and beautiful things, but what we had was our own black men hugging new paunches scrambling to ask the white man to welcome them onto our backs. These men who were to lead us out of our despair, they came like men already grown fat and cynical with the eating of centuries of power they had never struggled for, old before they had ever been born into power, and ready only for the grave. They were lawyers before, something growing greasy on the troubles of people who worked out the land, but now they were out to be saviours. Their brothers and friends were merchants eating what was left in the teeth of the white men with their companies. (Armah, 1968, pp. 80-81)

African leaders were captivated by European charisma and yearn to be European more than Europeans. They form alliances with the old colonial relations. Armah wants to convey that the new African leaders simply became darker shadow of the white men:

There is something so terrible in watching a black man trying all points to be dark ghost of a European, and that was what we were seeing in those days. Men had risen to lead the hungry came in clothes the might have been hoping to use at Governors’ Balls on the birthday of the white people’s queen, carrying cufflinks that shone insulting in the faces of men who had stolen pennies from their friends. They came
late and spoke to their servants in the legal English they had spent their lives struggling
to imitate, taking of constitutions and offering us unseen ghosts of words and paper
held holy by Europeans, and they asked to be faithful and to trust in them. (Armah,
1968, pp. 81-82)

From Armah point of view, independence brought little changes and Africans were
disappointed. Then, he attacks in a direct way the president of Ghana whom he believes did not
change anything when he was leading the government. He states:

Life has not changed. Only some people have been growing, becoming
different, that is all. After a youth spent fighting the white man, why should
not the president discover, as he grows older that has real desire has been to
be like the white governor himself, to live above all blackness in the big old
slave castle? And the men around him, why not? What stops them sending
their loved children to kindergartens in Europe? (Armah, 1968, p. 92)

Ibrahim's gave a real picture of African independence; he says that African novel reflects
social and political realities of the post-independence epoch in which political leaders have
replaced the colonizer. He believes that African literature of the past two decades has transformed
the theme of disillusionment. When the colonizer was once the only object of criticism, now
African government bureaucrats are depicted exploiting the masses they had promised to support
(Ibrahim, 1990).

A. Pre-independence Leaders

According to Lindfors African leader before the independence was a superman. He was
combating to bring his nation to independence; he was the voice and emblem of African aspirations
for a wonderful future. When independence was achieved, his people hailed him as father of the
country, dominant chief, liberator, and living god. However, by the 1960s the African politicians
had fallen from grace and in many parts of the continent had turned into a villain. He was
mismanaging the affairs of the nation, robbing the poor to enrich himself and his wealthy
colleagues, and ruthlessly suppressing oppression and dissent. His people now often considered
him a criminal, a monster a dictator, a vain fool. In several countries his overdoing brought about
his own ruin. The rhetoric rise and sudden eclipse of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana as we have seen
in one of the studied novels perhaps best illustrate the two polarities in this changing popular image of the African politician. (Lindfors 1994)

Kwame Nkrumah is one of those leaders that cannot be left without being mentioned, especially when it comes to the African ideals. Through his books Ghana The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah tells a lot about his profile as a leader of his nation whose target is to lead his nation to the independence, he adds: “so many worlds, so much to do, so little done, such things to be... it fired within me a determination to equip myself for the service of my country” (Nkrumah, 1957, p vii). Therefore, independence was the biggest target “Independence for the Goald Coast was my aim. It was a colony and I have always regarded colonialism as the policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties.” (Nkrumah, 1957, p.vii)

In the fictional works produced by African writers in the fifties and sixties, one frequently finds sketches and sometimes full-length portraits of real and unreal African, and these representations, whether drawn from life or imagination, are worth studying as reflections of popular attitudes toward politicians in Africa. The image of African leader changed once the independence was achieved, he became a new person.

It should be stressed at that the image of the fictional African politician is something rather different from the image of the real African politician in fiction. African literature about real African political leaders tends always to be adulatory, at least while the leader is in power. In Ghana, for example, Nkrumah’s friends and subjects showered him with rhymed flattery between 1957 and 1966, but none of this court poetry has been seen since Nkrumah’s ouster. Similarly, Nigerian newspapers frequently carried poems praising outstanding Nigerian politicians until the 1966 military coup (Lindfors, 1994).

Of course, tempting to look upon every politician in African fiction as real person masked and to search for the faces that best fit the masks, but such lines of inquiry seldom lead very far. Lindfors says “I would be more profitable to think of the fictional politician as representing not a particular person but a particular type of person and to search not for individual correspondences with reality but for typological differences in the images presented” (Lindfors, 1994, p.104). In African literature written before independence the leader is usually pictured as a leading national, a man of courage, integrity, and high moral character. This image can be seen in novels from South Africa, Sierra Leone and Malawi.
Peter Abrahams, a South African Cape Coloured writer, had been living in voluntary exile in London for more than fifteen years when his novel, *A Wreath for Udomo*, was published in 1956, only nine months before Ghana attained its independence in March 1957. He had associated with Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and numerous other Africans in England who had returned to their home countries to lead nationalist movements. His novel tells the story of Udomo, a dedicated nationalist who leaves London, where he had lived for several years in the company of African and West Indian intellectuals, and returns to this homeland, Parafrica, to lead the struggle for independence. Udomo starts a newspaper, enlists the support of African market women who control a good portion of nation’s economy, launches an African freedom party, is thrown in prison, and a few years later emerges as the leader of independent Parafrica. However, he soon learns that “Running a country can be more difficult than winning it” (Abrahams, 1956, p. 201).

Before independence he had sworn to send the white man away, but now he realizes that his country needs white manpower and or strategy that resemble it. He had also sworn to be against the white regime in Pluralia, a neighbouring country where Africans are denied any voice in the government, but now economic cooperation with Pluralia seems highly desirable. In these dilemmas he always elects the alternative that will help his country to advance more rapidly; his ambition as he says “to carry the country to a point where there can be no going back, to make the great transition from the past to the present.” (Abrahams, 1956, p. 255)

Most organizing is the dilemma that confronts him when Pluralia demands that he turns over Mhendi, a Pluralian freedom fighter Udomo had befriended in London and had promised to help after winning independence in Panafrica. If Mhendi did not surrender to pluralian authorities, Pluralia will withdraw the financial and technical assistance Udomo has been relying upon to modernize his country’s economy. Faced with such a choice, he once again puts his own country’s interests first. Five years later Udomo is killed by Panafrican tribalists who accuse him of fraternizing with whites and betrayed his own people (Abrahams, 1956).

Udomo is a brave man who sacrifices everything for his country. He leads his people to independence and tries to lead them into the modern world. He is willing to compromise certain of his principles and even sacrifices the life of a close friend if by so doing his country will be able to make the great transition from the past to the present. In that time, he succeeded and his country
makes progress, but eventually the forces of darkness he fought against overwhelm him (Abrahams, 1956).

A similar hero can be found in *The African* a novel written by historian William Conton of Sierra Leone and published in 1960, one year before Sierra Leone attained its independence. Kisima Kamara prepares to return to his native country, Songhai, after five years of study in London he and his close friend now to free our beloved country from the shackles of imperialism and even leads it into self-government (Conton, 1960).

Kamara, like Udomo, is a great national hero who lends his country to independence and is rewarded for his labours by being elected to assume control of the country after independence. But, unlike Udomo, Kamara is willing to help in the struggle for independence in South Africa (Pluralia). He is thus an even more idealized hero, a brave knight whose shining armour never gets tarnish (Lindfors, 1994).

The distinction in the image of the African politician as a nationalist hero can be seen in a Malawian novel, Aubrey Kachingwe’s *No Easy Task*, which was published in January 1966 but had been largely written before Malawi attained its independence in July 1964. A journalist who sees his elderly father narrates the story, a simple village pastor, and step forward at the invitation of a young nationalist party to unite the people of his country in a drive for self-government. The venerable old pastor is introduced at a political rally as a man that people can trust, “a man of peace, of love, of goodwill a good man, a brave man a man who fears God, a man given us by the Almighty” (Kachingwe, 1966, p. 164).

The people are fed up with corrupt, self-seeking politicians, respond enthusiastically to the Old Man, and in the months that follow he recognizes the nationalist party, suffers imprisonment, and leads a party delegation to a London constitutional conference from which he returns with triumphant announcement that reselections are to be held on a “One man one vote” basis, thus allowing Africans the chance to return a majority in the legislative council. The story ends with the country well on its way to independence.

In this novel, the nationalist hero is not a young activist but an Old Man capable of commanding mass support in the drive for *Uhuru*. He makes a link with figures such as Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Hastings Banda in clear. As a nationalist hero, Old Man Josiah Jozeni shares
with Udomo Kamara the strong will, stubborn courage, and unselfish dedication to his people. Such is the image of the African politician in African literature written before independence (Kachingwe, 1966).

Nevertheless, the nationalist hero as a revolutionary in East and South African literature is not very different from the nationalist hero seen elsewhere. Both are brave, moral, unselfish, and self-sacrificing. Both try to change their world so that their people can live in freedom. The politician usually succeeds and upon independence becomes leader of his country the revolutionary sometimes fails and becomes a victim to a lost cause.

B. Post-independence leaders

If someone takes a look at the literature produced by African writers since the independence, he might see an entirely different image of African politician. He is no longer a hero but instead a dishonest. He gives and takes bribes, embezzles off government funds for his own personal use, uses trickery in the elections, imprisons his opponent, and does everything he can, legal and illegal, to ensure that he retains or improves his position. He is an elected representative of the people who is concerned almost exclusively with his own welfare. Such an image of African politician is found in writings from almost all African writers, but Nigerian writers have always been more critical of the leaders than writers in other African countries (Lindfors, 1994).

In Ekweinsi’s first full-length novel, *People of the City* includes an interesting portrait of an elderly politician who claims, “My party fights for the people, for the power. There are poor men in every tribe and race; therefore my party is the Universal “Party” (Kwensi, 1954, pp. 50-51). But he says up against unscrupulous opponents: “They’re out to line their own pockets! They’re out to capture all the highest posts […] say he stands for the workers. The liar he tells them I am deceiving them, that I am an aristo. And he gives them money, so they believe him – that’s the worst of it. (Kweinsi, 1954, p.51)

The hero of the novel, a journalist, listens sympathetically to the old man but during the election campaign he sees him in a different light. First, in Lugard Square, he hears speakers from the self-government now party offer crowds of listeners “hoarse and false promises for better working condition, improved medical services, more and better houses” (Kweinsi, 1954, p. 93).
Then in a narrow lane nearby, he sees the old politician addressing a small group of people: “He was saying much the same thing as the speaker of Lugard Square namely, more houses, more food, more water and more light for the people” (Kweinsi, 1954, p. 94). The moral that can be drawn from this episode is that while some politicians may be more unscrupulous than others, they all offer false promises in an election campaign.

Achebe’s *A Man of the People* is the best evidence of the changing image of African leaders. In Nanga, Achebe has created one of the finest rogues in African fiction. He is by nature and profession consistently immoral. “Chief Nanga was a born politician; he could get away with almost anything he said or did” (Achebe, 1966, p. 73). He is telling people that he is in favour of them, when in fact he is using his position only to further his own selfish interests. He grows fat on graft and lives in ostentatious opulence. In an election year he tries to do everything that can make him stay in his place. His open-handed manner of giving and receiving bribes makes him as one of those dedicated men who seek first the political kingdom and then look for its silver lining.

In Armah’s *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, there is a portrayal of Ghanaian society after the independence. Armah believes that Nkrumah failed to achieve the promises that he was supposed to fulfil. He says that life has not changed.

The image of the fictional African politician in African literature changes radically after the independence. The idealistic, self-sacrificing nationalist is transformed into a greedy, self-seeking opportunist. Even in Nigerian literature, which was not without moderate political satire before independence, the tendency has been for writers to criticize politicians more cruelly and more frequently in recent years. The changing image of the African politician in African literature confirms that Africans have become disillusioned with their politicians since independence.

CONCLUSION

The disenchantment of the masses in post-independent Africa is prevalent in African novels. Both *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* are existential and societal realities of the neo-colonial Ghana and Nigeria. This comes cross the idea of Aijaz that “all the third-world texts are necessarily national allegories” (Aijaz, 1992, p. 101). Armah and Achebe's treatment of the disillusionment and pain is a strong analysis of the African past and present, and a pessimist view of future evolution. Both Achebe and Armah did not lay all the blames for the demise of pain in Africa at the doorstep of the colonial masters; rather they consider
that the neo-colonial indigenous rulers are even worse than the white colonists. The lives of the masses in these two novels suggest that independence in African nations has not been beneficial to the masses.

Before independence, the African leader was portrayed as a devoted person whose aim is to attain the independence how subtle it is. He was the symbol of African aspiration for a bright future. When independence was attained, his people hailed him as the leading father, however, immediately after the independence he was mediocre and the worst person. Since the independence the leaders have used power as a means for accumulating the money of the states this impasse has been seen clearly in *A Man of the People*. The leaders in these novels were dishonest, since they can do anything that can make them stay in power. African leaders were dictators any one in power does not want to be replaced. The politicians usually use power against their masses that they promised to serve as much as they could, but they were really disillusioned. In these two novels the leaders live in good places and the masses in rats and bad environment. This social inequality is plainly seen in both *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*.

Corruption was one of the major hurdles that Africa was facing; this phenomenon is obviously seen in both *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. In *A Man of the People* corruption has been shown as an inevitable problem in African post-independent politics. Odili in *A Man of the People* was depicted at the very beginning as an ideal but at the end of the novel he showed his audience that politics in Africa is not more than ruses. Achebe has used this aspect of Odili in order to depict the situation of the educated elite immediately after the independence. Chief Nanga on the other hand was described as one of the dedicated men, who can get anything he desired. By the same token in *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, the Man was scrambling to change the world around him, but he found out that it is impossible to live without being involved in corruption. In *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* two of the most important metaphors were depicted in this novel; the bus and the banister, which stand for corruption. In these two novels bribery and embezzlement contributed in the malaise that afflicting post-independent African societies.

In both *A Man of the People* and *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, coup d’etat was the only possible solution to remove African leaders from the rainy season. Armah and Achebe were very exasperated by the vast socio-political contradiction in their nations, this leads them to
make out of coup d’ etat full stops for their novels. Achebe was very frustrated by the deplorable situation. He says that “things have got to such point which there is no other answer, no way you can resolve this impasse politically, the political machine had been so abused whichever way you pressed it, it produced the same result. And therefore another force had to come in.” (Killam, 1969, p. 85) This is one of the reasons that push him to conclude the novel with the military coup as a solution for the malaise in his country, and as a solution for any situation which is similar to the Nigerian case.

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