ABSTRACT This paper examines the subject versus object mode of relationship in articulating conclusions and generalizations across gender bias in three culture-specific novels of West Africa. Two of the selected novels are written by women about women. The third, a sociological novel, is by a sympathetic male writer. Because two of the novels can be regarded as sociological works, a sociological model in literary criticism - Lucien Goldmann’s ‘Genetic Structuralism’ - is adopted as the analytical methodology: Events and characters can be examined as subject or object. To reach a fair analysis, the roles must be reversed so that conclusions and judgments can be compared. By so doing, bias and prejudice will be revealed if conclusions have been unfair. This will therefore make for a more realistic portrayal in art and help toward more objective development of literary criticism in the area of gender studies.

Key Words: Subject-Object divide; Colonialism; Womanist; Monogamy; Polygamy; Genetic structuralism.

I.

I consider African Womanist and Feminist Studies a literary model as much as a discipline to discuss text as a means of clarifying forms or canons. This paper will therefore do two things: The first is to try and clarify the significance of what womanist studies, that is, studies on feminist matriarchy should not be about, the second is to discuss three novels from Nigeria and Senegal within the destabilising context of colonialism. The three novels are Buchi Emecheta’s The Joys of Motherhood, (1979, 1981), Mariama Ba’s So Long a Letter (1981) and Sembene Ousmane’s God’s Bits of Wood (1970). The rationale for the choice of the novels are as follows: Emecheta’s novel represents a woman’s outlook on life and culture in a colonial period. It therefore represents some early feminist articulation of one’s cultural and political milieu through encounter of a rural woman with colonial urbanisation who wonders why she suffers deprivation in spite of an optimism dictated by diligence and hard work. Ba’s novel discusses puberty and married life from the perspective of an oppressed woman. Ousmane’s novel, written by a man sympathetic towards feminist matriarchy, or womanism, presents the complementary ‘liberated’ patriarchy groping towards a new balance. It is not as if this scheme is complete in and of itself. At best, it serves as a seminal study towards a re-orientation of theory, from what is often described as feminism towards what is more appropriately, womanism. I will conclude by discussing a framework from the sociology of literature.
Chikwenye Ogunyemi re-defined and categorised what amounted to a womanist as opposed to a feminist position in literary as well as cultural theory. In her opinion:

A black woman writer is likely to be a ‘womanist.’ That is, she will recognise that along with her consciousness of sexual issues, she must incorporate racial, cultural, national, economic and political considerations into her philosophy. (Ogunyemi, 1985: 64)

Ogunyemi further differentiated between womanism and feminism. Womanism, in many ways similar to Western feminism, is a mere integrative ideal. Womanism, for instance, would often underscore the more positive aspects of gender interaction apart from being racially aware. Womanism, instead of denigrating (Black) manhood, recognises its collaborative potential. Womanist writings would, therefore, almost always end in ‘integrative images of male and female worlds’ (Ogunyemi, 1985; La Pin, 1984, 1991). This position has always been borne out by womanism as an operative in traditional worldview and polity (Awe, 1977; Layiwola, 1987).

It is necessary to cite Ogunyemi’s discomfort with an overbearing critical model not because feminism is to be denigrated but because even in the history of Western feminist criticism, the two tendencies of differentiation into feminism/womanism have always been apparent. In this respect, Kate Millet’s *Sexual Politics* (1977) and John Stuart Mill’s “The subjection of women” (Jagger & Struhl, 1978) warrants comparison.

In *Sexual Politics*, Kate Millet is constantly preoccupied with redressing the age-old imbalance in the subjugation of women by men. She constantly cites the extremes in works of literature to back the claim that even sexual conduct has always been intensely political. In works by American writers, Millet calls to attention the paradigm of sexual subjugation. One is Henry Miller’s novel, *Sexus* (1965), which narrates the adventures of a hero, who seduces the wife of his close friend. The novel is a pornograph. With Norman Mailer’s novel, *An American Dream* (1964), the preoccupation is largely the same. The narrator with inverse masochistic tendencies toward the opposite sex kills his wife and rapes his servant. It is important to note that Kate Millet’s book is already a classic in literary feminist criticism, as well as a best-seller.

No critic can resist the incisiveness of Millet’s scholarship but my concern here is this: What real preoccupation has a serious sociologist or literary critic with rendering perverse, pornographic literature as a true sample of female subjugation? Even indecent sexual relations must be brought within the purview of social and political exchange. In attempting to transcend the banal, however, true genius, as Millet often mars her own objectivity which is itself a stage in the de-structive tendencies of an on-going structural process. Every positive criticism portends that a true redress must come in favour of feminism but such criticisms must analyse the terrain as a complete whole. Upholding obscene literatures as the ideal specimen for analytical feminism can only lead to extreme interpretations which abridge the complementarity inherent in the structural processes of the male opposition of women, which I term, the subject-object divide. When particulars are isolated for analysis, they may
neglect the benefit of an inclusive, ramified context. Stuart Mill’s essay (1978) offers a complementary alternative of Womanist criticism.

Mill impressively maps out the terrain, that the oppression of women is part of the minority problems in society, much like the oppression on the grounds of race. The artificiality of gender superiority has been legally written as if it were genuine. Mill’s essay broaches one of the questions which I will tackle at the end of this paper: How is it that the greater oppressors of women are persons of the opposite sex? He puts it thus:

And the case is that in which the desire of power is strongest: For everyone who desires power desires it most over those who are nearest to him, with whom his life is passed, with whom he has most concerns in common, and in whom any independence of his authority is oftenest likely to interfere with his individual preferences. (Mill, 1978: 89)

Mill’s essay infers that it is a perverse or inscrutable kind of fear which makes a man subject that which is dearest to him, and that what we experience at our present historical stage is just a phase of transitional history when subjection is a structural default of equality. The optimism which this proffers is that the inequality against women will eventually be redressed in historical time. He writes:

Through all the progressive period of human history, the condition of women has been approaching nearer to equality with men. This does not of itself prove that the assimilation must go on to complete equality: But it assuredly affords some presumptions that such is the case. (Mill, 1978: 93)

Mill advocates the liberation of women by reposing its analogy in the invocation of ideals. This, certainly, is amenable in the light of our methodology: A gradual realisation of an ideal by counteracting or balancing extremes.

Apart from the models quoted above, I have adopted, as theoretical framework, the French genetic-structuralist model of Lucien Goldmann. Lucien Goldmann (1973) unified developments in evolving cultures around the world. The literature discussed here are, generally, concerned with articulating stages of transition in the individual’s life as well as in society. In other words, the link between Sembene Ousmane’s God’s Bits of Wood (1970) and Mariama Ba’s So Long a Letter (1981) is not so much in their both being West African or Senegalese novels, but in representing transitional stages of human development in constantly evolving societies. After all, no two communities are exactly alike in West Africa, from Gambia to Cameroon. Also, it is fortuitous that Senegal should have been a French colony as opposed to Anglo-Nigeria where Buchi Emecheta’s novel, The Joys of Motherhood (1988), is set. I hope that this explains the preferences for the models adopted. Western Feminism, like its counterpart, African Womanism, is best conceived as stages of articulations in sociological as well as humanistic ideas.
II.

In the three remaining sections of this paper I will illustrate the ways women are either foregrounded in literature as interactive historical subjects and how false consciousness relegates them as inert objects of history. The West African situation presents a two-fold problem. The first is that traditional wisdom classifies womanism as a disadvantaged rival of patriarchy because patriarchy is legitimized into law in most West African societies. The second problem is that colonialism complicates an inherent handicap. Further, many societies on the west coast of Africa have suffered doubly in the colonial encounter because they had yet to recover from Arabic colonialism before European colonialism overtook them. Women in West African societies are easily the most oppressed. I deliberately chose two of the novels for discussion from Senegal where women have had to go through two kinds of colonial encounter: Arabic and French. This aspect of the impact of colonialism on Nigerian women is only just being articulated in the form of novels. In her study of three West African women under colonialism, La Ray Denzer succinctly remarked:

The constraints of European patriarchal policy reinforced the patriarchal structure of traditional, and Muslim, African societies, with the result that the wide variety of women’s indigenous political institutions were rapidly stripped of their former authority and status. During the phase of decolonisation, African male political leaders adopted policies which accelerated this decline. (Denzer, 1992: 217)

Buchi Emecheta’s sociological novel, *The Joys of Motherhood*, presents a gradual decline in the status of women’s indigenous institutions. The form of urbanisation that colonialism presented tended to put emphasis on male wage labour, and women and wives were appendages to these labourers in the service of colonial masters. Whilst men work as factory hands or domestic stewards in the homes of expatriate families, very little provision was made for women whose responsibility it was to support and sustain family life. Thus the economic and social security guaranteed to women in traditional societies were lacking in the urban slums that rapidly expanded under colonialism. The social rules changed so suddenly and estwhile rural women had the carpet pulled from under their feet. This is why the heroine of Emecheta’s novel ruminates aloud:

She might not have any money to supplement her husband’s income, but were they not in a white man’s world where it was the duty of the father to provide for his family? In Ibuza, women made a contribution, but in urban Lagos, men had to be the sole providers; this new setting robbed the woman of her useful role. Nnu Ego told herself that the life she had indulged in with the baby Ngozi had been very risky: She had been trying to be traditional in a modern urban setting. It was because she wanted to be a woman of Ibuza in a town like Lagos that she lost her child. This time she was going to play it according to the new rules.

She would sometimes ask herself how long she must do it. In Ibuza after the child was weaned, one could leave him with an elderly member of the family and go in search of trade. But in Lagos there was no elderly grandparents. (Emechea, 1988: 102-3)
The vision of the housewives in *The Joys of Motherhood*, and particularly through the perspicacity of Nnu Ego, considerable attention is drawn towards the anonymity of the individual attains once out of his or her home village. Nnu Ego had to remind her husband, Nnaife, that his stewardship to an alien master, Dr Meers, had robbed him of the traditional notion of dignity. The search for money makes him wash the undergarments of Mrs Meers; what he wouldn’t do for any woman in his own culture. The same search for survival will make him compete for a military career - a profession where men are supposed to kill for a living! This is how Nnu Ego represents the morality of a tested traditional archetype:

> Have you forgotten that it is a curse in Ibuza for a respectable woman to sleep with a soldier? Have you forgotten the customs of our people completely, Nnaife? First you washed a woman’s clothes, now you want to join people who kill, rape and disgrace women and children, all in the name of the white man’s money. No, Nnaife, I don’t want that kind of money. (Emetcha, 1988: 12)

Strident as she sounds here, the destabilising deprivation under colonialism put the lie to her words. Her husband is forcibly conscripted into the colonial army and she benefits from his pay as a soldier with the Allies in Burma during the second world war.

Such social situation that prevails in the slums of Lagos drives Nnaife to grievously harm a prospective suitor to his daughter. Partly due to Nnaife’s deprivation and partly deriving from increasing monetisation of social relations, Nnaife and Nnu Ego find themselves alienated from the realities of their culture. This is the reason she symbolically retraces her steps back to Ibuza where she could monitor the development of their children who are destined to live in the city of their birth. Whatever material investments the likes of Nnu Ego have put in the colonial era, their only consolation lies in the satisfaction and joys of motherhood.

*So Long a Letter* narrates, in a personal correspondence to another friend, the woes of a woman embattled by patriarchy and by colonialism. The form of couching a whole novel as a letter is unusual and is laden with implications. The very obvious connotation is that a privileged audience is allowed to witness the private thoughts of the representative heroine, Ramatoulaye, written to her friend Aissatou. The fact that she has just been widowed shows that she can now unburden her mind about a husband hitherto turned master. Both Ramatoulaye and Aissatou become estranged from their husbands after those husbands turned polygynous. Here is an extract from Ramatoulaye’s petition:

> Every night when he went out he would unfold and try on several of his suits before settling on one. The others, impatiently rejected, would slip to the floor. I would have to fold them again and put them back in their places; and this extra work, I discovered, I was doing only to help him in his effort to be elegant in his seduction of another woman... [sic]. I told myself what every betrayed woman says: If Moudu was milk, it was I who had had all the cream. The rest, well, nothing but water with a vague smell of milk. (Ba, 1981: 38, 39)
Another contemporary of hers in the novel, Jacqueline is Protestant Ivorian and has emigrated with her husband, Samba Diack, a physician, to Senegal. In Ivory Coast, her husband practised monogamy, but in Senegal where other traditions and religion allow for polygyny, she lost her husband to other women. This is how the narrator explains it:

Coming to Senegal... she refused to adopt the Muslim religion and went instead to the Protestant Church every Sunday.
A black African she should have been able to fit without difficulty into a black African society. Senegal and the Ivory Coast both having experienced the same colonial power. But Africa is diverse, divided. The same country can change its character and outlook several times over, from north to south or from east to west. (my emphasis, Ba, 1988: 41-2)

On account of not being able to come to terms with this post-colonial medley, Jacqueline’s mind drifts unchecked.
There abound several subtle ways in which the colonial burden impinges on the imagination of different characters in Mariama Ba’s novel, but the contradictions are expressed as a flawed aspect of self-consciousness. For instance, Mawdo, Aissatou’s husband, finds religious as well as existential justification for his moral lapsus: “You can’t resist the imperious laws that demand food and clothing for man. These same laws compel the “male” in other respects....” Mawdo’s mother, Seynabou, tries to find justification for polygynous tendencies by resorting to things no less psychological than they are tangible. For instance, she believes that Aissatou, her daughter in law, is from a less notable genealogy than herself. In spite of Aissatou’s education and industry, Seynabou, herself a princess, would prefer another royal to a gold-smith’s daughter. A further striking aspect of the novel is that all its wayward male characters are highly educated by European standards. They are often Western-styled physicians. This confirms than in thought, in religion, and in lifestyle these are the finest that colonial values had bred to sustain their society in the post-colonial era. Aissatou weighs the values of religion and matrimonial etiquette and concludes that all the rationalisations will fail, and that the colonial question is fundamental:

...the formulation of the choice I had made, a choice that my reason rejected but that accorded with the immense tenderness.
I felt towards Moudu Fall?
I cried everyday.
From then on, my life changed. I had prepared myself for equal sharing, according to the precepts of Islam concerning polygamic life. I was left with empty hands. (Ba, 1988: 45-46)

The greatest strength of So Long a Letter is that it diverges the unifocal medium of a single narrator to the multiple layers of public instinct. Its form does not involve the active participants of multiple characterisation or mass engagement as Sembene Ousmane does, rather, the individual narrator engages an historical problem through her plight and the plight of others like her. It is in making the female persons both
the subject as well as object of debate that the fusion of the subject-object imperative is achieved.

Sembene Ousmane, in *God’s Bits of Wood* (1970), uses the multi-focal medium of the participant-actor mode and explains society more through the action than the narration of the subject. Quite like Mariama Ba, he allows the objects of history, women, the benefit of direct engagement as subjects in the historical events of their time. In the first place, the locus of action takes off from the Dakar-Niger railway workers strike of 1947-48. The strike involved much of French West Africa - Senegal, Sudan, Niger and lasted from 10th October 1947 to 19th March 1948. Because of its protracted nature and because all the male employees were denied their salaries, women mobilised to save the families from starvation and ruin. The terrain is quite similar except that unlike the introverted world of *So Long a Letter*, the day-to-day living here is quite realistic and visceral. The same colonial setting, but fifteen-odd years earlier:

The days passed, and the nights. In this country, the men often had several wives, and it was perhaps because of this that, at the beginning, they were scarcely conscious of the help the women gave them. But soon they began to understand that, here, too, the age to come would have a different countenance. When a man came back from meeting, with bowed head and empty pockets, the first thing he saw were always the unfired stove, the useless cooking vessels, the bowls and gourds ranged in a corner, empty. Then he would seek the arms of his wife, without thinking or caring, whether she was the first or the third. And seeing the burdened shoulders, the listless walk, the women became conscious that a change was coming for them as well.

One morning a woman rose and wrapped her cloth firmly around her waist and said, “Today I will bring back something to eat!” And the men began to understand that if the times were bringing forth a new breed of men, they were also bringing forth a new breed of women. (Ousmane, 1970: 33–34)

The emergency of a strike at the height of colonial subjugation shook society and sharpened the focus of the subject-object imperative of women in an embattled society. The structure of family and filial relations changed and patriarchy as well had to change. Even though a huge percentage of the citizenry still paid attention to the earlier Arabic colonialism, the more recent imposition of the French awakened their consciousness to both contacts. It thus becomes valid within the Genetic-Structuralist model (Goldmann, 1973), that a new stage has been reached in the destructive tendencies of progressive history. A subject-object complementarity of the human condition will thus appear as non-static. One seemingly anomic stage in Ousmane’s novel thereby becomes an orientation towards a new structure, a new stage transcending an old structure. This is what Lucien Goldmann has described as an orientation towards an optimum equilibrium:

Optimum in terms of adjustment to the natural world, of the survival of the human being, and of the whole of a given set of circumstances; but very often, before this optimum equilibrium has been attained, two kinds of phenomena create a new situation and hence a new rationality. These phenomena are first, exogenous-trans formations of the environment which came about through the actions of the members of the
The exogenous agent that sets off the chain effect here is colonialism, or as Goldmann puts it, “intrusion from the outside.”

Ousmane balances narrative techniques and content analysis with craft. At the polar ends of the continuum are the figures of two “women.” The first is the pre-conscious figure of a girl called Ad’jibid’ji who would always ask her elders questions from ancient mythologies such as, “washes water if water washes every other thing?” She would seem to be the ideal sublimation of the men-women dialectic in the on-going struggle. She attends all the rallies of the male-dominated labour unions, and is closer in temperament to elders when at home. Just eight or nine years old, she couldn’t physically follow the women’s march from Thies to Dakar. Another character, Penda, leads the momentous march.

While Ad’jibid’ji conceptualises the soul of the strike, Penda stands as its physical force. The author cleverly introduces atavisms of history as evidenced in superstition and fraud, but these are neatly contained and controlled within the revolutionary ethos. There are also characters representing the intelligentsia and the “faceless” masses.

The human condition is the focus of Ousmane’s preoccupation and the successful prosecution of the strike becomes an Odyssey. Though lives are lost, their sacrifice invigorates the nation. That is why one character recounts in his letter:

The women got a big welcome when they came back, of course, but now the men are having all sorts of trouble with them. At first they even pounced on men like tigresses, they wanted to start running everything! But things are a little calmer now, the children have not come back yet and the women go out to the lake everyday. In future, though, we will have to reckon with then in whatever we do. (Ousmane, 1970: 225-226)

The steep enthusiasm of the women is generated by the pursuit of a new rationality. Revolutionary initiative is altogether positive but its own excesses generate within the new impetus of cultural change.

Ad’jibid’ji, the idealist finds the solution to her unrelenting preoccupation: “Grandfather,” she says, “I know what it is that washes the water. It is the spirit. The water is clear and pure, but the spirit is purer still.” (Ousmane, 1970: 237)

III.

How is it that that man, the product of women’s “labour” has become woman’s bitterest rival across the gender divide? Why is it that in the dialectics of gender, man always range himself against women? As Mariama Ba observed, it is “a thrilling adventure... to turn a baby into a healthy man” (1981: 47), but in that very act women are responsible for a continuous race of patriarchs. The faulty adjustment could be found in the structure of society itself. The earliest of feudal societies were based on the premium of physical or muscular superiority (Mill, 1978: 87). But the
scientific interpretation of human relations reveal that the sexes have often grown up estranged from one another in the scheme of labour relations and division. I am irresistibly drawn towards Marx's theory of alienation as a requisite explanation for this phenomenon of estrangement.

If society supposes that the sole place for the woman is the health or the home and that it is her sole duty to bear or breed children, then this amounts to an unnatural stimulation of ability. Marrying thereby amounts to buying oneself a master. This kind of unequal relationship necessarily views the weaker sex in a master-servant relationship. In falsely proposing women as mere breeders of men:

Men do not see them as (wo)men but only as instruments of production which have to yield as much as possible with as little cost as possible. (Marx, 1977: 35)

Whilst suppressing women to be eternal workers, men become ranged against them as fair rivals and are therefore prompted by unreal fears to prosecute them. Thus, in spite of the fact that 'the interst of the worker (in this case women), ... never stands opposed to the interest of society, society (here men) always and necessarily stands opposed to the interest of the worker' (Marx, 1977: 27). This has tremendous implications for the health and well-being of the nuclear family and of the larger society. We reach a stage where people see themselves as things and not as collaborators, and the grave danger is that a woman may always see her own children as the property of another person. She becomes a medium of production where the man manufactures the baby. Deirdre La Pin observed that this wife-mother image was at the core of the feminine literary persona (1984, 1991: 102).

The patriarchal systems of law whereby the man automatically assumes that the right and ownership of the child is fallacious but if the law holds it as valid it conditions the man to confront the woman who rears him as an opponent. In subconsciously conditioning of such beliefs, untruths become entrenched as tradition, and introverted violence against women recurs inexorably. One final illustration with a sociological model will illuminate this phenomenon.

IV.

The sociology of literature stipulates that no phenomenon in art or in social life can truly be researched unless it is contextualised in its own history and its own environment. Studies on the theory of culture and literature reveals much underlying expressiveness as a humanistic endeavour that uncovers thought in individual or collective consciousness. This implies that the imaginative connectendness. In other words this is where archival memory and purposive adventure meet.

In Genetic structuralism, there exist three fundamental characteristics of human behavior which underlie the study of culture and society:

1. The first characteristic of human action and thought is that it has a tendency to adapt to environment either reinforcing the present order or challenging to change it.
2. The second is a tendency, either in individual or in groups, to conform to a gen-
eral order at creating new structural forms.
3. The third tendency is to modify the order and thereby transcends it. (Goldmann, 1973: 115-19)

This third tendency is the most practical in my schema because it recognizes that old structures are not broken down at once. This understanding gives a fuller scope to the subject of study. Goldmann wrote:

The study and understanding of collections of human facts always presupposes that one studies them from two complementary angles, both as structural processes oriented towards a new structure, and as de-structive processes within old structures which have already been achieved, or towards which the same social group was moving a little while earlier. (Goldmann, 1973: 117-118)

To thoroughly study a disadvantaged social group in art within a social situation compounded by the prejudice of colonial domination, it is necessary to examine the complementarities of the context.

It is also interesting to note that the world of imaginative creation adopts its own categories for ordering the world or idea it re-creates. It is a subtler work of literature which, whenever it recreates the external world, penetrates its mechanics and transcends the bias and prejudices of the external world.

1. A novel seeks to present a natural, social or psychological scenario;
2. In so doing, it re-creates the external world emphasising some and de-emphasising others;
3. The final creation may compound the outlines with its own bias or false consciousness-intentional or fortuitous—and finally;
4. The product may imaginatively transcend the boundaries of subjectivity or false consciousness and enrich us with a new experience.

The pursuit of truth or realistic representation purports a measure of rationality which, in spite of this, may be unwittingly flawed. One solid ground, however, in the métier of a creative imagination is to try as best one can to find outlines of compatibility or consistency in the world and verify them as subjects or objects in their relative circumstances without infusing them with a bias of its own. The rightness of a particular perception will be found in the same traditional milieu; even if it is the exact opposite of that which it portrays. It is in this sense that genetic structuralism leads us to the conclusion that sociology, history and literature are inseparable parts of the same inimitable whole. Lucien Goldmann wrote:

If a creative worker can create a significant, coherent and unified world in his work, it is because his starting-point is this collective working out of rough categories and of the connections between. What he does is to take them much further than the other members of the group have, but only within the world he has created... I must add also that this tendency to transcendence—which is part and parcel of human action, and which has been the subject of classical philosophy... implies that any coherent universe must be located by reference to value which transcend the individual, even if only by their absence—which is the outstanding mark of the principal form of modern literature,
the novel, and of that great part of contemporary literature which is commonly called avant-garde.... (Goldmann, 1973: 119-123)

How then does the issue of logical transcendence relate to the subject of gender and society? Human facts are momentary processes which are either moving towards other consummathe processes or are themselves stages of accomplishment within the status quo. In other words, absolute statements cannot be made when processes between social or gender groups are analysed. This is because issues are so unduly polarised that conflicts can be probed and judgements given on the nature of reality. This allows for extreme interpretations which destroy complementarity inherent within the structural processes of the subject-object divide. When events become isolated in order that their analyses may be conducted, they often neglect the total, ramified context within which they are desirous of interpretation.

To conclude, I reinforce my pet model once again. In what ways do the subject-object imperative generate a methodology for the balance of perception in womanist literary criticism and the sociology of literature? When relations in human society and character have been examined in their potentials either as perceiver (or subject) or as perceived (or object) in critical analyses, then there must occur a real or virtual balance in the relations of the two modes. In other words, unless a theme or character has been examined both as subject (active or passive) or as object (passive or active) and has been found to adhere to similar conclusions of judgement, a bias or prejudice has inhibited the performance of the context. It is only in thus examining characters in literature and art that we are able to ensure that the horrible bias, erstwhile encountered in such disciplines, can be restudied for their true value.

REFERENCE


——— Accepted November 25, 1998

Author’s Name and Address: Dele LAYIWOLA, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, NIGERIA.