

**Theatre and Globalization: Emerging Trends in the Dialectics of
Performance in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Uche-Chinemere Nwaozuzu Ph.D

Department of Theatre Arts,

University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria

Abstract

The modern world has witnessed a rapid and momentous growth in cross cultural materials and the diffusion of goods and ideas. This universal activity which is encapsulated in the phenomenon of globalization has impacted the Sub Saharan African environment significantly. This paper highlights the profound struggle for the soul of indigenous dramatic forms in Africa by radical religious proselytism propelled by the variegated and relentless ideals of cultural domination, religious radicalism and media propaganda which are some of the hallmarks of globalization.

Introduction

Over the years there has been a significant change in the intellectual, social and political climate of the planet resulting in what is today commonly referred to as globalization. In the arts, this phenomenon extends beyond performance aesthetics and can be seen in the ineluctable spread of performance structures in such diverse contexts as the pop culture and consumerist performance paradigm so omnipresent throughout the Western and non-Western worlds. By the same token, the seeming triumph of Western theatre over other forms is evident in the apparent exhaustion of viable performance alternatives to Western performance aesthetics in the African and Oriental clime. It is equally not surprising that the Western proscenium stage and its accompanying practices has crept into and significantly displaced the traditional orature right from the dawn of European colonial adventure in Africa. This

anomaly has remained a visible itch in the performance aesthetics and practice of Africa for more than a century and has today fostered a more virulent form of cultural genocide propelled by the philosophy of globalization.

Our working definition of the term globalization is taken from Miguel Angel Centeno. In his words: "Globalization refers to the accelerating integration of global production, commerce and finance and to the social and cultural change that inevitably accompany it" (2007:1). Centeno points out that in barely two decades of its contemporary form globalization has already shifted the social and political power bases within and among nations in unpredictable ways. We can deduce certain important features associated with globalization. These include free market economy, social and cultural merchandising. Another factor of globalization which we feel constrained to add to these views is the media factor. The media has enabled the Western civilization, symbolized by the United States of America and its allies, to dominate the sphere of global culture and entertainment. By definition, globalization makes all cultures local. As Jeremy Seabrook puts it,

Globalization eclipses, or subordinates all previous ways of answering need and of dealing with the vicissitudes of human life. All other ways of life are diminished and marginalized at a stroke...globalization is a declaration of war on other cultures (2004:2).

Advocates of globalization tout and take pride in its efficacy at extending the basic principles of liberal democracy and market economy to the various provinces of human civilization so that they would be brought to the level of the West. Any discerning observer would see, however, that while there has been considerable movement towards understanding the facts of a shared humanity such as mutual existence and communication, the basic principle of liberal democracy and common market that translates into growth for the developing world has not been achieved through the globalization ideology.

It is important to also point out, that some scholars have questioned the validity of the perverseness of globalization and the extent of its impact in contemporary universal culture. They highlight what they see as the strong successes of communication, information and the movement of men and goods which has reduced the world to a global village where every culture group influences the other virtually, in real time and in practice. For instance David Brooks contends that,

If you look around the world you see how often events are driven by groups that reject the globalized culture. Islamic extremists reject the modern cultures of Europe, and have created a hyper-aggressive fantasy version of traditional Islamic purity (2005:2).

An interesting feature of Brooks observation is the struggle between competing cultural interests in the world within the global template of mutual existence. In this global struggle Sub-Saharan Africa has often played the role of the passive victim and battle ground of two competing forces striving for spheres of influence and authority. By extension, we could argue that in this fight for cultural hegemony, Sub-Saharan Africa has brought little to bear on the universal landscape. We are often cajoled with the phenomena of African dance steps and fashions that have influenced certain dance forms and rhythms in the West. These however, are merely particulars of a culture; they are isolated elements which pale in significance when compared to the wholesale supplanting of the continent's cultural artefacts and philosophy by those of the West and the Middle East. It is our view here that the phenomenon known as globalization commands much influence the world over, and impacts nations religiously, educationally, economically, politically and culturally. We have neither the space nor, frankly, the ability to articulate in depth the merits or otherwise of the modern ideal of globalization. What this paper sets out to do is to articulate its impact on the performance culture of Africa South of the Sahara. We shall attempt to examine the struggle between the indigenous forms of performance and religious fundamentalism for the soul of traditional African drama. Traditional African performance here is seen as the corpus of oral performances, encapsulated in the peoples dance, music, minstrelsy, mime and masking activities. In this paper, the terms traditional and indigenous would be used interchangeably.

Apart from the visible feature of the triumph of material capitalism and market forces, another aspect of the globalization that commands much visibility is the fact that just as political and cultural colonialism went hand in hand with religious orthodoxy in the colonial history of the continent, contemporary capitalism has fostered a brand of religious fundamentalism which in some circles is referred to as Pentecostalism. This symbiotic growth has seen the exportation of a brand of religion verging on the pop culture and radical paradigms. It is a brand of religion that brooks no competitor especially from cultural artefacts and mores opposed to the promoters and the ideology of the clime where it draws its identity and origin. To fully understand the dynamics of what we term

religio-cultural globalization it will be important to point out that its ideals are driven by an ideology which is not restricted to the dogmas and moral doctrines we usually associate with religion, but often includes politics, culture, and the complex of moral values underlying any society.

The rise of religious fundamentalism in recent years within the Muslim and Christian traditions has been widely noted by many commentators. One is inclined to say that the revival of religion in some ways attests to a broad unhappiness with the impersonality and spiritual vacuity of the liberal consumerist world symbolized in globalization. While the underlying ideology of globalization could be seen as devoid of the religious, yet the emptiness which the lack creates in modern man has not been appropriately filled by modern style religiosity. It would appear that just like its mercantile cousin, the market economy this brand of religion has merely raised and propagated a cult of super rich cum influential clerics and a vast village of destitute congregation who see salvation often from the prism of doing the bidding of their religious leader. Thus if they are asked to part ways with their indigenous cultural and political way of doing things they carry it out with an abiding passion without pausing to think about the larger ramifications of cultural identity and cultural imperialism.

In African no other aspect of the people's culture has the impact of this global religiosity been felt more than its performance traditions. Whether it is in the manner of worship or visions, the global onslaught has decimated the rich vein of traditional performance to the extent that today it is often seen as the preserve of those who are left behind in the villages. Unlike its orthodox predecessor that came with colonialism this new cultural predator brooks no resistance or opposing view in its self appointed quest to better the lot of pauperized Africans. Its lure and promises are quite grand and highfalutin; transform the citizens blighted by bad governance, poverty, ignorance and global institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund into millionaires free from political instability and sickness. This state of affairs aptly captured by Marx and Hegel find fertile clime in the African situation. As orchestrated by their guiding philosophies anything not found in the Holy Writ is done away with including people's culture and tradition of which African indigenous performance forms have been an important casualty. The onslaught is quite significant to the extent that the few that survived are today tottering on the brinks of extinction no thanks to the relentless attack by the ever growing tribe of crusading adherents of the two major religions in the continent. A lot of these performance forms in their quest

to survive try to shorn themselves of the essential nuances and myth that give them content while straining towards a patronizing affinity with the Christian or Islamic religion.

At the last count this researcher has come across more than one hundred and fifty forms of traditional African performances that have either been abandoned or significantly altered by religious sects in various localities. Those who stubbornly choose to celebrate them are often classified as pagans and in some extreme cases mass poverty and disease are attributed to them. We have also had cases where performances are disrupted by religious fanatics and those who refuse to quit denied communion within the sect. This state of affair has impacted significantly on various aspects of life in the continent. Hence one could concur as Hegel did with history that this could sound the end of performance in Africa because there is a raging war for the essence and persona of traditional African performance forms. On the one side are the agents of globalization symbolized by Christian and Muslim proselytes and on the other remnants of dancers, maskers, musicians, composers and others who are daily driven to the precipice of aesthetics as they ponder over the future of the way of life that gives them identity. This battle for the soul of our traditional dramatic forms have greatly gone unnoticed and uncommented on by most theatre scholars in the continent whose duty includes safeguarding and improving on our indigenous performance orature. The need to be more intellectually proactive in this matter becomes even more pronounced when it placed on the pedestal of the socio-political struggle between the agents of Westernization, Arabization and adherents of tradition. No sooner is this done that it becomes clear that the performance tradition quite understandably being a social phenomenon is often subjected to a measure of fundamentalism by new and emergent religions.

We can cite a few instances of traditional African performances that their dramaturgies are presently on the verge of extinction as a result of the significant erosion of their performance efficacies by the ideals of religio-cultural globalization. Arugu masked theatre is a performance very popular in some parts of Imo State Southeast Nigeria. It is a variant of the Ekpe which derives its origins from the Cross River Igbo. This masked performance has evolved over the years exhibiting the vagaries of the changing Igbo society in its performance style and motifs. However, the relentless assault on its performative nuances and primordial artifacts by warring born again Christians has reduced its

socio-cultural efficacy to the past time of the lazy, the aged and the curious.

Another performance that shares the fate of Arugu of Southeast Nigeria is the Ngkpwe masquerade performance of the Bangwa in Southern Cameroon. This masking tradition celebrates the peoples' past military glory. In its original form it exhibits a dramaturgy dipped in ritual and movement, and was a communal event significant in the peoples' cosmology. However, the significance and structure of this performance has changed markedly in recent times due to the influence of new breed religious fundamentalism. The ritual and indigenous aesthetic feature have been expunged to a large extent as a result of proselytes of Christianity and Islam thus, an activity that hitherto had a communal identity has been reduced to the individual proclivity of the smaller groups of individual. In the fate that befell the Ngkpwe, we see traces of the perverse individualism associated with Western Christianity and performance culture. Robert Brain has this to say about the Ngkpwe performance, "the young participants merely meet weekly or monthly to organize simple dances and feasts devoid of its traditional masks and rites (1980:147).

The Kore and Tyiwara masquerades performance of the Bambara in the Sagosa region of Mali in West Africa affords us another example. These once vibrant masquerade theatres have had their performative features whittled down by Islamic fundamentalists. Like its Pentecostal cousin of the Christian fold, the Shite sect quite often exhibit profound intolerance for indigenous African cultural artefacts. As a result traditional theatres such as the Kore and Tyiwara have lost much of their aesthetic relevance and vibrancy no thanks to the tribes of proselyting mallams. In fact Tauxier Louis observed that these two important masquerade traditions in Mali... "are rarely performed today and if they are, only in truncated fashion" (2000:123). We also have the Gatee performance in North Central Nigeria which as Ibrahim Fatima writes, has diverged from what used to be referred to as a local and native performance to a mere political gadget (2004:85). In the same vein, Kofoworola has observed the tendency of radical Islam to discountenance performance art in Northern Nigeria purely on the positive grounds of religion and political expediency (1983:30). Kole Omotoso, also shares these sentiments when he observes that in "Islam every aspect of the life of the society is seen in the light of religion" (138: 1978). By the same token, Nadav Safran, notes the effect of Islamic belief system on the development of drama in Northern Africa. He contends that the Islamic

belief system interprets, justifies and regulates the world view in any locality where it commands a majority (24:1961).

Other masking traditions in Sub-Saharan Africa that have come under severe pressure by modern religious fundamentalism include the Pwo masked performance of the Tshokwe in Angola in Southern Africa, the Urhobo Ugo *Biebi* Water Spirit masking tradition and the Kalabari Ekine masquerade performance all in Southsouth Nigeria in West Africa. We also have the Azogbe masquerade performance of the Gola in Western Liberia and the Mende and Mel speaking peoples of Southern Sierra Leone whose performative features have been greatly compromised by social dislocation occasioned by religio-cultural globalization.

African playwrights have equally highlighted this religio-cultural tension in their works. Ngugi wa Thiongo and Micere Githae Mugo gave a hint of subversive Christianity in the character of the local Priest who glibly asserts "We want to see Christ reflected in our culture" when confronted by Kimathi in the cell (1990:49). In another instance, Esiaba Irobi in the dedication to his play *Nwokedi*, Esiaba Irobi writes, "Nwokedi is dedicated to...all members of the Umuakwu Progressive Union who not only initiated me into the metaphysics and ecstasies of the Ekpe festival, but have also stubbornly sustained a dying Igbo tradition" (1991: iii) The Ekpe performance mentioned by Irobi has been subjected to barrages of attack from proselytes of Christianity. Others like Bode Sowande, have observed the duplicity of Christianity and Islam in perpetuating pseudo socio-cultural ideals, and have striven to portray this in his works. In *Flamingo*, Sowande paints the picture of Islamic and Christian divines who adopt Machiavellian methods to undermine culture and collective good (1986: 20-22). Wole Soyinka alludes to this fact in *Madmen and Specialist*, where Aafaa a Muslim Mendicant, narrates the symbiotic link of religion with politics and capitalist individualism in a parody of political power in post colonial Africa (1988:289). We also see this feature in Ahmed Yerima's *Hard Ground* where Nimi the aggrieved militant laments the lie of good life and salvation which the Christian God had trust on them that led to the abandonment of their traditional allegiance to the gods of the ancestors (2005:53).

Despite the recourse to destroy cultural artefacts by proselytes of Christian and Islamic religion, it is contestable that their ideals and structure have presented us with a society remediable from the numerous ills bedevilling it. When ones takes into cognizance the historical fact that modern liberalism and democracy are consequences of the weakness of

old theocratic societies which, failing to agree on the nature of human relation and organization could not provide even the minimal precondition for peace and stability, the lie of contemporary religious utopia becomes more apparent. It is clear that today, religious fundamentalism and assault on African traditional performance modes represent an irreconcilable contradiction in the heart of its quest to rid society of those features it considers evil. In the first place its philosophy of eliminating practices considered inimical to social growth is not articulate and coherent, but is rather an elaborate doctrine of posterity and individual success with the Christians and a chilling hint of fatalism in Islam.

What we are witnessing today in Africa is not the evolution of traditional performance modes but rather a wholesale supplanting of these indigenous forms with the metropolitan performance poetics of the West and the Middle East. As we said earlier this could be termed the end of performance of indigenous provenance. Added to this, exponents of cultural evolution theory and universalism have often given vent to the notion that liberal democracy was the final court of social interaction and cohesion thus given flip to the fad of the supremacy of the Western ideals. The evolutionist theorists in drama find ready support in this politico-cultural philosophy. As they have argued, the end point of all dramatic tradition can only be charted through a rigorous affinity to the Dynosiaic model of classical Greek drama. In another dimension the relativist who present us with a formidable alternative to this overriding critical absolutism sometimes appear to degenerate into an inarticulate tribe of radical intellectuals. Even though they sought to resurrect the ideal of unique and immutable nature of drama relative to every clime and culture, their polemic is sometimes bogged down by a miasma of whimsical examples and claims which tries to identify any activity that exhibit the dramatic as drama within the African performance cosmos. This has often led to a lack of profound categorization and articulation of traditional African dramas. The lumping together of all manner of activities that exhibit features that could be termed as dramatic has often lent credence to the questionable assumption that traditional African dramas, are contemptible to the ideals of the emergent Christian and Muslim fundamentalists who see in them obstacles to winning new converts and imposing their religio-political hegemony

The battle for the soul of traditional African performance between religious fundamentalism and indigenous people constitute what this study terms performance dialectics. The scepter of poverty and political

instability has led a lot of African to seek solace in religion. It is not then surprising that despite the high incidence of corruption and fratricidal war, the continent is reputed to retain one of the most religious blocks of Homo sapiens in the planet. Any discerning observer would evince the fact that unlike the more orthodox forms of religious worship brought to the continent by Arabs and Europeans, the present ones exhibit features associated with pop culture and political radicalism of the modern era. These features are dipped in the glitterati and glamour of Metropolitan West and the religious radicalism of the Middle East. These are cultures that glamorize wealth, individualism and religious irredentism. The canonization of these features has led to a marked suspicion and disdain for all that is traditional and indigenous. Like their colonial precursor, the indigenous elements are classified as devilish and of pagan provenance. The need to live out the righteous favour by the adherents of these religions further aggravates the state of these traditional institutions thus contributing to their high mortality rate. Those that manage to survive are significantly changed aesthetically, structurally and utilitarian wise.

At this point, we find it necessary to point out that our thesis differs slightly from Marxist Leninism in the sense that while the socialist ideology championed by the former saw religion as a tool for oppression we see it in this study as an agent of cultural immolation and anomie. In both instances they could be regarded rightly or wrongly as the opium of the people. However, in this paper we are concerned with the particulars of its onslaught on African performance. The goal is not to dismiss Middle East and Western spirituality as ineffectual and of no serious consequence. Rather, we accept the fact that, just like traditional African religion, their primary duty as Lawal posits, "is to make relative and actual the temporal and painful things in life in relation to what is conceived to be permanent, absolute and cosmically opinionistic" (2005:106). Lawal concludes by highlighting the fact that religion was an organized effort to make virtue of our intimate necessities. For instance the tendency of Christian philosophy to accommodate several tenets of capitalism such as individualism and material acquisition has been noted by Max Weber. Weber summarizes this phenomenon in the idea of elective affinity (1986:107). He observes that elective affinity manifests in the ethic and the spirit of capitalism and the accommodation of economic conditions in line with religious ethics to produce an internal dialectic between "religious ideas" and "religious interest" (Weber, 1986:107-109).

The dramatic tradition of the South-East Asia like the Kabuki, Noh and Kathakali and the Barong Play theatres have survived in the main

due to the fact that they have withstood the subtle attacks of Western spiritual capitalism while assimilating the material to climb the ladder of economic growth. Michael Hill attests to this fact thus, "it is a historical reality that it was traditionalism not innovating potentiality from the ideal of Western religion which became the dominant orientation of most of Asian societies" (1986:134). Max Weber also emphasizes the lack of a radical tension between the Christian world and the traditional concerns in India and China (Weber, 1964:132-133). Today we still acknowledge the existence of traditional performance forms such as the Abbots Bromley Horn Dance in England, the Norwich Dragon, the Bavarian Wild men performance, the Padstow Horse and the British Mummers' play in contemporary Europe. Unlike their peers in Africa, the owners of these indigenous dramatic forms have continued to adapt their performances to suit their cultural and artistic temperament without compromising the primordial nuances and efficacies that give them content to the unguarded onslaught from imported forms. It is this fact that most African proselytes of modern Christianity and Islam have failed to grasp in their passionate quest to stamp out what they term "pagan performance and idolatry.

It will be necessary also to observe here, that the misleading proclivity to equate all traditional performance with religion has not helped the indigenous form. The situation has engendered mutual suspicion for anything traditional in the people's performance corpus thus contributing significantly to the ferocity with which Christianity and Islam have tried to dislodge it from the people's cosmic experience. This erroneous assumption pioneered by the likes of Elsy Leuzinger (1967) and Ruth Finnegan (1970), has received strong rebuttal from African scholars such as Isidore Okpewho and Dapo Adelugba among many other scholars of African Theatre. Okpewho observes that these writers seem to misunderstand the mimetic principle under which the traditional artist operates, and much more seriously, fail to recognize that art has a primarily secular impulse (1979:11). One could add that the tendency of the relativist to derive drama in virtually all vestiges of activities that have quasi dramatic features has not helped in correcting this notion. They missed the opportunity to generate and pioneer an indigenous poetics of traditional African drama by lumping together performances that exhibited theatrical elements but were not obviously drama. While we can comfortably vouch for our repertoire of masked and ritual performances as authentic theatrical expression, examples such as a

possessed ritual priest exorcising a patient in his shrine is highly unlikely to qualify as drama.

It is the practice of the unbridled application of religious philosophy and ideals to African way of doing things that has led scholars such as Augustine Onyeneke (1987) and Anthony Ekwunife (1990) to hint on what could be termed coercive enculturation; that is, passing to the younger generation of Africans, a synthesis of what is 'good' in traditional performance and the Christian way of doing things. This study considers this kind of enculturation a form of cultural pacifism. Besides Onyeneke and Ekwunife's views bear more relevance to social organization and relation than to drama. Their views relate to actualities of culture as institutions that are ever present and dynamic. This differs from dramatic performance markedly. Drama is imitation of action not acuity. Its structures are fluid and eclectic. Hence, it is already imbued with the capacity to adapt and change. However, this change or adaptability should not be tinkered out on the crucible of religious, economic or political exigencies. It should be made to be self serving. A dramatic performance form or style should readapt or accommodate or even self immolate within the template of the myth, more or any other human activity or situation that inspires it and gives it relevance. Some other scholars have argued for acculturation which connotes mutual borrowing between cultures. This ideal however, is flawed when approached from the fact that Africa within the global religio-cultural template operates from a position of weakness as a result of lack of the efficacies of the modern media of coercion and propaganda. As Bode Osayin aptly observes:

"Acculturation would lead to the inflow of cultural influences from the strong into the weak...to the point of emasculating and stifling the weak to the point of death" (2004:37)

The point being made here is not only to question whether the advocates of enculturation and acculturation are right but rather to ask with some level of anxiety whether their polemic perspectives are adequate in solving the problematic dialectics inherent in the traditional way and the Christian way which is both cultural and political. That politics and religion share certain symbiotic relationship in traditional African societies have been attested by researchers. In fact, Roy Sieber gives an instance where political leadership has usurped the ancestor's image, or taken over masking traditions that possibly developed in less centralized political systems. Sieber illustrates further that utilitarian

objects that become attached to leadership may become transformed into symbols of power (1977:151). We can conclude by observing broadly that when art is placed in the service of religion, or the search for a more secure state, it often reinforces the particularized goals of that given society through the persuasive impact of religion. In fact popular music and dramatic clubs in the various religions sects represent a share of these images that reinforce the values of the culture of contemporary society.

As we look around Africa, the poverty of globalization and its religious arms Pentecostalism and Islamic fundamentalism becomes all too apparent. This is because these two ideals habitually point at stunning successes of all their dictates. They fail however, to take into account that in the colonial past of Africa, the ethics of work, cultural heritage, certain forms of social behaviour, and other deeply ingrained moral qualities, are equally important in explaining social progress and cultural identity. It is this lack of practical foresight that has exposed the African culture to a relentless assault from Eurocentric and Arabized ideals which are fall outs of religio-cultural globalization.

We shall conclude by highlighting the fact that our effort here has not been to give an exhaustive insight into globalization and contemporary traditional African theatre. There is still need for more research in this area. What this paper has sought to do is to articulate a silent and relentless virus presently dismantling the few authentic vestiges of indigenous performance forms in Sub-Saharan Africa. This cultural anomy has been helped by the phenomenon of dominance fostered by the religio-cultural agents of globalization. By dominance we mean the dominant religion and culture of the world propelled by the globalized institutions such as the media, religion and financial institutions. The state of affairs in Sub-Saharan Africa has today presented these agencies with the fertile ground to propagate their ideals and dominate the indigenous culture and tradition. This has placed much burden on the African in his attempts to assert his cultural identity and performance forms. Championed by agents of religious movements and organization this global flow of ideals, philosophy and culture seeks to sweep away all that is indigenous in the drama of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Works Cited

Brain, Robert (1980), *Art and Society in Africa*, London: Longman Group, Limited.

Brooks, David (2005), "All Cultures Are Not Equal" in *New York Times*, August 10.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. "Left Behind? Latin America in A Globalized World" in *American Interest*, www.the-american-interest.com, 10\13\2007.

Ekwunife, Anthony (1990), *Consecration in Igbo Traditional Religion*. Enugu: SNAAP Press.

Finnegan, Ruth (1970), *Oral Literature in Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hill, Michael (1986), *A Sociology of Religion*, London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Ibrahim, Binta Fatima (2003 &2004), "Gatee: A Northern Nupe Ritual Drum". *The Performer: Ilorin Journal of Performing Arts*. Vol. 5 and Vol.6, pp. 83-91.

Irobi, Esiaba (1991), *Nwokedi*. Enugu: Abic Publishers.

Kofoworola, E.O (1983), "Hausa Performing Arts and the Emir's Court", an unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of English and Drama, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Lawal, Ebenezer Ejalonibu (2005). "Religion and Politics: A Comparative Analysis of American and Nigerian Orientations" in *The American Society Since the Four Freedoms*, Nkpanom Ejituwu, Foluke Ogunleye, Diri Teilanya and Edwar Erhagbe (eds.) Benin City: Mindex Publications Co. Ltd.

Leuzinger, Elsy (1967), *The Art of the Negro Peoples*. New York: Crow Inc.

Okpewho, Isidore (1979). *The Epic in Africa: Towards a Poetics of Oral Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Omotoso, Kole (1978), "Arabic Drama in North Africa" in *Theatre in Africa*. Oyin Ogunba and Abiola Irele. Ibadan: University Press, pp. 131-148.

Onyeneke, Augustine (1987), *The Dead Among the Living: Masquerades in Igbo Society*. Enugu: Holy Ghost Congregation.

Osanyin, Bode (2004), "Cultural Adjustment Programme and the Nigerian Stage" in *Nigerian Theatre Journal*, pp. 27-54.

Safran, Nadav (1961), *Egypt in Search of Political Community*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Seabrook, Jeremy (2004), "Localizing Cultures" in *Korea Herald*, January 13.

Sieber, Roy (1977), "Some Aspects of Religion and Art in Africa" in *African Religions: A Symposium*, Newell S. Booth Jr. Ed. New York: Nok Publishers Ltd.

Sowande, Bode (1986), *Flamingo and Other Plays*. Essex England: Longman.

Soyinka, Wole (1988), "Madmen and Specialist" in *Soyinka: Six Plays*: Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Tauxie, Louis (2000), "La Religion Bambara", cited in Maurice Anya, "Religion and Culture in the Nigerian Democratic Experiment" in *The Politics of Religion and the Culture of Politics*, Umar Adigizi ed. Lagos: Brume Press.

Thiong'o, wa Ngugi and Micere Githae Mugo (1990), *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (Reprinted Edition) London: Heinemann.

Weber, Max (1958), *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, cited in Michael Hill (1986), *A Sociology of Religion*.

Weber, Max (1964), *The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*. New York: Macmillan Press.

Yerima, Ahmed (2005), *Hard Ground*. Ibadan: Kraft Books, Ltd.