

**BEYOND THE DRAMATIC CULTURE OF STREET PROTEST: MORAL PERSUASION
FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL RULERS IN PROTEST PERFORMANCE.**

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Abstract

Whilst there is a wealth of literature globally that explores the trajectories of street protest, there are however other issues that are yet to be discussed. In Nigeria and Africa at large, despite the vast research on the status of protesters, little is known about the perspective of traditional rulers participating in street protest. The overall image that emerges from the drama/ play (text) and phenomenal events (context) is silence and absence of this group of individuals with influential positions. This paper examines the dramatic culture of street protest and seeks a moral approach to the participation of traditional rulers as social actors in the prevailing culture of street protest. The methodology of research is qualitative and exploratory in nature. To achieve

this, content analysis approach is implored where the paper analyses occurrences and participation in street protest. To explore the reason traditional rulers have not participated in street protest, this paper identifies plays that treat protest as a theme and examine if any play characterises protesters as traditional rulers. The findings from the analysis of text (plays) and contextual (street protest) performances disclose that there is no portrayal by playwrights or empirical evidence of traditional rulers participating in street protest.

Key Words: Drama, Morals, Participation, Protest, Traditional Rulers

Introduction

In Africa, the issue of conflict resolution is one in which the society still relies on the prominent role of traditional leadership for the intervention or advocacy of crisis of any sorts. In a survey conducted by Carol Logan, the researcher investigated across 14 African countries, asking respondents series of questions. Amongst the questions asked, this article takes interest in the fourth question which states; "To whom would you first turn for help to resolve a violent conflict between different groups in your country?" (Logan 11). Outlining 6 options, the question identified traditional chiefs, traditional courts; security forces (police and military) and local government officials among others. Ratings from the survey indicate that Malawi and Lesotho top the list with respondents identifying traditional leaders as the best hope for resolving problems. In Malawi, between traditional leaders and the armed forces, 56% say they will turn to traditional rulers while 15% opt for security forces. An evaluation of other countries reveals the following: in South Africa, 4% routed for traditional rulers while 39% said they strongly turn to the security forces. Tanzania had a close ranking of 12% turning to traditional rulers while 11% to the security forces. Uganda, on the other hand, had 6% for traditional rulers

and 15% relying on the armed forces. On her own part, Nigeria had 17% turning to traditional rulers while 28% will prefer the intervention of the security forces (see Logan 2008 for more details).

Forms Of Dramatic Action In Street Protest

Drama is a representation of human beings in action. By action Aristotle meant what characters do and why they do it. Other relevant issues such as the theme or the question that relates to the play, form the key focus or dramatic action of the play. Francis Fergusson in his opinion presents three steps through which a dramatic action builds on;

Purpose: an awareness of a desire or goal.

Passion: the strength of desire or pain that motivates the characters to fulfil their goal.

Perception: the understanding that results from the pain (Fergusson 23).

Basically, these three steps add to the form of dramatic action, but because the range of human condition differs, so is the view of each playwright. Still, however, all drama shares certain qualities that enable interpretations to be made especially based on the characteristics of effective dramatic action. Boulton describes drama as "literature that walks and talks before our eyes" (Boulton 3). These patterned representations of drama as suggested by Boulton, provide analogy for this study to refer to protest as a walking, talking- and seeing theatre. Whether or not people are consciously aware of the similarity between drama and protest, this study's aim is to make the similarity appear more empirically. To see

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this, the study takes advantage of Boulton's position and describes protest performance as a literature that walks and talks before our eyes.

To effectively see this happen, dramatic action is organised to reveal its purpose and goal and to evoke from the audience specific responses of fear, pity, laughter, ridicule and so on. Thus, the situation must be sufficiently compelling to arouse curiosity and the protesters action interesting enough to attract sympathy, the issues significant enough to provoke concern and the spectacle unusual enough to attract attention. With these characteristics present, effective dramatic action engages and maintains interest. The nature of the theatre by itself brings into focus the background, aesthetics, enterprise of performance practices. During the 20th century, theatre studies according to Josette Feral and Ronald P. Bermingham came under siege. These authors saddled the blame on the basis that "the text was no longer able to guarantee the theatricality of the stage" (Feral and Bermingham 94). In other words, a literary text ceases to be a concept that is solely associated in a privileged way with the theatre neither does it enjoy the strict reserve of entertaining the audience. A performance theorist, Richard Schechner, states that, 'what the book was, the performance has become' (Schechner 12).

This study holds the opinion that theatre/ drama is often used as a metaphor to describe activities of street protesters; it has become imperative to note it as a narrative worthy of intellectual discourse. This is significant on the basis that they provide literary material of many kinds: play texts, viral internet sites, and even television documentaries. Throughout history, street protest has appropriated theatrical elements from a wide range of dramatic elements- characters in humorous encounters and tragic circumstance. This in turn reveals thrills and suspense of traditional melodrama, song, music and dance framed in dramatically in street protest.

Melodrama

This is the popular culture manifestation of street protest and as such is the most dramatic form in protest performance. Melodrama emphasises clear and comic plots; typically, there is at least one elaborate spectacular happening. With its simple but powerful stories and spectacle, melodrama offers compelling and popular entertainment to the spectators of the protest. The popularity of melodrama in street protest can be explained in part as stemming from the Arab Spring protest. As in Film industry today where many of melodrama's features are incorporated (-among teeming examples are *Hercules*, *Hunger Games*, *James Bond films*) to attract the largest viewership, street protest incorporation

of melodrama may be to also cater to mass taste leading to mass participation. Melodrama and variety entertainment apparently proves to be the answer to mass appeal but can the same be said of its role in enhancing the quality of street protest performance?

The pattern of melodrama in street protest is always the same, variety of happenings, ever more spectacular effects in emotional expression and dramatizations of actions to make them more realistic. According to Brockett and Ball, "realistic spectacle, thrilling effects, novelty, suspense, and the vindication of virtue were the major appeals in melodrama" (Brockett and Ball 145). Essentially, melodrama owes its appeal most to spectacle. In this stance, street protest is enhanced by melodrama's visual appeal and the potential of which has increased since turn of the century.

While this study attempts to pitch reality against conventions of melodrama as a method that gratifies the experiences of man, it does so under the auspices of everyday life. We therefore reconsider the culture of street protest and examine the relationship between morals, emotions and empathy in the context of the #BringBackOurGirls (BBOGs) and #EndSARs protests. The evidence that traditional leaders have hardly participated in protest is articulated in this paper using these two notable Nigerian street protests as paradigm.

This paper argues that traditional rulers have a moral role to play as participants in protest especially in the protest for the demand of the release of the abducted Chibok school girls, who were kidnapped on the 14th April, 2014 by a Boko Haram terrorist group.

The basic problem perceived, however, is that, the cultural honour and respect bequeathed on traditional rulers alongside the sacredness of their office creates a sentimental reasoning that calling on traditional rulers to participate in protest is an impious act and an emotional aversion.

By extension, discussion is focused on an analysis of the interplay of dramatics of protest as a basis for evaluating traditional rulers' lack of participation in street protest. The basic argument is that traditional rulers perform roles as advocates in matters affecting their communities or the nation, but in the interest of the #BringBackOur Girls (BBOGs) or the #EndSARs protest, it is clear that they have not regarded their participation in these protests to campaign for the request of the parents of these abducted girls or Nigerian youths who clamour for the end of police brutality as an important moral aspect that compels justice, conscience, emotions, and empathy. Besides, the sharp differentiation of the status of protesters in the culture of street protest is shaped and defined most probably by

society and playwrights and their drama/play. This probably is as a result of the prevalent culture model of street protest which is often characterised by the status of youths and women as participants in street protest.

Strategic Dramatic Modes of Change through Street Protest Performance

The word drama or dramatic is often used to describe what happens daily in real life as to those similar actions portrayed by playwrights in a play. When events (like street protest) occur, playwrights use their creativity to represent or create a visionary society with the aim to change it positively. Over the past decades, the world has seen an increase in protest and other forms of collective action. As governments insensitivity to its citizens increases globally, and acts of terrorism escalates, many resort to protest as a means of seeking change. Street protests have long been performative expressions of antipathy. Post-modern communities have used dramatic tactics to transform discontent into melodrama, humour, irony, and funfair. Although the dramatic culture of protest has the potential and power to attract not just immediate attention, but media and global publicity, and build community among activists, it has been debated if it is successful in directly effecting changes. Protests tend to resemble one another in certain basic ways, and this encourages simplistic analogies across very different contexts.

The performance nature of street protest generates a dramatic outlook that naturally attracts intense attention. The process of street protest arises from conflict situations that threaten the polity and as an expression of civil society, street protest takes on a simple and unconventional dramatic form, style and action, but what purpose does drama play in the process and goal of street protest?

It is the view of this paper that morality is as human as the condition or experience of humans. Joseph Omoregbe impresses that what promotes human welfare is considered as good, while whatever is detrimental to human welfare is considered as evil (Omoregbe 37). Fundamentally, morality bears a human face that all human action be guided by human welfare. K Wiredu reasons that among the Akan culture of Ghana, morality is based on rational reflection as to what is conducive to human welfare. Specifically, what this means is that "the plight of your fellow man is your plight" (Wiredu 7). This simply explains that every human is in the position to allow their conscience, emotion and empathy play a central role in their human action. Hence all people are endowed with the ability of evolving some form of morality independent of their status cadre, ranks and

gender.

Therefore, all humans have a responsibility to be conscious of their social role in the moral dimensions of issues that are anti-social, like the heinous and inhumane act of the Special Anti-Robbery Squad (SARs) against the human rights of members of society. So, assigning a critical role to traditional rulers as street protesters in a play text would appear not only desirable but possible.

This presupposes that on the issue of morality and leadership, it behoves on the playwright to conceive this as a focus of group processes and as a matter of inducing compliance to achieve a desired outcome and as an act of emotional persuasion of a power relation and structure. Traditional leaders, clearly still play an important role in the lives of many Africans even in this post-modern society. They are contacted more frequently by ordinary Africans in their efforts to solve their problems or express their views. In many countries, traditional authorities play a pre-eminent role as mediators of violent conflict.

Undoubtedly, the role, position and personality of traditional rulers are embedded in social fabrics of life. This directly means that, the issues of society today are issues of leadership and change. They consequently extend to the culture of who participates in demanding for change through the space of street protest. It is against this background that this paper explores the possibility of traditional rulers as activist in street protest. It aims to deconstruct the myth and unconceived construction of traditional rulers' ability to participate in protest performance using play text as efficient and effective paradigm of illustration.

The question of how traditional authorities "fit" into street protest advocacy becomes particularly acute at the leadership level, where these leaders exert the most influence on the daily lives of Africans. Danladi James in his submission on leadership states that: Leadership is the ability of an individual (no specified term) to influence, motivate and enable others to contribute towards the effectiveness and success of an organization, society, community and country of which they are members. It involves taking oneself out of the picture and considering the needs of others (James 4)

The concept of leadership thus embodies all affairs of human activities. It is related with roles, status and social issues. While the state of society is today characterised by acts of inflation- economic hardship, police brutality, kidnapping, banditry and insurgency, sadly, the situation is confronted through street protest campaign by mostly pressure groups- NGOs, youths and women (King 101). From the foregoing, it can be deduced that street protest is a moral responsibility that these group of individuals take upon themselves to agitate and serve as opinionators for/

of change. Evidently, the leadership case of traditional rulers as social change activist can in reality be possible.

The point is simple: a personality is a landscape of power, even and especially when it is familiar and reassuring. It is the symbol of authority, motivation and change. Think of the healing power of the presence of King Herald the 5th at the horrendous events round the killings on the island of Utoya in 2011, which took the lives of 69 young left-wing Norwegians. Norway taught the world a lesson in dignity and grief that time when the King showed up to identify with the people. Deleuze and Guattari teach us that 'faciality' – the visualization of power as framed by a recognizable face distributes power across a territory (Deleuze and Guattari 204).

The political economy of personality-status codifies dominant power. It allocates cultural and political codes: gender, class, ethnicity, propriety – as passports to power and control. The political function of faces and of faciality enters a new phase of intensity in our era of terrorism and hyper-mediation. Visualization today is the ultimate form of success, control and dominance. As a sign of his manipulative power, Abubakar Shekau- the then leader of the Boko Haram adopts this strategy. He occasionally released visual images of himself threatening to unleash more terror on Nigerians when he initiated the kidnap of the Chibok girls April 14th, 2014 in Nigeria.

The personality of an individual as landscape of performance underscores the crucial role power tends to play as an unconscious interpellation to protest demands and the mechanisms of power. While public figures express and symbolize functionality, the function of dominant personality is always effective regardless of the gender of the person actually exercising that power. The images of Nelson Mandela and Princess Diana were representations that once and historically fulfil both a psychic and a social function, fuelling the performance of power and control.

In African democracies however, the personality of our rulers and leaders are also normally used for ironic, satirical and culture-jamming purposes. Edward Said states that democratic criticism requires the uses of satire and irony as means to 'speak truth to power' (Said 4). Regardless of whether one conforms to this position or opposes this stance, it is difficult to deny that traditional leaders have demonstrated remarkable leadership in African communities. Their continuing importance in the social and political life of their communities, whether perceived as a positive or a negative, is virtually indisputable.

On this strength, Ensminger states that; "in many places, they still play a major role in managing land

tenure, often even in systems that have supposedly privatised ownership rights" (Ensminger 166). From colonial period to 21st century, the sphere of responsibility of traditional rulers continues to be important in local justice, property inheritance, and the implementation of customary law, as well as conflict resolution. Perceived and celebrated as the guardians of their communities' culture, they often play significant roles in cultural events and rituals. In fact, some analysts even suggest that traditional institutions are experiencing a resurgence or revival in the era of democratization.

As important as their presence and services are to the society, this discourse in this instance has come to rely upon traditional authorities as a possible last resource for advocating that the abducted Chibok girls be released. Also, this notion is raised on the basis that traditional leaders may also be valued because they provide a sense of continuity and stability in an era of great change. Michael Williams suggests that they can serve as intermediaries to "ensure that change occurs in an orderly and familiar way" (Williams 121).

Presenting traditional leaders as activists will open up new vista for us to know much that we do not understand about traditional leaders, their roles and the public perceptions of them that could contribute to the efforts to come to terms with the reality of their importance. Thus, the actual feasibility of installing traditional leaders in social action is certainly in question, but the question provides an indicator of public attitudes toward traditional political participation as an alternative to members of civil society who frequently engage in street protest. While this article recognizes that extreme cases require extreme measures, it seeks to revert public attitudes toward traditional leadership: the question of whether or not there is any public sentiment in favour of placing traditional rulers in front of a protest is the purpose behind the suggestion.

Consequently, this work is mindful that controversies will be raised about this proposition, such as; should traditional leaders abdicate their thrones and venture into the arena of their subjects? Will their participation in street protest not affect their sacredness?

The interpretation from the evidence sift from the plays of most Nigerian playwrights is that the society is not welcoming of an idea that subjects traditional structures to a social action of this nature, even when doing such may bring about change. With this we ask, is there a traditional bias in the body polity about the contributions of traditional rulers in the democratization of Nigerian society? Could the lack of mention in any play text be as a result of the dominant patriarchal orientation- seeing that most traditional rulers are men?

This article raises its voice in this aspect and hopes it adds to on-going discussions in the field of feminist studies, drama and socio-political change.

Rethinking the Participation of African Traditional Rulers in Protest Performance

Fostering the role of traditional authorities as mediators may not be novel as this has been a common theme among development and conflict resolution practices. For example, in March 1995, a conference on "Civil Society and National Reconciliation in Mali and Niger" took place in the wake of Tuareg unrest. At the conference, a programme of reinforcement for traditional chiefs towards the enhancement of their capacities especially in the prevention and management of sub-regional conflict was proposed. A few months later, a further workshop on "Increasing the Capacities of Traditional Structures in the Prevention and Management of National and Sub-regional Conflict in West Africa" took place in Niger in November, 1995. (Ray Donald et al 1997).

Traditional rulers are instituted to advance community development across societies of most African cultures. This political administration system attempts to mediate reactive community responses with a problem-solving approach to crime and social disorder. This to some extent serves as a synthesis of traditional law enforcement techniques and a pro-active preventative orientation that seeks community engagement and partnerships. For example, in South Africa's second most densely populated province of Kwazulu-Natal, (KZN), traditional leaders in KZN were deeply embroiled in the political violence that swept through the region during the 1980s and 1990s. Jo Beall and Ngonyama, Mduduzi report that being more numerous and having greater salience than in many other parts of the country they held a large degree of authority, particularly in rural areas. In KZN, *amakhosi* comprise a king, 277 chiefs, 8 deputy chiefs and 10,000 headmen, who together have jurisdiction over 23 regional authorities and four community authorities (Beall, Mduduzi 11).

David Lan explains that the negotiated management style has been shown to reduce violence at social protests, the Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) had positive experiences working with indigenous leaders including chiefs and spirit mediums. The latter spoke for the ancestors and provided legitimacy to the institution of chieftaincy. ZANLA convinced the Zimbabwe National Union (ZANU) leadership to recruit traditional leaders who opposed the colonial state and many made an important contribution to Zimbabwe's struggle for independence. Consequently,

in the post-colonial period they could not be overlooked and following ZANU's electoral victory in 1980, the Zimbabwe Constitution reserved ten seats for chiefs in its unicameral parliament (Lan 208).

Over the first decade of independence, in Rhodesia, there were a number of developments that appeared both to woo and then to undermine the authority of chiefs in authoritarian and contradictory ways, leading them to attack unpopular post-independence interventions using the language of tradition to legitimise their opposition. Although South Africa did not adopt the Zimbabwean institutional model, it learned from the experience of its northern neighbour that the loyalty of traditional leaders was not to be trifled with and could not be guaranteed (Beall and Mduduzi 7).

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA), in October 2000, forced the Mbeki government to postpone municipal elections and to convene a committee to address their grievance over the redistricting of municipalities and the resulting control of rural lands. Through this, Williams Micheal suggests that "traditional leaders have expanded their scope of authority" in the post-apartheid era (Micheal 22). The action of some Zambian chiefs is also reminiscent of the democratising role usually imparted to civil society. '*The Post*' reported that in April, they rejected a proposed constitutional amendment that would have allowed Frederic Chiluba to run for a third presidential term ('*The Post*' 11). In Nigeria, one of the most important ways in which traditional rulers have contributed to the democratisation process is by emphasising and sensitising the agenda of peace and unity.

Concerns about the health needs of the Northern communities of Kano, Kebbi, Sokoto, Katsina and Jigawa, have seen pharmaceutical companies (one such example is Pfizer) using traditional rulers to endorse a health policy by featuring in commercial TV advertisement to orientate the people about the benefits of polio prevention.

Besides, contextually on November 10th 2014, Charles Eyo, a journalist with Daily Trust reported that elderly women and traditional rulers were at the vanguard of a protest in Boki Local Government Area of Cross River state to demonstrate against the further demarcation of Nigeria/Cameroun. The report details that; Ninety-year-old, Micheal Owan Bedebe, led seven other traditional heads, youths and women to protest plans by the United Nations technical committee to cede their territories to Cameroun. He maintained that Danare and Bashua have been living peacefully with the people of Baje in Cameroun, but they were subtly trying to implant New Pillar 113A to divide his clan, one in

Nigeria while the other in Cameroun. So this 90 years old traditional ruler led a protest claiming they were not in support of any more annexation. To convey their message profoundly, they carried placards that read: "In old Pillar 113A, we believe that, New Pillars brought by the UN are unacceptable, FG, please come to our aid, Don't allow Danare to be ceded like Bakkassi" (Eyo 9).

In another vein, Doyin Adebunsi, a journalist from Ado Ekiti reported in the *Daily Trust* that, a regent and monarch led protest within their communities against power outage. The report showed that the traditional ruler of Aramoko- Ekiti, and the regent of Erio Ekiti on the 12th August, 2015, led their subjects on peaceful protests against power outage in their communities. To convey the intensity of the situation, the protesters blocked major roads as early as 7:30am, and as would be expected, this caused a gridlock (Adebunsi 8).

The argument so far is, if citizens canvass for harmonious relations in restive communities, then, traditional rulers must make every effort to show commitment and solidarity to their people when the situation calls for engaging in street protest. While decrying the activities of Boko Haram sect in the North-east Nigeria, former National Security Adviser (NSA) Col. Sambo Dasuki, as reported in *Daily Trust* challenged traditional rulers to work for peaceful co-existence in their domains because they have a responsibility to be peace builders in their communities. Dasuki urged the traditional rulers that while government is fighting insurgency, traditional rulers should help build consensus that will create peaceful co-existence.

On his own part, Olaiya Phillips, the then chairman of Northern States Christian Forum in a parley with Northern Christian Traditional Rulers urged the traditional rulers to become peace agents and ensure that their communities do not become "theatres of war" (Oguntola 12).

Social class and status certainly contribute to some influential extent, society's response to street protest performance. Often street protest attempts to bridge the space between audience members' personal experience and the content of a performance through the creation of empathy, the capacity to identify emotionally with the characters on stage. In order to enliven the atmosphere and mood of the protest, the cause of the protesters' agitations tends to serve a complimentary purpose that is central to the emotions displayed during the protest.

Playwrights and the Issue of Traditional Rulers as Protest Participants

This article has taken note that no account of street protest of any magnitude and particularly by traditional

rulers has been witnessed in the culture of street protest performance in Africa. It has also taken note that neither has any playwright portrayed in their drama its implication on societal change. The relation of theatre and the text is not far-fetched. From a performed text, audiences can identify with the performers and find meaning in the story enacted. Playwrights have written about the efficacy of street protest and their works have tried to illustrate how protest impacts on the socio-political issues of their time. Overtime, street protest or collective action is deployed as a means of openly confronting injustice.

Playwrights will benefit from this idea and seek opportunities of how to introspect on their own exclusionary practices. Playwrights must take on the challenging task of placing leaders at the centre of collective action, for by this they are re-imagining the idea of social justice from the perspective of the communities the traditional rulers serve. Thus, we recommend this inclusive participation. This is relevant arising from the situation in Peru, where Elizabeth Malkin asserts that 5,000 Awajun and Wampis indigenous demonstrators on June 5, 2009 blocked the highway in opposition to a decree that threatened their land in Bagua, the Amazonas region. The demonstrators led by Santiago Manuin, the primary protest organizer and a widely respected Awajun traditional leader, positioned themselves at the highway point and remained there for 11 days, in many cases more than a hundred miles away from their homes (Malkin 51).

Our findings are clear: attitudes from playwrights and members of civil society toward traditional rulers indicate that they are not compatible with street protest. We have seen strong evidence from the examples of protest situations cited in text and in real life contexts that Nigerian individuals tend to have an abominable orientation toward traditional leadership and street protest, for there is no documented participation of them in street protest.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, there is a long way to go, either by custom, or by law, before traditional rulers can be considered as social activist or protesters. The position of this paper is that elevating the status of traditional rulers in their societies as protest activist is not only the right thing to do, but the moral thing to do. Traditional rulers are often a community's greatest untapped resource, which makes calling upon them in these times of terrorist attacks and Fulani herdsmen invasion a powerful and effective way to promote national integration and global inclusiveness. What is fascinating about the two cases of street protest under discussion here is not only the mere fact that they

attracted international attention but that, till the time of writing this paper, some abducted Chibok girls are still in captivity of Boko- Haram, while the BBOGs protest seems to have ceased. On the other hand, in respect to the ENDSARS protest, some of the protesters are in voluntary asylum for fear of being killed when they return to Nigeria. Also, there is expressed dissatisfaction on the outcome of the committee of enquiry set up by the federal government to investigate issues of death and destruction during the ENDSARS protest.

The decimation of these related protests as such, forms and echoes the basis of this research. These two incidents continue to leave society in doubt about the federal government's ability to curb insurgency, kidnapping, banditry and police brutality. They speak about governments' failure to finally reunite the remaining abducted Chibok girls with their parents and governments lack of understanding the aim of the ENDSARS protest and appreciating the organized efforts of the protesters who unified to call for the ban of police brutality.

So, if our individual identities - based on how we live our lives as men, women; or as leaders and the ruled can contribute some level of ethical claims, then it is apt to agree with Appiah's perspective in asking what claims can our identity make upon a state (Appiah xiv)? Hence, what ethical claim can the identity of traditional rulers make in the heat of diverse societal problems? At this instance, this work relies on rhetoric- in the words of Aristotle, rhetoric is the faculty of observing in any given case, the available means of persuasion (24). This article thus justifies its position and poses these rhetoric questions- why are traditional rulers not at the core of street protest performance? Why are playwrights not deploying drama as an available means of persuasion to portray, inspire, enlighten and support traditional rulers as participants in street protest? Would there be any significant effect in the difficulties faced in society when playwrights resonate the role of traditional rulers in the culture of street protest performance?

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