

# *A Question of Realities: Zulu Sofola's "The Sweet Trap"*

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... the people who are most disadvantaged are men because they are not in touch, their contact most of the time is their office, their clubhouse and the collection of mistresses they have ... whereas the woman is at rockbottom in her contacts *per diem* ... in fact there was one very dramatic experience I had once which most of my colleagues would never have experienced and that was in the market at Mokola. Zulu Sofola: 1983<sup>1</sup>

WHETHER OR NOT this portrait of educated Nigerian men is acceptable will presumably depend to some extent on the reader's gender. For Sofola, this statement constitutes a reality, but it is indisputably a sweeping statement which contains a good deal of impatience towards men, and approval for women. Sofola's theory reinforces her own experiential reality, a *woman's* reality, but such a thing cannot be apprehended by women unless they have consciously dealt with male definitions of the female role. This is the reason that much of the creative work done by women at this time is concerned with overturning false assumptions about women (or the facile claim that they are no different from men). Many women, both feminists and those who refuse the term as applicable to themselves,<sup>2</sup> both inside and outside Africa, have centred their concerns on the definition of reality<sup>3</sup> for women and on the necessity for women's literatures to articulate this.

But as we note the generalizations about men in Sofola's statement, we must become aware that what might constitute reality for one party cannot be acceptable to another: even when women writers have tried to offer a sustained alternative vision to that of male writers and critics, there has often been a battle

to get this vision to be perceived as valid and worth dignifying with the term "reality" by those males who have established comfortable hegemony in the field of African literature studies. Yet a similar battle was fought and won over the misplaced emphases of those early Eurocentric critics who tried to define African writing within the boundaries of their own critical-cultural territories: Europeans and Eurocentric Africans have both had to accept that vision imposed by African writers on European and European culture is in fact an expression of experiential reality, and therefore true and honest. Similarly, Sofola's statement carries the tone of exasperated conviction which comes from her personal experience.

What I am concerned with here, in dealing with *The Sweet Trap*, which is a most polemical play, is the question of the proper place of subjectivity in literature and criticism. Critics constantly pretend to objective judgment when they are in fact deeply biased. In the field of African literature studies, until recently, women writers, and women characters in the work of male writers, were ignored almost entirely and comfortably by male critics because the male writer/critic's *reality* did not often engage women's experience as a primary concern. For example, in Emmanuel Obiechina's otherwise excellent study of West African fiction,<sup>4</sup> there is almost no attention paid to the existence of women, although a passing and scant remark accords them a different experiential reality in the societies he is discussing: "(t)here is . . . also a clear distinction between men and women in economic, political and especially magico-religious activities" (p. 83). His book came out in 1975, the same year that Sofola presented *The Sweet Trap*, and the year of the start of the U.N. Decade for Women. But although he dealt with Elechi Amadi's male-centred novel *The Concubine*, (1966), a fable which leaves the central female characters being almost helplessly negative in their effect on their men and unable to control their destinies for themselves, he ignores Flora Nwapa's *Efuru*, which appeared in the same year, came from the same publisher, and dealt with the same region of Nigeria.<sup>5</sup> Also importantly indicative of an assumption of masculinist reality in the book is the fact that the passing realization of the distinction between male and female

social experience/roles has no effect on Obiechina's comprehension of reality for female characters: he seems to assume that male writers' visions of females are reliable and true. Thus Ahurole, in Amadi's *The Concubine*, a woman whom many women readers have much interest in and sympathy for despite her sad destiny in the novel, is described as the "first truly neurotic character" in the West African rural novel. Also and perhaps most revealingly, individuals are persistently referred to by the male pronoun.

There is therefore no point in pretending that Obiechina's work is complete and objective, any more than this essay (presumably clearly perceived as female-centred) has any such meaning. Over and above the large group emphases (race, gender, language-culture, generation, etc.) which give us the illusion of objectivity by reassuring us that our views are shared and reflected beyond ourselves, there is also the indisputable fact that for most of us the personal quirks of a writer interlock with our own: individual interpretation is valid and important, even though some critics/writers fear egocentrism if it is encouraged. It seems to me that we are only culpably egocentric if we refuse to countenance other views, but that the expression of our self-interest and *reality* is not only important, but the only sure way to perceiving clearly and accurately what is happening in the literature we try to comprehend.

The question of alternative realities affecting critical perception has been much discussed in the literary areas where critics and writers tend to be confronting issues of deep importance to them and which they cannot compromise: race, colonization and political conviction make the literature and criticism of large parts of the English-speaking world presently concerned with how to evaluate literature which offends against a critic's/reader's personal principle.<sup>6</sup> Some people worry that any attempt to make for a solidarity of opinion across a group, for whatever right reasons, will ultimately lead to further pain as this hardens into yet another prejudice.<sup>7</sup> Yet it is hard to avoid group opinion when we are afraid of egocentric individualism: for me, it is easier to cope with the need for belonging if we also remember through acknowledging our ultimate subjectivity that all large

opinions are essentially untrue, if comforting and indeed necessary to our sense of having our world under control.

In this respect, I like Abdul JanMohamed's distinction in *Manichean Aesthetics*<sup>5</sup> between hegemonic and non-hegemonic literature (the former being that which justifies an established ascendancy — thereby needing no real experiential reality of the suppressed group to make judgments — and the latter being that which is more pre-occupied with bringing to consciousness the conflicts of a relatively insecure group). This comment was not meant by him to apply to male-female contexts, but it very well could, for there is much evidence that male writers reinforce male social power by portraying women through the stereotypes which their group holds as valid, whereas female writers are spending a lot of time trying to show dilemmas which they recognize as real, involving major female characters<sup>9</sup> or particularly female conflicts.<sup>10</sup> An analogous situation is recognized by Clifford Lashley in his argument for Jamaican cultural/linguistic centredness in the criticism of Jamaican literature, where he quotes from a review of Shirley Ardener's *Perceiving Women* (London: Dent, 1975):

Both muted and dominant groups generate models of *social reality* at the deepest level, but "muted" groups are inhibited in the generation of ideas at the level of the surfaces of events because the conceptual space in which they live is overrun by the dominant modes of events generated by the dominant group.<sup>11</sup> (My italics)

How, then, do we proceed with criticism, in this context? Does a critic of an African woman writer's work have to be as close as possible experientially to that individual to be able to share the reality fully which the work tries to express? Certainly, when the experience is not shared, problems can ensue, as in the case of the criticism which Nadine Gordimer levelled against Flora Nwapa's *Efuru*:

Again, not *knowing enough* about her own creation, the author has to resort to something to fill the vacuum. She uses the rambling details of daily life, mildly interesting but largely irrelevant. Among them the key to the *objective reality* of *Efuru* lies half-buried and less than half understood.<sup>12</sup> (My italics)

Judging from Sofola's remark which prefaces this essay, and from

much other evidence in the work of African women writers, domestic detail is far from irrelevant to many women whose creative efforts take place centrally amidst such responsibilities (like Sofola in the market or Nwapa who runs a business). Gordimer's tone and comments seem to imply that the writer should be concerned with other issues (perhaps because she herself, as a comfortably middle-class woman in South Africa, is cushioned from domestic trivia when she writes), but worse than that, she states these personal beliefs like objective critical judgements (and I am not clear what on earth she means by the "objective reality" of Efurú). Gordimer's work, whilst technically very accomplished, is very much a continuity of the British novel, despite non-British subject matter and despite her efforts on behalf of recognition of black South African writers and admiration of their work.

The fact that such comment comes from such an otherwise libertarian writer as Gordimer clearly indicates the difficulty in pushing back the "dominant modes." Sofola's work is always concerned with doing this, for she functions in a space which is individualistic and yet closely connected to groups which are effectively muted in modern Nigerian society. She often attacks so-called progress and supports tradition of an enlightened kind because she believes that African tradition with its spiritual centre is healthier than modern post-industrial society, and she writes particularly from the point of view of the woman about this. She has often said that "maternity leave" for traditional women, i.e. the space society gave them to recover from birth and tend the new child well, was infinitely better than modern arrangements for this. Sofola, however, is occupying a space so individually presented, (for she sides with neither feminists of a modern international persuasion, nor with Marxist thought, nor with the kind of traditionalism which is simply reactionary) that she has risked being marginalized in what she says by those who are not looking to understand her realities, but to impose their own. In short, she is very political but not easy for those who look for large and sweeping statements by which to understand political position.

Sofola, then, is important for two reasons: firstly because she dramatizes the condition of women in Nigeria with originality

and provocative energy, and secondly because she challenges readers, critics and audiences in her way of presenting issues through complex dramatic confrontations. In engaging the critic/audience, Sofola seeks to offer a portrait of the contradictions and complexities of a given situation, rather than to offer a simplistic political statement, and this is the literary/theatrical realization of her declaration of being close to day to day life rather than cloistered with ideas and books, which have an effect of encouraging abstraction and political generalization.

*The Sweet Trap* was commissioned by the Nigerian Association of University Women for International Women's Year in 1975. Sofola at that time taught Theatre Arts at the University of Ibadan, and had worked steadily on her playscripts and productions since the early 1970's: she worked both as director and academic, teaching production skills as well as intellectual approaches to drama and theatre. Her *forte* is dramatic versatility in her writing, and her scripts are strikingly varied in form and style, depending on the occasion for which each was written or her particular interest in experimenting with a form at the time. Although she has written a substantial amount of drama and a good deal of this has been published,<sup>13</sup> she has received little critical attention to this date.<sup>14</sup> The reason for this is possibly that she is not a strong artist with words, on the whole, and her language skills come alive more in performance than on the page, and also she has a reputation amongst intellectuals in Nigeria for being conservative, which *The Sweet Trap* seems to have established.

Sofola is extremely good at creating theatrical effects, as in her early play, *The Disturbed Peace of Christmas*, which was commissioned as a school Nativity play and which is a provocative version of a usual Christmas pageant in that the schoolgirl playing Mary is portrayed as really being pregnant and unmarried. In a number of her plays, she seeks to shatter audience expectation and leave important questions in the air. Obviously, in making such judgements, I am implicitly elevating non-verbal theatricality to a level of importance at least comparable with verbal dramatic skills, and that is important in my perception of drama in general. This means that I can allow Sofola's theatrical

skills to outweigh her verbal skills, and this itself reflects a kind of approach which emerges from a practical immersion in theatre production. Sofola herself is a committed and good producer of plays. She is also very research oriented:

... because of my belief that one will not understand people even as characters unless you understand what moulded them and the world in which they move and live and have their being, because it is that world that determines what they should value, what punishment they should expect should they do certain things and also what reward ... The society defines what the totality of their world is and what is expected beyond the visible. (*Interview*)

This quotation is important because it reveals a consciousness thoroughly willing to accept social directives for personal action. Sofola envisages, of course, a small village society in which values can be communally understood and an individual has a strong relation to the social context. She has a conviction that tradition in her own Bendel-Igbo region of Nigeria was substantially better for women than modern society. Not only that, but she regards educated Nigerian women somewhat severely:

I feel the so-called modern educated women are ignorant of what the woman is in tradition and on top of that are arrogant. If they would only allow themselves to look they will find that they have no place either in the superstructure which came from Europe or in the tradition which they are rejecting. (*Interview*)

It is these attitudes which shape *The Sweet Trap*. The play is centred around the conflicts between Clara Sotubo, "a well educated young woman," and Femi, her husband, "a young professional." These two rather immature but high-achieving and middle-class, modernistic individuals clash over roles within the marriage. The play opens with Clara receiving a feminist friend, Mrs. Cecilia Ajala, into her house; Mrs. Ajala is in retreat from Okebadan Festival, which itself forms a contentious focus in the play for various characters' disagreements about gender and culture issues. Mrs. Ajala complains to Clara that the Festival is "rowdy" and has degenerated in recent times into a male revenge on women since women have begun to make efforts to resist male

domination. She declares that "Men have enjoyed untold powers in this society for centuries and would resist any threat" (2). In the old days, she says, the Festival was not just a ridicule of female genitals. Clara (who calls the Festival "primitive," a term associated with old-style Eurocentric anthropology and racism), asks whether it is a fertility festival and Mrs. Ajala replies "In a male-dominated society, fertility means femininity" (2). Her advice to Clara over a conflict with Femi about her birthday party is "Don't yield an inch." At this point he comes in and Mrs. Ajala rises "automatically" to greet him, in accordance with traditional Yoruba family custom, and then tries to underplay this lapse. Femi offers the opinion that the Festival is the "epitome" of their understanding of the human psyche, and represents the understanding which the "*forefathers*" (my italics) had of the need for emotional and psychological release of tensions. He emphasizes that the sexes did not war during pre-colonial times, but instead "the roles were . . . clearly defined" and everyone "knew his place and stayed there" (4). His ultimate defence is that "Our mother never complained" and therefore the Festival is justified. Thus at the outset, the tensions are laid out, and the plot works out the gender tension to a controversial ending.

Clara's husband does finally refuse her her birthday party, in the context of a dinner where she is most aggressively critical of him, ("It seems I have to remind you each time that civilized people know what to do at the table"; "Dr. Olufemi Sotubo, a man who flies after every skirt on the street has no kingdom" [6, 8]). He pushes her into a chair and asserts: "Get it into your head once and for all that your university education does not raise you above the illiterate fish seller in the market" (10). He says her degree makes no difference, she is still a woman and must be treated "as a subordinate." But when Clara reports this quarrel to her friends, Mrs. Ajala and Fatima Oyegunle, she says Femi broke a bottle of beer on her head. Not surprisingly, the women support her and Fatima, who is an uneducated village girl whose husband is as boorish as Femi, offers to host Clara's birthday party to defy Femi's ban. Dr. Oyegunle says in a crudely masculinist way:

I married her because I thought at that time that an unspoilt village girl would make a better wife than these university rough-necks. (21-22)<sup>15</sup>

It is no wonder that the women feel alienated and Mrs. Okon, who is American says "Men aren't worth the bother. We learnt that a long time ago and the women of the United States are now pilots of their own lives" (13). She says also that Nigerian women play "second fiddle" to their men, and this upsets her.

The battle is drawn up, and when the party takes place, it is disrupted by masqueraders who burst in creating chaos. One of these persons is dressed as a woman. Clara afterwards insults Fatima by criticising the degree of "village pepper" in her cooking and also saying that the intruders were "ruffians" from Fatima's village. In retaliation, Fatima says Clara "created so much trouble for her husband" that she had to move the party, and then brought in "her former ruffian lovers." Clearly their friendship is over.

But at this stage there is intervention from the elderly Dr. Jinadu, a man of authority in Clara's family, and her uncle. He and his wife represent an alternative (and more traditional) kind of relationship between man and woman, and Mrs. Jinadu insists that a couple should depend on each other and value each other highly. Jinadu brings all of the warring parties together (a traditional move) to discuss their differences and he and his wife use their authoritative position to effect some changes, the most dramatic of which is the forcing of Clara to kneel in front of her husband and ask his forgiveness, which action ends the play. Also Mr. Ajala confesses to having hired the masqueraders to embarrass and shame his wife as a last act before starting divorce proceedings. Dr. Jinadu chides him for this: "... a man should not take extreme actions ... " (73).

Thus it seems that the male world reimposes authority over the female, and the women do not appear in a very good light. Yet when one considers Sofola's views it is possible to see how the play is meant to work in a much more complex way than it first seems. She says, for example, that a modern woman does "accept" the way Clara does in the play, not for any good reason, but because:

she has no basis, no world in which to operate so all she needs to do is to bang her head against the wall the men have built . . . and when she perishes, she perishes senselessly. (*Interview*)

But she does not let the men off either:

if we (women) dare to insist on what tradition has for us, the modern man will be destroyed. Because (he) does not have the world that his father had. (*Interview*)

Both the modernist men and the modernist women in the play behave badly, but when Dr. Jinadu and his wife restore some sort of peace, at least they insist on kindness and good will as well: Mrs. Jinadu leaves asking Femi to take care of Clara and Femi himself seems concerned for her. Thus the "sweet trap" of the title, that set by Mr. Ajala for his wife with the masqueraders, becomes modern combative marriage in which husband and wife have little respect for each other.

Sofola, then, is concerned with attacking the warfare between modern Nigerian men and women, a warfare which feminism, at least the American style represented by Mrs. Okon, seeks to join and may intensify. Sofola's resistance to such feminism may stem from her years in Chicago (she lived there during her teens and did two U.S. degrees before returning home). Her commitment to tradition is not a blind turning to the past but a desire to bring both men and women back to a state of willingness to accept old ways of mutual respect and responsibility. She views family life as vital to raising children and thinks those women who do not have children can easily live a "male" life: for Sofola mothering brings adulthood to women (this is a traditional view as well).

Sofola is indisputably allied with tradition but it is a thinking and a selective alliance, and one which is perfectly able to co-exist with her strong insistence on women's awareness and rights. Many women in Africa and the world want to continue to believe in family, relations with men and motherhood, but want these experiences to improve. Marie Linton Umeh remarked in a recent essay on Buchi Emecheta "Most of us are still very conservative."<sup>16</sup> She went on to say that in the fusing of the old and new, it seems to be the old African tradition of restraint of indi-

vidual self-interest in favour of the group which prevails. This is the spirit of the ending of *The Sweet Trap*, where Jinadu brings peace to a fractured society and allows space for affection to exist again.

Sofola's view, then, is counter to Emecheta's fiercer and more modernistic feminism. She is also attacked by the socialist-Marxist critics who see her as simply reprehensibly reactionary.<sup>17</sup> But she is truly aware of her African ancestry and has done considerable research into traditional rituals in her hometown area.<sup>18</sup> She has found evidence of female councils which preceded colonialist male dominance of women in Eastern Nigerian culture (and also in that of her husband's people, the Yorubas). She finds tradition contains reality for her in a way European culture in Africa does not, and it is this *reality* which she emphasizes in *The Sweet Trap*.

Sofola has made some problems for herself in the play because it is placed in a European-style domestic interior setting and is a talk-play, with a strongly polemical character, which makes the characters rather obviously representative. It is however a very good piece of performance, with its theme of dilemma and strong and disturbing ending. Sofola may leave the European surface of the play fairly conventional, but she is very original minded about the twists in the plot and the way the action is resolved. The play was a piece for an occasion with a known audience of University women (Claras, Mrs. Ajalas and Mrs. Okons, no doubt, in part). Thus it is easy to see why it has a rather contained sort of form, and the talking is explained by the desire on the part of these educated people to be as Eurocentric in their life style as possible.

But in the end, I feel the play works as a talking point, a deliberate stirring of controversy, a raising of necessary issues. It helps to balance the more radically modern and internationalist feminisms in Africa, which are necessary and true but not the whole truth, nor desire of many women. Sofola is not against women, or their development, or their rights. She just wants the best of the old culture to survive and sustain good family life. It is a necessary representation of part of the complex spectrum of women's political attitudes in Africa, to which not enough atten-

tion is paid, because feminism is all too often simply allied with modernist radicalism. For Sofola, the question of woman's position is, rather, an old concern. The play makes me uneasy, in one sense, because it seems to be so easily turned by an unthinking audience into a simple travesty of women's fight for their rights and for respect. But, properly understood, it seems to me useful and a voice which has not been much heard within progressive women's groups in Africa, to which Sofola, as a career woman and a feisty fighter for equalities, does belong.

Sofola speaks of "realities" and the plural here is important. Many sensitive feminist thinkers are coming to recognize that generalization and political unity are prone to encourage prejudice and ignorance and that a multiplicity of truths is the only honest presentation of reality. Divorce and gender warfare seem to Sofola to be wrong because they are the result of refusal to being loving and to compromise through to a social harmony which can allow the family and the rest of communal tradition to survive, albeit in changed form, through this modern period. Early feminists like Germaine Greer who advocated the end of family life in the militant sixties have now begun to rethink their position, and Robin Morgan, the American feminist, has expressed anxiety that collective use of stereotypes once used against the oppressed for positive effect by them might harden prejudices and "isms" in a new generation.<sup>19</sup> Carol Gilligan explains that failure to see woman's different "reality" and hear her different voice is the result of assumption that social experience is only "in one mode."<sup>20</sup> Omolara Ogundipe-Lesley has said that the African woman writer must write her "own truth."<sup>21</sup> These statements will continue to be made for some time in atmospheres of political groupings which make them seem isolated and even wrong, but essentially they are all statements which desire that a pluralism of values and experiences be expressed. Sofola's *The Sweet Trap* belongs to this kind of thinking, for despite the polemical thrust towards reconciliation and resolution in the play the many different points of view expressed establish a strong sense of plural realities within a small society of the middle-class in Nigeria, which have all to be faced before harmony can be restored. It is to be hoped that critical thinking about African women writers

will also become more interested in the possibilities for complexity and less inclined to simplistic "definitive" statements which confine, such as those by Lloyd Brown, a usually perceptive critic, who writes in his book on African women writers that Buchi Emecheta has left her culture,<sup>22</sup> and Oladele Taiwo, who asserts that African women writers are intellectual and helping to maintain the "feminist movement."<sup>23</sup> It is indeed, then, a question of *realities* (not reality) when we deal with African women's experiences.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Elaine Savory Fido, personal interview, July 1983. Subsequent references given parenthetically in text.
- <sup>2</sup> The term feminist, whilst partially accepted, and also redefined, by Third World feminist groups, e.g. the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action (CAFRA) is still not acceptable to many Third World woman writers, e.g. Zulu Sofola and Flora Nwapa. Many of us prefer Alice Walker's (and others) term of Womanism.
- <sup>3</sup> See, for example: "The failure to see the different reality of women's lives and to hear the difference in their voices stems in part from an assumption that there is a single mode of social experience and interpretation." Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP; 1982) 173. "... she must tell her own truth, and write what she wishes to write. But she must be certain that what she is telling is the truth and nothing else but ... albeit her own truth." Omolara Ogundipe-Lesley, "The Female Writer and Her Commitment (II)," *The Guardian* (Lagos) 21 December 1983, 11.
- <sup>4</sup> *Culture, Tradition and Society in the West African Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975).
- <sup>5</sup> Heinemann published both in their African Writers Series. Also available in the early seventies in the field of West African anglophone fiction was Nwapa's *Idu* (London: Heinemann, 1970), and Adaora Lily Ulasi's *Many Things You No Understand* (London: Michael Joseph, 1971). Amadi's novel is extensively discussed in Obiechina's book.
- <sup>6</sup> See, for example, Chinua Achebe, "Colonialist Criticism," *Morning Yet on Creation Day* (London: Heinemann, 1975) 3-18; Abdul JanMohamed, *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa* (Amherst: U. of Massachusetts P., 1983).
- <sup>7</sup> See Robin Morgan, *The Anatomy of Freedom: Feminism, Physics and Global Politics* (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1984) on the adoption by the oppressed of stereotypes used against them by their oppressors as a sign of their resistance and group solidarity, intended to reverse the meaning of the stereotype to a positive effect within the oppressed: "... the institutionalising of it as a permanent, serious thread of theoretical thinking is ultimately counter-productive and in fact destructive, since at its essence such thinking affirms not individual uniqueness within a spectrum of human commonality but *group difference* — always a highly dangerous compartmentalisation which leads ineluctably to racism, sexism, classism and ism-isms." (p. 145).

- <sup>8</sup> JanMohamed, 267.
- <sup>9</sup> See, for example: Ama Ata Aidoo, *Dilemma of a Ghost* (Accra: Longman, 1965); Efua Sutherland, *Edufa* (London: Longman and Green, 1967).
- <sup>10</sup> See, for example: Buchi Emecheta, *The Joys of Motherhood* (London: Heinemann, 1979); Flora Nwapa, *Ejuru* (London: Heinemann, 1966).
- <sup>11</sup> "Towards a Critical Framework for Jamaican Literature: A Reading of the Fiction of Victor Stafford Reid and Other Jamaican Writers," diss., UWI (St. Augustine) 1985, 63. The review from the *TLS* is by B. E. Howell-Bond, 18 June 1976: 747.
- <sup>12</sup> *The Black Interpreters* (Johannesburg: Spolcas Ravan, 1973).
- <sup>13</sup> *The Disturbed Peace of Christmas* (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1971); *Wedlock of the Gods* (London: Evans, 1972); *The Operators* (Nigeria: Spectrum, 1973); *King Emene: Tragedy of a Rebellion* (London: Heinemann, 1974); *The Wizard of Law* (London: Evans, 1975); *The Sweet Trap* (London: OUP, 1977; Ibadan: University Press, 1979); and, performed but not published, *Old Wines Are Tasty* (1974); *Song of a Maiden* (1981); *Reveries in the Moonlight* (1977); *Omu Ako of Isele-Oligbo* (undated).
- <sup>14</sup> See, however: F. Ajayi, "Woman in Transition: Zulu Sofola's Plays," *Nigerian Theatre Journal* 1.1. (1983): 24-31; Dapo Adelgba "Wale Ogunyemi, Zulu Sofola and Ola Rotimi: Three Dramatists in Search of a Language," *Theatre in Africa*, ed. Ogunba and Irele (Ibadan: UP Ibadan, 1978) 201-20.
- <sup>15</sup> Salami, a young cousin of Femi, is even worse in his attitudes to women and represents the worsening of male behaviour in a younger generation.
- <sup>16</sup> "Reintegration with the Lost Self: A Study of Buchi Emecheta's *Double Yoke*," in *Ngambika: Women in African Literature*, ed. Davies and Grave (Trenton, N.J.: African World Press, 1986) 179.
- <sup>17</sup> As far as I am aware, the criticism has only been oral and not in published sources.
- <sup>18</sup> Anocha, in Bendel-Igbo.
- <sup>19</sup> In *Sex and Destiny* (London: Seeker and Warburg, 1984) and Morgan.
- <sup>20</sup> Gilligan, 173.
- <sup>21</sup> "The Female Writer and her Commitment" *The Guardian* (Lagos) 21 December 1983: 11.
- <sup>22</sup> *Women Writers of Black Africa* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood U, 1982) 275.
- <sup>23</sup> *Culture and the Nigerian Novel* (London: Macmillan, 1976) xiii.