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Performing Sustainability in West Africa

Cultural Practices and Policies for Sustainable Development

Edited by Meike Lettau, Christopher Yusufu Mtaku
and Eric Debrah Otchere

PERFORMING SUSTAINABILITY IN WEST AFRICA

This book discusses the role of cultural practices and policy for sustainable development in West Africa across different artistic disciplines, including performance, video, theatre, community arts and cultural heritage.

Based on ethnographic field research in local communities, the book presents findings on current debates of cultural sustainability in Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon and Benin. It provides a unique perspective connecting cultural studies, conflict studies and practical peacebuilding approaches through the arts. The first part pays particular attention to aspects of social cohesion and the circumstances of internally displaced persons, e.g., caused by the Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast Nigeria. The second part focuses on cultural policy issues and challenges in the context of sustainable development, investigating participatory approaches and bottom-up processes, the role of governments and civil society, as well as performing arts organisations and universities in policymaking and implementation processes.

Performing Sustainability in West Africa presents research results and new methods on the role of artistic and cultural practices in conflict situations as well as current debates in cultural policy for researchers, academics, NGOs and students in cultural studies, sustainable development studies and African studies.

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PREFACE

This edited volume is the outcome of a long-standing collaboration between the Universities of Hildesheim (Germany), Maiduguri (Nigeria) and Cape Coast (Ghana). The scholarly exchange between our institutions stretches back at least as far as 2008 – in fact, much further, if we consider some of the individuals that have been involved in various projects over the years. In 2016, then, our cooperation was given a new impetus with the launching of the interdisciplinary Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability: Cultures and Development in West Africa', which provided the more immediate context out of which this publication emerged. The Graduate School is an international training network for graduate students, supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) with funds from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Without the generous support of these agencies the realization of the present volume would not have been possible. We would therefore like to use this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to both DAAD and BMZ for their continued support and for their confidence in our collaborative efforts.

The core mandate of the Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability' has been, and still is, to support innovative, interdisciplinary PhD and master's projects in the overlapping fields of arts, culture, and performance studies, on the one hand, and sustainability research, on the other. Against this background, the Graduate School, since its inception, has brought together a highly diverse group of artists, scholars and cultural practitioners from different academic backgrounds and with a wide range of cultural experiences. It is this interdisciplinary breadth, combining arts, culture, and performance research with questions of peace, conflict management and sustainable development, that makes the Graduate School, in our eyes, truly unique. In the conceptualization phase of the project, it was far from clear whether our experiment in interdisciplinarity and interculturalism

would yield successful results. We believe, however, that the present collection of research articles speaks for itself, providing ample proof that our approach has been, after all, highly fruitful.

Over the years, our collaborative training network has successfully promoted a total of 25 doctoral students, 18 master's candidates and two postdocs, exposing them in the course of their studies to a broad range of topics and scholarly practices. Given that the academic environment in Ghana and Nigeria can be – to say the least – challenging at times, this is a truly remarkable achievement. Our colleagues at the University of Maiduguri in particular have been plagued with a highly critical security situation over many years, which has made focused academic work, at times, impossible. Beyond the peculiar situation in Northeast Nigeria, there are infrastructural problems that public universities in West Africa more generally face – erratic power supply, unstable internet connectivity, and the periodic suspension of academic activities due to labour union strikes are just some of these. In the light of this, the Graduate School has been a particularly important support network for both students and senior colleagues.

Graduate students who participate in our network receive monthly scholarships and have been meeting twice a year in workshops organized alternately in Ghana and Nigeria. In the workshops they are joined by faculty members and external experts to discuss their research projects as well as more general issues related to cultural sustainability, qualitative research methodology, data management and other topics. For all involved, our biannual workshops have become much anticipated events, not only as a space for intensive scholarly exchange, but also as a time to socialize and foster old and new friendships. It is also in this broader sense that our Graduate School has indeed been 'performing sustainability' in a quite literal sense and continues to do so. Additional three-months' research exchange stays at the University of Hildesheim have provided scholarship holders with the opportunity to further their academic networks and to focus particularly on their writing.

The years 2020 and 2021, when the global COVID-19 pandemic led to lockdowns and the closure of universities, airports, and borders in Nigeria, Ghana and Germany, has confronted us with a number of new challenges that hardly could have been foreseen by anyone. We managed, as best we could, to continue with our biannual workshops, regular management meetings and mutual support, resorting, out of necessity, to the virtual space of video conferencing. We believe that it was partly because we could already rely on very good relationships and close interpersonal ties, that we were able to successfully sustain our collaboration through this difficult time, despite some technical hiccups we might have faced. In February 2022, then, we were finally able to resume in-person meetings, though some new hybrid elements have been added to our meetings and events. Based on these learning experiences, we therefore hope to continue to improve on our collaboration, which has gone a long way to support graduate research in our institutions, until the end of our funding period in 2025.

In the eleven chapters contained in this volume, participants from various phases of our collaboration – some of whom have successfully defended their theses and graduated by now, some of whom are still pursuing their study programs currently – present insights on cultural practices and cultural policy in Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, as well as Benin in relation to questions of cultural sustainability. In the final chapter, then, our former Nigerian co-director Abba Isa Tijani, now Director General of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments in Nigeria, reflects on questions of repatriation and recirculation in the administration of Nigerian antiquities. In the light of current debates about cultural, social, economic, and, not least, ecological sustainability, and also in consideration of discussions about the restitution of African art objects that have been kept in European institutions since the heyday of colonialism, the interventions and perspectives that the authors provide in their respective chapters could not be timelier. The volume as a whole, indeed, speaks to some of the most pressing issues of our day, and it is our sincere hope that you enjoy the reading as much as we did.

Raimund Vogels and Florian Carl
Hildesheim and Cape Coast

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CULTURAL PRACTICES AND POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Researching Culture in Conflict Situations in West Africa

Meike Lettau, Christopher Yusufu Mtaku, Eric Debrah Otchere and Sacha Kagan

Abstract

Discourse on the interconnections between culture and sustainability is a relatively recent research field that has become more popular with the ever-burgeoning efforts towards the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This introductory chapter parses the understandings and dimensions of culture(s) and sustainability in West Africa, as well as the SDGs and their limitations for aspects of culture.

Building on this, the research approaches of the SDG Graduate School, 'Performing Sustainability: Cultures and Development in West Africa', will be discussed with a special emphasis on conflict situations. In conclusion, the chapter defines four theoretical core cultural issues of sustainability: (1) safeguarding of cultural heritage, (2) social cohesion through cultural practices, (3) conflict transformation through artistic peace education and (4) effective local bottom-up cultural policies and cultural ownership. Furthermore, several methodological approaches to researching culture in social transformation processes and conflict situations in West Africa are discussed.

Dimensions of Culture and Sustainability in West Africa

> Cultures are made of continuities and changes, and the identity of a society can survive through these changes. Societies without change aren't authentic; they're just dead.
>
> *(Appiah, 2006)*

This statement by the British–Ghanaian philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah begins the chapter, which will discuss different understandings and

conceptualisations of culture(s). The definition of culture in several aspects is a good reflection of how delicate, multidimensional and yet ambiguous the term can be in its day-to-day application. Culture is defined in the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in several aspects: "'Cultural content' refers to the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 13). This shows that the artistic dimension is a single aspect among others. This is more specifically defined under the term "'cultural expressions', [which] are those expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies, and that have cultural content" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 13). These definitions highlight one's own artistic and cultural production process.

Another dimension to the understanding of culture can be found by using the term cultural diversity, which is a broader defined concept that includes expressions of specific groups and societies. In this context, UNESCO defines 'cultural diversity' as

> the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies. Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used.
>
> *(UNESCO 2005, p. 13)*

In Ghana, for example, among the most dominant ethnic group, the Akan, the word that is often used to represent culture is '*amammerɛ*' – an amalgamation of the words '*aman*' (plural for '*ɔman*') which means 'the nation', 'the group' or 'the people' (depending on the context of usage) and '*mmara*', which means 'rules', 'code of conduct' or 'laws'. *Amammerɛ* therefore has a consolidated meaning that borders around notions of accepted behaviour(s) based on implicitly shared rules. Unlike the constitution of a country, cultural rules and norms are often unscripted but are imbibed through the socialisation process. *Amammerɛ* points to markers of a shared identity that span the gamut of language, music, gestures, food, art, clothing or even emotional reactions to phenomena, among others. *Adinkra* symbols, for example, have emerged as a pervasive, stereotypically Ghanaian form of cultural expression that embodies deep-seated knowledge systems about worldview, concepts, indigenous wisdom, power, agency and identity. Culture is as much *intra-* as it is *inter*-ethnic, and although it has the capacity to transcend the temporalities of time and space, it is often manifested differently in ethnic and national boundaries.

Culture in Nigeria, for example, is shaped by its multi-ethnic groups. Nigeria has over 250 ethnic groups and over 525 languages. Culture can, therefore,

mean varying things among individuals or groups in such a diverse society. In the northeast region of Nigeria alone, there is a divergent understanding and conceptualisation of what culture is. At its deepest core though, culture reverberates norms, values, modes, rules, obligations, expectations, language and many more aspects that can be identified by the specific practitioners of the said culture. The concept of culture being dynamic means that it is a shapeshifter, a fluid concept that moves and adapts to the times and circumstances it experiences or meets.

This is best exemplified by the ongoing insurgency caused by the terrorist group Boko Haram (a term which literally translates to 'Western education is forbidden') in Northeast Nigeria. Prior to the rise of the insurgency, the prevalence and adherence to cultural norms was an almost – if not most certainly – sacred, unending fact that was lived unquestionably. However, with the insurgency, many changes in said culture and how it is construed, engaged with and adhered to have shifted significantly as a result of displacement that led to the creation of internally displaced persons' (IDP) camps. The settlement of diverse groups in these camps created 'new' cultures that further led to multidimensional definitions and usages of the term 'culture'. The definitions and examples from Ghana and Nigeria show simultaneous multidimensionality in the manifestations and usages of the term 'culture(s)'.

Linking discourses of culture(s) with questions of sustainability opens up a new dimension regarding the roles and tasks of culture(s). The Brundtland report 'Our Common Future' from 1987 defines sustainable development as a principle to be implemented: "Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 16). The focus of this report rests strongly on ecological and especially social dimensions of sustainable development (with notions of intra- and intergenerational justice), while acknowledging its economic dimension. Specifically, in the West African context, the definition of sustainability and sustainable development adds further dimensions to social and human aspects.

Among the many ethnically diverse cultures across West Africa, there are many words in different languages that, when translated literally into English, may only be synonyms of sustainability, such as preservation, protection, conservation, safe-keeping and so on. There is, however, more in thought and in action in relation to sustainability than the limitations in wording might belie. Definitions of sustainability and sustainable development are more of a performance than a parsing of concepts. The theme of sustainability, for example, is often a leitmotif in many traditional folktales, such as those that speak against greed, unfettered destruction of natural resources, blatant abuse of power, strength in unity and respect for humanity, among others. West African cultures are also replete with many proverbs with different subjects on sustainability. In Table 1.1, consider the proverbs and their corresponding intended meanings.

TABLE 1.1 Proverbs on Sustainability in Different West African Cultures

Translated Proverb	Intended Meaning
It is better to be able to eat at all times (everyday) than to eat all at one time.	In our search for today's meals, we must not destroy the things that will help us to secure food for subsequent days.
The spider's web is as much a trap for its food as it is the spider's sleeping place.	We must consciously think about our environment and maximise the resources therein.
Where you stand in your youth points to where you will sit when you are old.	Think about your actions of today as they have consequences for your tomorrow.
Someone who adores the flowers but abhors the roots is stupid.	It is important to think of the interrelatedness of things in nature as wrong actions on one part can have devastating effects on other parts.

These are only a few of the plethora of proverbs that speak to the deep consciousness and understanding of sustainability and sustainable development: to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 16). Furthermore, there are *adinkra* symbols such as *asaase yɛ duru* ('the earth is heavily resourced') and *sankɔfa* ('go back and take it'), which draws attention to the need to revere the earth as we benefit from its abundant resources, and the need to constantly look back at the effects of our actions as we move forward, respectively. In some cases, people are named after specific natural resources in the environment. Names like *Asuo* (river) and *Ɔboɔ* (rock/stone) that reflect the appreciation of nature are commonplace among the *Fante* people of Ghana. These articulations of sustainability in folktales, proverbs and symbols do not end there, but actually inform day-to-day actions. In more agrarian societies in West Africa, for example, farming and fishing activities are locally regulated to make sure that land and water bodies are not just protected, but are regimented to improve their productivity. There are also cultural norms that prohibit the killing or eating of particular animals in many parts of West Africa. These are all cultural practices that protect the environment and speak greatly to sustainability.

In Nigeria, the term 'sustainability' exists in the cultural practices of many groups. Among the Bura people of Northeast Nigeria, for example, the terms *mbuumbuudzi* ('sustained'), *nggita* ('withstand') and *fi* ('long lasting') describe the concept of sustainability. Actions such as a traditional hunter never shooting down a pregnant animal or not overfishing certain rivers or streams in an area are practices that are targeted at sustaining resources. In the mind of the *Bura* people, these practices are to allow for the reproduction of the said resources for sustained use by its people.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their Limitations for Aspects of Culture

The United Nations 2030 Agenda, with its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 targets, sets high standards for shifting the world onto a more sustainable path. With the definition of the SDGs, to which the countries of the Global North and South jointly commit, the term 'development' was reconceptualised and thus also amended with the introduction of the pre-modifying adjective 'sustainable'. Sustainable development, therefore, though it might sound paradoxical, is a carefully crafted concept that aims at conscientising people globally to be more responsible as they go about the inevitable tasks of development. However, a worldview of (Europe-originated) modernity, that is, a specific cultural subtext, is still uncritically inscribed into the SDGs, hindering them from opening up to more diverse cultural contexts and worldviews (de Vries, 2019).[1]

It is striking that none of the SDGs explicitly focus on culture. However, many experts conclude that culture plays a central role and the question arises whether culture has a cross-cutting role: "Cultural aspects play a pivotal role for the 2030 Agenda to be successful. Cultural rights, heritage, diversity and creativity are core components of human and sustainable development" (United Cities and Local Governments 2018: 4). From the second half of the 1990s, experts began to stress the importance of recognising a 'cultural dimension' to sustainable development (Voss, 1997; Stoltenberg and Michelsen, 1999). Public calls were issued, such as the 'Tutzinger Manifest' in 2001, which tried and failed to influence the Johannesburg 2002 UN Earth Summit (cf. Kurt and Wagner, 2002).[2] The UNESCO action programme titled 'The Power of Culture' laid down the principle that "sustainable development and the flourishing of culture are interdependent [whereby] any policy for development must be profoundly sensitive to culture itself" (UNESCO 1998, p. 13). However, it neglected the ecological dimension. Soon after the turn of the millennium, John Hawkes' (2001) plea for the inclusion of culture as a distinct 'pillar' in the sustainable development discourse (Hawkes, 2001, p. 25) next to the ecological, social and economic pillars gained some international attention, but only within culture-oriented policy fora.

Civil society actors from African countries criticise their respective governments for insufficient concepts and a lack of understanding of culture and sustainable development. There is a lack of political will, and reformed effective cultural policies, such as the Civil Society Report to the Intergovernmental Committee, point out the following in relation to the main challenge of implementing the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity (2005) in Africa:

> The Sustainable Development Goals are most relevant to Africa as a region and most African countries are located in the Low Human Development category of the Human Development Index. The transversal nature of culture and its impact on development on the one hand and on the other, the impact of development on culture, is not grappled with as it

should be, in informing development and cultural strategies, so that the default position is the economic contribution of the creative industries in development.

(African Cultural Policy Network, 2017, p. 4)

Worldwide, many non-governmental organisations argue for the core role of culture in development processes and the SDGs. In 2010, the international network United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) emphasised establishing culture as the fourth pillar in the sustainable development discourse, as stated in Agenda 21 for Culture (United Cities and Local Governments, 2004). UCLG indicates that only four of the 169 targets, as defined in the SDGs, directly state the role of culture. Thus, they identify a marginalisation of culture (United Cities and Local Governments, 2015, p. 2). The coalition of international cultural networks, of which UCLG's Culture Committee is a member, argues the following under the campaign 'The Future We Want Includes Culture':

We believe that the narrative on culture and sustainable development must be strengthened with evidence-based research and indicators. There is a need for reliable and inclusive indicators to measure the implementation of the culture-related targets. We aim to contribute to the design of cultural indicators and a suitable information infrastructure which allows for a better quantitative and qualitative understanding and measurement of the place of culture in sustainable development.

(United Cities and Local Governments, 2015, p. 3)

Others have criticised strategies based on 'fourth pillar' discourse as segmented approaches that wrongly separate areas of sustainability as if they were distinct silos and more generally perpetuating a harmful split of human activities from the ecological webs they inhabit. This happens through categorical thinking, which is rooted in the European tradition and marks the Global North's dominance in the definition of sustainable development. Critics of such limitative approaches, which both include academics (e.g., Holz and Stoltenberg, 2011) and some policy-groups, e.g., the German UNESCO Commission (DUK, 2016), are working instead with the above-mentioned alternative concept of 'dimensions' (instead of pillars) in order to emphasise the interpenetration and co-constitutive definition of the four dimensions of sustainable development.

These alternative cultural approaches stress the context- and path-dependencies of sustainable development. In this way, they can help overcome the limitations of the universalist definitional framework implied by the SDGs.[3] Attention to processes of cultural change will allow SDGs to evolve further. This, however, requires expansion beyond the thin affordances provided by universalist definitions found in the SDGs. It requires taking a procedural approach to the definition of sustainable development: Rather than a mere list of predetermined criteria measured by indicators, procedural "sustainability is the emergent

property of a discussion about desired futures" (Robinson in Miller, 2011, p. 31) conducted in specific cultural, historical and ecological contexts. Through a procedural approach, the concept of sustainability "gains different and specific depths in different contexts and needs to be democratically constructed by human societies in a critical, constructive and imaginative way" (Kagan, 2020).

Over the first two decades of the 21st century, a variety of expert discourses on culture and sustainable development have thus emerged and differentiated themselves: 'cultural dimension of sustainable development', 'cultures of sustainability' and 'cultural sustainability' (Kagan, 2018). These different approaches to culture and sustainable development may be articulated with each other so as to introduce complementary perspectives. While the more pillarised approaches advocate the preservation and advancement of cultural life (including cultural heritage, cultural vitality, creative practices and cultural diversity) as an end in itself for thriving societies and human lives worth living, the more multidimensional approaches integrate the cultural context and deep cultural roots in and across all dimensions of sustainable development.

Culture in Conflict Situations in West Africa

Social and political conflicts can be found in different dimensions and scales in West Africa, such as land conflicts between farmers and herders, political or ethnoreligious conflicts and conflicts between disrupted communities. These manifestations can be violent and non-violent. In Northeast Nigeria, the specific case of the violent conflict of the terrorist group Boko Haram (a term which literally translates to 'Western education is forbidden') has caused devastation since 2009. The conflict and violence in Nigeria resulted in towns and villages being destroyed, 30,000 people killed and 2,730,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) as of 31 December 2020 (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2020). Most of these IDPs are located in Northeast Nigeria and have been driven from their home regions by Boko Haram's guerrilla-warfare strategies. Most of the displaced people ended up in internally displaced persons' camps in Maiduguri City, the birthplace of the terrorist group. Women and children constitute the greater majority of internally displaced persons.

Displacement, violent conflict and killings go hand in hand with the destruction of villages, livelihoods, cultural heritage, norms and values. Nigeria is a country marked by many ethnoreligious conflicts. Even since the introduction of democracy in 1999, the situation has hardly improved, and the influence of Boko Haram has further intensified the conflicts. The preservation of material and immaterial culture is at the centre of discourse in the conflict area in Northern Nigeria. The loss and transformation of cultural assets are omnipresent. In some instances, for example, lost cultural assets can never be regained. Perhaps this is specific to musical performances in which either the last performers or, in some cases, the last musical instrument, are either killed or destroyed by the Boko Haram insurgents.

In the specific context of West Africa, culture can contribute as a means of creating social cohesion, bringing different social groups and denominations closer together and initiating reconciliation processes. Art projects, films or plays create spaces for exchange that would otherwise not exist. The German Minister of State for International Cultural Policy Michele Müntefering summed up programmatically after her first trip to Africa:

> Artists and an active civil society with strong committed women characterise Nigeria as a country of opportunities and cultural diversity, but also one that is aware of its challenges. Terrorism by Boko Haram continues to be a danger, especially in the north of the country, where the fanatical fighters kidnap young girls, deny them schooling and terrorise entire regions.
>
> *(Müntefering, 2018, translation by the authors)*

In Nigeria, the role and importance of arts and culture are stressed by government officials when it comes to bringing together the diversity of the people of this country. Arts and culture are used in making people appreciate each other with their diversity to bring about understanding.

Ghana's Cultural Policy (National Commission on Culture, 2004) is the principal official document that highlights the importance of the arts and culture for Ghanaian society. The Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Creative Arts is responsible for identifying, sustaining and promoting Ghana's culture. To highlight the importance of culture in the country, there is an entire Commission on Culture that oversees the day-to-day implementation of the cultural goals of the country. Under this national commission, there are regional Centres for National Culture with regional directors as well as district cultural officers. The commission spearheads the organisation of the National Festival for Arts and Culture (NAFAC) and collaborates with relevant cultural stakeholders and art organisations. This emphasis on the arts and culture is testament to the importance that Ghana places on its diverse cultural expressions, not only as a means to attract tourists but as an important tool to promote peaceful coexistence among the over 70 ethnic groups in the country.

Research Approaches of the Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability: Cultures and Development in West Africa'

The interdisciplinary Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability: Cultures and Development in West Africa' is a joint project by the University of Hildesheim (Germany), the University of Maiduguri (Nigeria) and the University of Cape Coast (Ghana). The initiative focuses on innovative research that brings together approaches from performance, arts and culture to discuss sustainable development as defined in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Specifically, it focuses on issues of peace and conflict resolution. It was supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) with funds from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) from 2016 to 2025.

Every cohort consists of 18 scholarship holders from Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Benin and Niger who are currently researching the role of culture and sustainable development in the context of conflict transformation. One focus of the research approaches centres around peacebuilding processes, as the United Nations states: "Without peace there can be no sustainable development and without sustainable development there can be no peace" (United Nations, 2015, p. 2).

The Graduate School sees the task of universities as conducting practice-oriented research, fostering outreach and cooperation with non-academic organisations and developing recommendations for policy actors and institutions. For this reason, the University of Maiduguri set up a new Centre for the Study and Promotion of Cultural Sustainability (CSPCS) in 2016 as a research hub to introduce this thematic focus. Another aim of the Graduate School is to exchange ideas internationally, especially in South–South dialogue, to strengthen academic connections in the West African region.

The University of Maiduguri is the largest university in the northeast of Nigeria and plays a crucial role in the development of the region by training human capacity in all fields. The Centre for the Study and Promotion of Cultural Sustainability (CSPCS) promotes a research focus on the area of conflict resolution and peace building from a cultural perspective, with a special emphasis on culture and sustainability at the intersection of academia and civil society.

Research Projects on Cultural Practices

The following sections will briefly introduce each chapter of the book and conceptually analyse how the different dimensions of culture(s) and sustainability are approached by scholars of the Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability: Cultures and Development in West Africa'. It shows the research findings of eight dissertations and one master's thesis. The first part focuses on cultural practices as lived experiences in societies, and the second part examines cultural policy in order to enable systemic change and support for culture. Additionally, one chapter by Abba Tijani, former director of the Graduate School, will add with a recent perspective on restitution debates.

Shadrach Teryila Ukuma researches cultural performances (song, dance and drama modes) of displaced people in his chapter, 'Performing Healing, Sustaining Culture: Experiences of Managing Collective Trauma amongst Displaced Persons in Daudu Community, Nigeria'. His research focus is centred around victims of violent conflicts and their own cultural practices in a bottom-up approach that sustains their intangible heritage. He argues that performances have an impact on two levels: (1) they deal with collective trauma and (2) they sustain cultures. The performances (e.g., rituals, community festivals and storytelling) inherit cultural and social values, contributing to identity formation and community building. The findings show that the trauma managing part among the group is the core for displaced persons' performances and is related to a memory culture, "that

their experiences are never forgotten so documenting them in songs and dramatic enactments will ensure that they are passed unto generations after them" (Ukuma, 2022, p. 37, this volume). It is important to mention that they are active practitioners who embody the performances; they are not only the audience. Here, Ukuma defines the culturally embeddedness of cultural performances that offer new ways of expression for displaced people's performance of everyday activities, and in terms of how a performative acts – done with intention for an audience – are transformative interventions. Lastly, Ukuma relates to Throsby's (2017) principles of culturally sustainable development: intergenerational equity, intra-generational equity, importance of diversity. Ukuma argues for bottom-up processes instead of top-down approaches, as well as for fostering dialogical and inclusive approaches. This implies an understanding of a procedural sustainability and "sustainability behaviours as embodied social practices" (Ukuma, 2022, p. 44, this volume).

Naomi Andrew Haruna focuses on peace education and promotion with respect to sustainable development in her chapter 'Visual Representations as a Tool for Peace Education and Peace Promotion towards Sustainable Development: A Case of Dalori Camp, Maiduguri Borno State, Nigeria'. She uses her own artistic process of IDPs for the creation of 'site-specific visuals' as a research approach based on a holistic bottom-up process. Thus, the creation of understandings of peace through the artistic process is the core of the research project. She identifies five themes of peace as sets of values: (1) religion/spirituality, (2) unity, (3) happiness, (4) respect and (5) justice and peaceful coexistence. She concludes that the peace education process and the empowerment process of the individual to a potential peace agent are the basis for implementing sustainability. The process of peace promotion, including its measures, is defined by Haruna as sustainability in conflict situations. Thus, she argues for a sustainable culture of peace. Peace education includes identity formation and inclusion and mainly takes place in families, schools and religious institutions; the latter is identified as a key player for change processes on an institutional level.

Susan Binwie Tanwie investigates the promotion of a culture of peace through applied video for development in her chapter 'Community Participation and Cultural Sustainability in Nkwen and Bamendankwe, Cameroon: A Video for Development Approach'. Her starting point is the land conflict between the two communities. She uses a community-led, art-based process alongside her own story creation approach to deal with the conflict. According to Tanwie, the video process has a self-empowering activation potential for community members who are usually excluded from participation. Thus, the video process contributes to peacebuilding processes and cultural sustainability based on a participant-led artistic process. Tanwie identifies four common cultural practices of the conflicting communities: exchanged traditional ritual practices, crop sharing, joint hunting and ritual practices.

Alasambom Nyingchuo analyses the exclusion of women in community development by providing examples of sociocultural practices that enforce the

exclusion of women in Kom, Cameroon. His chapter is titled 'Gender Equity and Sustainable Development: A Film for Development Approach among the Kom of North West Cameroon'. He defines sustainable development as "development that is socially inclusive, tailored along the cultural values of the people as well as creating an enabling environment for cultural expressivity, especially through the arts" (Nyingchuo, 2022, p. 83, this volume). He reveals two categories of women exclusion: (1) institutional and (2) non-institutional exclusion, which are both a result of gender profiling, which is implemented in the exclusion in rights and exclusion in activities. (1) The first includes the exclusion in political positions (including on the family level) and land ownership. It is legitimated by customs and traditions, mostly by traditional leaders. (2) The second contemplates the discriminatory treatment of widows by successors, the neglect of widows and children and forced marriages. These practices take place on individual levels but are also supported by traditional leadership. His practical research approach of empowering women through Film for Development is action-based and fostered mobilisation among women based on their own stories and a creative process, the community film, as an alternative form. This created access, community involvement and social cohesion. The latter is seen as sustainable development by Nyingchuo as the inclusion of discriminated groups is the principle of action.

Mawukplorm Harriet Abla Adjahoe analyses the role of the predominant usage of wood to waste material in her chapter 'Designing with Waste: A New Paradigm for Set Design in Theatre Productions in Ghana'. She uses a case study of the theatre play 'Marriage of Anansewa' by Efua Sutherland to discuss the (de)reconstructing of set design through waste, specifically waste reuse, recycle, repurpose and reduction. This is linked to discourses on sustainability. A specific focus lies on indigenous artistic practices of storytelling, which are classified as oral, participatory, semi-spontaneous and quasi-improvisational. She also discusses the effects of colonialism on African performance cultures labelled under the concepts of traditional European theatre, a shift from oral traditions to literary forms and the impact of technological developments. Thus, the author provides an overview of the historical development of theatre in Ghana. Adjahoe proposes a bottom-up approach of designing with waste that focuses on the process of conceptualising waste materials as a priority instead of prioritising the selection of a play. She states that "the waste materials become the inspiration for the entire creative imagination, and the creation process" (Adjahoe, 2022, p. 111, this volume). This is argued to be a new way of set designing in Ghana. "In this case then, one would say that the materials influenced the designing of the set rather than the design of the set influencing the materials needed as have been suggested in existing literature" (Adjahoe, 2022, p. *(ibid)*., this volume).

Zainab Musa Shallangwa focuses in her chapter, 'Effects of Displacement on Kanuri Cultural Practices of Internally Displaced Persons of Borno State, Nigeria' on the aspects of intangible cultural heritage and cultural sustainability. She investigates two rites of passage: male circumcision (*kaja*) and wedding eve

musical night (*dəla bowota*). After displacement, male circumcision was practised as a collective ritual in camps in order to save money. Some of the complex cultural rituals and performances during male circumcision and wedding eve musical night are either reduced or not performed in the camps anymore. Internally displaced persons describe this decrease in cultural practices as a loss of their intangible cultural heritage. Another finding of Shallangwa is that the shift in gender roles with the displacement, (e.g., financially dependency) of women from husbands was reduced in the camps due to a discontinuation of established income structures; this may even be reversed as women take up unskilled jobs, which leads to greater independence. The breadwinners and heads of the households are traditionally men in Kanuri society; in the camps, Shallangwa observes the opposite.

Research Projects on Cultural Policy

Amos Darwa Asare in his chapter 'Cultural Policy Evaluation towards a Sustainable Arts and Cultural Sector in Ghana' utilises a public policy analysis to ascertain governmental cultural policy on the levels of emergence, formulation, implementation and evaluation. Therefore, he studies the cultural policy document of Ghana issued by the National Commission on Culture in 2004. He defines the following role: "Cultural policy in Ghana seeks to display outwardly cultural values, ideals, and ideologies. To achieve these, the cultural policy recognizes the power of traditional authorities and chieftaincy structures" (Asare, 2022, p. 145, this volume). The aims of the cultural policy are, according to Asare,

> the documentation and promotion of traditional cultural values such as humanity dignity, unity and peace, family, community and national solidarity, […] to build and develop cultural institutions for human development and democratic governance, […] [and the] development of cultural programmes particularly, both traditional and modern arts and crafts as a source of wealth creation.
>
> *(Asare, 2022, p. (ibid.), this volume)*

In conclusion, the non-existing evaluation and a lack of financial support for the cultural sector are defined as the biggest challenges. Culture and cultural policy are defined as enablers and drivers of sustainable development, and evaluation is seen as core to monitoring and readjusting policy plans, thus achieving sustainable development.

Madinatu Bello analyses in her chapter, 'Connecting Knowledge and Practice for Sustainable Development: A Case of School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana', the relevance of the connection of Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs) and the creative arts industry (CCIs) in Ghana through a case study. She describes how the creative arts sector contributes towards sustainable development through investigations, partnerships, curricula and internship programmes,

among others. In conclusion, she defines "CCIs as cultural change agents for the achievement of sustainable development" (Bello, 2022, p. 162, this volume). Taking this perspective, the university, as an institution, can be a key driver of social change. This stands in contradiction that most of the collaborations are based on individual levels and highly dependent on the persons involved, as Bello proves the strong notion of personal formal and informal relationships. Challenges are of a bureaucratic nature, which supports informality and cooperation with government institutions.

Espera G. Donouvossi, in his chapter 'Inputs towards a Coherent Cultural Policy in Benin Based on an Analysis of Historical Developments', analyses the priorities in cultural policy of the State of Benin since 1872 with a focus on its dependencies on its the colonial ruler, France. He analyses key documents such as the Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence (1972), the Cultural Charter in the Republic of Benin (1991) and the Benin Cultural Policy (2016–2021). His study starts with a critique of "incoherent and inappropriate cultural policy instruments, inadequate policy models, resulting into inoperative policy strategic projects" (Donouvossi, 2022, p. 185, this volume) and a neoliberalist orientation of countries in governing culture. He argues that a regression in the cultural policy in Benin can be observed with the introduction of a democratic system in 1991. The missing cultural participation on the community level is identified as the biggest gap towards a sustainable and effective cultural policy. Thus, Donouvossi formulates the recommendation that "within the principle of cultural democracy, cultural policy formulation should be a concrete result of social dialogue, participatory action and the protection of the access to cultural participation" (Donouvossi, 2022, p. 204, this volume). Furthermore, he suggests linking up contemporary cultural production and cultural heritage to keep an active creation and exchange process to circulate the heritage. Recently (2019–2021), the policy focus has shifted to cultural heritage and restitution, contributing to sustainability.

Abba Isa Tijani, former director of the Graduate School 'Performing Sustainability' and currently Director General of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Nigeria, contributes with his chapter, 'Repatriation and Recirculation: A Case for Sustainable Practice in Administering Nigerian Antiquities'. His chapter is linked to current restitution debates revolving around Nigerian antiquities like the Benin bronzes, which are an example of cultural property held in museums outside their country of origin. He discusses how sustainable protection and management mechanisms can be implemented by taking into account Nigerian interests and building a national identity. He argues for a revision of inadequate funding, a promotion of tourism, the necessity of new legal frameworks and a revision on international conventions on cultural heritage like the ones ratified by UNESCO. In conclusion, he suggests the concept of leasing and international travelling exhibitions with an emphasis on creating new funding structures for Nigeria, as he defines economic concerns as a core dimension.

Theoretical Conceptualisations on Cultural Sustainability

The term 'cultural sustainability' has been used in international literature since the late 1990s to mean different things. Sometimes it is used, in a general sense, to discuss the link between culture and sustainable development. In such instances, it is a rather vague description with different interpretations deployed to discuss "aspects of culture that are deemed worthy of consideration from the perspective of sustainability" (Kagan, 2018, p. 128; see also Dessein et al., 2015). Other authors employ the term more specifically to focus "on the ways in which cultural processes and cultural institutions are sustaining human communities and societies, as well as landscapes and other natural–cultural ensembles" (ibid.). However, other authors use the term even more specifically for investigations into so-called 'sustainable' processes and effects located only within the confines of the cultural 'pillar'.

Generally, cultural sustainability can be related to cultural practices, cultural heritage, cultural rituals and beliefs. It is important to mention that the terms 'sustainability' and 'cultural sustainability' open up new interpretations as well as priorities in the specific situation of political or social conflicts in West Africa compared to countries in more stable political situations. Thus, this introductory chapter discusses specific interpretations in this respect. In the following, the term will be defined in four fields, as identified through the research projects published in this collective volume.

Core cultural issues of sustainability:

1. Safeguarding of cultural heritage
2. Social cohesion through cultural practices
3. Conflict transformation through artistic peace education
4. Effective local bottom–up cultural policies and cultural ownership

1. Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage as a Core Cultural Issue of Sustainability

Safeguarding cultural heritage, practices and beliefs can be identified as a core issue of sustainability when it is endangered due to critical political and security situations. The UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage argues that culture is a central criterion to achieve sustainability on the level of material and immaterial cultural heritage. Therefore, its preservation should be a political task, including the implementation of cultural diversity. Duxbury et al. attribute the same as a task for cultural policy in the field of sustainable development: "to safeguard and sustain cultural practices and rights" (2017, p. 222) as one of four tasks.[4] Safeguarding cultural heritage enables the transmission not only of tangible heritage but also of cultural values, customs, traditions and norms to future generations. Furthermore, cultural heritage must also circulate and be

activated in cultural exchanges, preventing it from becoming enclosed into distinct cultural identities that "could lead to nationalism, or fundamentalism" (UNESCO, 1998, p. 31).

In the conflict situation in Borno State, Northern Nigeria, cultural heritage remains an important part of the identity of the people. Due to the displacement and the violent conflict, both intangible and tangible cultural heritage are endangered, and preservation and knowledge transmission currently constitute a primary challenge due to this destruction. Therefore, researchers define safeguarding cultural heritage as a core policy task to achieve sustainability in conflict situations.

Another aspect is the transition of cultural heritage in social interactions, which takes place in the context of migration processes. Shallangwa observes changes in cultural practices that take place in the new situation: Traditional rituals and ceremonies are reduced to more basic versions that are easy to implement, the cultural practices lose complexity and a decrease in the artistic levels can be observed (e.g., instead of using instruments and dance, the performances are reduced to singing only). Other cultural practices become optional during ceremonies. This development shows, on the one hand, a loss of cultural practices and a beginning disconnection of people from their cultural heritage. On the other hand, it opens opportunities for the transition to new rituals that might also partially change social circumstances (Shallangwa, 2022).

Ukuma argues that the situation of displacement does not go in line with a loss of cultural heritage of displaced persons, but equally it motivates them to document their experiences through using cultural performances, specifically dramatic enactments and songs. This is identified as a form of a bottom–up safeguarding practice of cultural heritage. "With the performances, the displaced persons create for themselves embodied memory which makes them capable of 'knowing' their experiences in a bodily way even when their engagement of it is only partial" (Ukuma, 2022, p. 43). This revival is equally identified by Tanwie in the situations of land conflicts: "Through community participation, participants also identified cultural practices that had been abandoned by both communities and proposed for their reintroduction for peaceful coexistence" (Tanwie, 2022, p. 67). This shows that the developments emerge mostly from the community members themselves as they identify the safeguarding of cultural heritage as a way to achieve sustainability in a bottom–up approach.

2. Social Cohesion through Cultural Practices as a Core Cultural Issue of Sustainability

Social cohesion through cultural practices can be identified as a second core aspect of sustainability. In this context, it implies social change and the re-negotiation of social relationships through cultural practices. Therefore, two aspects will be discussed in the following sections: (A) community–led cultural practices and (B) inclusiveness and cultural diversity.

(A) Community-led cultural practices denote a focus on the activities that emerge from the community itself and offer them their own spaces for thinking and expression dealing with, for example, collective trauma, conflicts or disputes (Haruna, 2022; Nyingchuo, 2022; Tanwie, 2022; Ukuma, 2022). The community is directly involved in cultural practices and are not appointed as an audience. The people are part of their own artistic creation process, which is process-oriented, not product-oriented, based on their specific social and cultural orientation. This enables them to create their own solutions for conflicts. Therefore, Ukuma defines the term 'cultural embeddedness' as cultural performances that offer new ways of expression and social practices. Embodied actions are defined as a form to create sustainability (Ukuma, 2022). Thus, cultural practices can be identified as instruments for both community-building processes and identity formation. Through rituals, performances and storytelling, which are everyday practices, the creation of social cohesion can take place as it is led by the community itself. In conclusion, this form of community-led cultural practice and the creation of cultural learning and thinking spaces to negotiate relationships can be identified as a contribution to sustainability.

(B) Inclusiveness and cultural diversity constitute the second factors in the implementation of social cohesion through cultural practices. Therefore, the involvement of a wide variety of community members, especially socially excluded groups like displaced persons, children, women or victims of violent conflicts in cultural practices, is identified as a key aspect. This inclusive approach can bring conflicting groups together, create new forums for dialogue and empower specific social groups through artistic expressions and cultural practices. Shallangwa identifies, for instance, a change in gender roles and more freedom and participation of women (Shallangwa, 2022). Additionally, the intergenerational aspect is important to mention in order to include all generations as a holistic approach.

Lastly, inclusiveness also goes in line with cultural diversity, which is defined as a principle of sustainable development by UNESCO: "Cultural diversity is a rich asset for individuals and societies. The protection, promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity are an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 8).

Furthermore, UNESCO has developed specific thematic Culture 2030 Indicators in four fields: 'environment & resilience', 'prosperity & livelihoods', 'knowledge & skills' and 'inclusion & participation'. The latter 'inclusion & participation' includes (1) culture for social cohesion (intercultural tolerance, interpersonal/personal trust and perception of gender equality), (2) artistic freedom, (3) access to culture, (4) cultural participation and (5) participatory processes (UNESCO, 2019, p. 79ff.). UNESCO's Culture 2030 Indicators show the high relevance of access to culture and cultural participation in conflict situations in order to promote peaceful solutions and social cohesion in societies and to enable sustainable development processes. Therefore, civil society and bottom-up

approaches that promote interaction and participation with communities in conflict regions are a key approach to promoting social cohesion.

3. Conflict Transformation through Artistic Peace Education as a Core Cultural Issue of Sustainability

The third approach links cultural practices to the field of conflict transformation through peace education. Conflicts are not solely interpreted as negative phenomena; they are seen more as catalysts for social change. Additionally, a full resolution of conflicts is often not attainable, whereas their transformation into less violent forms is a more meaningful goal: towards less antagonistic and more agonistic conflictual processes (i.e., more limited, regulated, less war-like forms of conflicts, etc.). For this reason, scientists have recently preferred the term conflict transformation instead of conflict resolution.

The research projects in conflicts in Northern Nigeria show that peace education is an often-used method related to artistic expressions. Haruna defines "peaceful relationships and strong institutions" (Haruna, 2022, p. 47, this volume) as preconditions to achieving sustainable development. This suggests a rather specific conceptualisation of sustainability in conflict situations, while sustainability is linked to measures and instruments that support and enable peaceful conditions. This centres the focus on how the initial situation (peaceful, rather peaceful or not peaceful) strongly affects the conceptualisations of the term. Some interpretations of sustainable development in academia neglect or even omit peacebuilding as, in the Global North, relatively peaceful conditions tend to be taken for granted.

For Haruna, the empowerment of people involved in the conflicts as peace agents is an essential method that can be implemented through peace education. "Peace education has an important place for providing the needed knowledge, skills and attributes to individuals that can be utilized in preventing violence that is or will be present in individuals or in societies and in settling conflicts" (Haruna, 2022, p. 63, this volume). Thus, peace education follows a processual dimension and contemplates the creation of an individual understanding of peace (e.g., through creative approaches). In this respect, it is also part of identity formation. Haruna's approach is to facilitate a process in which displaced persons produce site-specific visuals that imply peace messages. The core is to help them develop their own peace concepts and representations. Instead of bringing external visuals to the displaced persons camps, the ones produced on their own are used (Haruna, 2022). Nyingchuo, Ukuma and Tanwie identify similar approaches of creative processes for conflict transformation and peace education that emerge directly from the community (e.g., a story creation process for a community film). The examples show that the use of cultural practices – if intended – can lead to transformative processes of conflict situations. Ukuma highlights a new potential of songs apart from already established traditional formats, such as peace meetings (Nyingchuo, 2022; Tanwie, 2022; Ukuma, 2022).

Lastly, Haruna identifies that peace education takes place in formal (schools and religious institutions) and informal settings (families). She assigns religious institutions a great potential to strengthen peace education, as they are socially strongly legitimated institutions of society and can be a key actor to implement change.

4. Effective Local Bottom-Up Cultural Policies and Cultural Ownership as a Core Cultural Issue of Sustainability

Investigating the dimension of cultural policy, bottom-up and context-specific policies, preferably on a local level, is a relevant approach to enabling sustainable practices based on the needs of local communities like underrepresented groups. Furthermore, the involvement of traditional authorities is encouraged. Missing cultural participation is another identified field that needs to be urgently addressed to achieve sustainable and effective cultural policy (Donouvossi, 2022; Nyingchuo, 2022; Tanwie, 2022; Ukuma, 2022), as Donouvossi argues: "Staying within the principle of cultural democracy, cultural policy formulation should be a concrete result of social dialogue, participatory action and the protection of the access to cultural participation" (Donouvossi, 2022, p. 204, this volume). This approach further implies a rethinking of power structures, as Ukuma states: "It is highly unlikely that sustainability will be achieved through top-down initiatives and the provision of expert-derived information" (Ukuma, 2022, p. 42, this volume). Regarding development processes and sustainability in the cultural sector, this thesis puts forth the idea that it is the task of cultural policy to enable participation and involvement, as "development should not be considered as a finality (generally expressed in a monetary value derived from work), but the extent to which people are able to participate in political, social, and economic life" (Sen 1999, quoted in Duxbury et al. 2017: 216).

On a structural level, researchers in Ghana identify the need for long-term structures and partnerships between the creative industries and universities as a core towards sustainability (Bello, 2022; Darkwa, 2022). That would also imply a change in the curriculum of universities, which includes "'co-locating' the curriculum to the wider communities" (Bello, 2020, p. 181, this volume) as well as informal partnerships.

Implementing policies and practices on a global level as did the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage seems to be challenging to implement on a local scale, as Tijani highlights in the context of the restitution debate:

> For example, this [UNESCO 1970] Convention states that it applies only to objects belonging to the inventory of a nation. But the research identified also that most African nations, including Nigeria do not have an inventory system as it was not part of the culture or practice of Africans to give tags to objects in kings' palaces and sundry other places as the nations

of Europe do. Yet without a stolen object being identified as belonging to an inventory, this Convention will not enforce its repatriation.

(Tijani, 2022, p. 212, this volume)

For this reason, these global policies remain in a more symbolic stage. In contrast, local policy structures seem to be more important for the establishment of sustainable structures, but they lack conceptual frameworks and effective implementation mechanisms.

Another relevant aspect is the connection between cultural policies and development policies, as stated by UNESCO:

Parties shall endeavour to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions.

(UNESCO, 2005, p. 32)

Especially in situations of conflict and crisis, this approach can be beneficial to local communities, as development agencies are quite present in Northeast Nigeria. However, in most cases, they have not yet addressed the cultural aspects in their work to realise this potential.

Another aspect in the field of cultural policy on an international relations level concerns the current restitution debates that are linked to questions of cultural ownership. Many cultural institutions in the Global North are built and based on owning and exhibiting stolen artefacts from the Global South as a continuation of colonial legacies. Currently, the cultural ownership of the objects is being renegotiated. The country of Benin recently defined cultural heritage and restitution as a new focus for cultural policy (2019–2021). One further outstanding example is the restitution of the Benin bronze between the German and Nigerian governments. Here, Tijani discusses the concept of leasing and international travelling exhibition as he points out that in addition to its relevance for the national identity of a country, the economic dimension is a core aspect taking into account international dependencies. After observing the current discussions in this field, it becomes evident that cultural ownership has grown and continues to grow in importance in local cultural policies.

In conclusion, the concept of cultural sustainability in its different core dimensions seems to be more relevant in cultural studies than merely deploying the broad concept of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Its strength lies in its procedural approach and its context-specific construction. Core cultural issues of sustainability allow a more in-depth focus on (1) safeguarding of cultural heritage, (2) social cohesion through cultural practices, (3) conflict transformation through artistic peace education and (4) effective local bottom-up cultural policies and cultural ownership, among others. These aspects are always based on the local context, as Nyingchuo states: "From an

African perspective, this would refer to defining sustainability as development endeavors tailored to the belief systems, mode of life and the material and moral preferences of beneficiary communities in an inclusive manner" (Nyingchuo, 2022, p. 85, this volume). The understanding of the perspective suggested by Nyingchuo is key in the discussion on the interconnections between culture and sustainability. From the chapters of the book, some of the interconnections are clearly demonstrated, giving an insight into how the broad concept of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) could be understood in cultural studies.

Methodological Approaches: Researching Culture in Conflict Situations and in Internally Displaced Persons' Camps in Maiduguri

Examples of research projects show that the orientation of the Graduate School is based on field research. There is an emphasis on qualitative research approaches, with their underpinning philosophies of constructivism and interpretivism. Interaction and participation of actors from the field, as well as the importance of context, are variously stressed in the generation and interpretation of research results. The overarching research designs being explored include ethnography, case studies, phenomenology, discourse analysis, performance/practice-based research and artistic research. Following up on these approaches, the predominant research instruments that have been employed by researchers in the Graduate School to collect data from their respective fields include various forms of interviews (e.g., key informant interviews, formal/semi-formal/informal interviews, face–to–face or computer-mediated interviews and group and individual interviews), focus group discussions (FGD), various types of observation (e.g., participant/non–participant and obtrusive/un–obtrusive) and content analysis of selected literary texts. The use of photo-voices, theatre/video for development and polyvocal ethnography have also been adequately explored. In terms of analysis, the following have been recurrent: qualitative content analysis, situational analysis, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, thematic analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis, among others. The range of methodological approaches, with their overlaps, reflect the diverse array of topics that are being undertaken in the Graduate School, as can be seen from the abstracts.

Conducting research in conflict situations is a challenge for researchers in terms of access to the field, methodological approaches and security conditions. Very often, researchers select IDP camps as places to collect field data. The following paragraphs will discuss the approaches and challenges of conducting research in internally displaced persons' camps in Maiduguri.

As a result of the Boko Haram insurgency, 12 official camps were created in the city of Maiduguri by the government, and several unofficial camps exist as well. Thousands of displaced persons live within communities and are mostly hosted by relatives or sometimes townspeople who live and work as civil servants, businesspeople, etc. in Maiduguri.

Considering the multi-ethnic composition of the peoples of the northeast of Nigeria, it goes without saying that the official camps consist of peoples of different ethnic backgrounds who were displaced by the Boko Haram insurgency. The composition of the camps triggered the interest of scholars conducting research in various disciplines. This paragraph outlines some of the methodological approaches to conducting research among internally displaced persons, the vast majority of whom are traumatised. People living in the IDP camps experienced the killings of their loved ones, destruction of their homes and means of their livelihoods. They also found themselves outside their ancestral homes and living in a completely new environment. This makes them vulnerable and, as such, they must be handled with care while conducting research among them.

The protocol for conducting research in an IDP camp in Maiduguri begins with obtaining a research permit from the Borno State Emergency Management Agency (BOSEMA), the agency responsible for the management and coordination of IDP camps in Borno State. Acquiring this permit is usually not very difficult because there is a defined procedure for doing so. The permit is to be presented at the entrance to a camp in order to gain access. The IDP camps are guarded by officers of the Joint Task Force (JTF), which is comprised of officers from diverse security agencies such as the Nigerian military (Army, Navy and Air Force), the Nigerian Police Force, Nigerian Immigration Service, Nigerian Customs Service, Nigerian Civil Defence Corps, Nigerian Drug Law Enforcement Agency, among others. The structure of the camp is such that the members of this military taskforce are the first point of call upon arrival with a research permit in any IDP camp. There are numerous stories of the atrocities committed by members of the JTF; hence, they are suspicious of researchers and think that their data collection is linked to the JTF's activities in the camps and that the same will expose them. The officers of the JTF run shifts and are rotated from camp to camp; as such, any group a researcher encounters on a particular day might not be the same group they will encounter another visit. Researchers need to be conscious of this, as encounter with officers might be different upon each visit to a camp. On each visit, a researcher is questioned, and all responses are recorded in a report book. This could be quite intimidating and frustrating, as researchers have to answer the same questions on each visit to have access to the respondents in any given camp.

The scepticism of the officers at the gate was always quite obvious. They could stop a researcher from taking photographs, particularly on food distribution days. They feared being captured and tried to manipulate the process to their benefit by favouring select IDPs above others. Such moments are always tricky, as respondents who have established some kind of trust with a researcher look up to him/her to capture such practices and expose them. Such situations put the researcher in a difficult position. A researcher, therefore, needs to clearly explain his/her role to the respondents to set things straight and to avoid mistrust.

To a large extent, encounters with camp officials (i.e., administrators/supervisors) are professional. The camp officials were comprised of the BOSEMA staff, National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA), International Organization for Migration (IOM) staff and representatives of the Borno State Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Development. Nonetheless, camp officials could also be a bit cynical of researchers. However, a clear explanation of a researcher's purpose for conducting research in the camps and sticking to this explanation could eventually win camp officials' trust. If trust is established, the camp officials introduce a researcher to the camp community leaders comprising a chairman, women leader and youth leader. These leaders, in turn, take a researcher around a camp and introduces him/her to the inhabitants of their community. In the case of the IDP camps in Maiduguri, the occupants were settled according to the local governments of their origins. A researcher needs to understand the settlement pattern for easy coordination.

One of the biggest challenges of researching in IDP camps in Maiduguri is distinguishing a researcher from a charity worker. Being vulnerable people, IDPs expect anybody who steps into a camp to donate money, food or clothing. This is an area that needs to be handled carefully. A researcher must carefully explain the purpose of the research to the respondents, and this might take a long time to convey. A researcher must also be convincing in explaining how research would be of benefit to IDPs and humanity at large. This, therefore, calls for openness on the part of the researcher. To a large extent, research must be designed in such a way that the IDPs see it as their own project. This entails making sure that IDPs are involved in all steps of the research process and, where necessary, their ideas must be included in the research priorities. It is also important that respondents be treated equally. In a situation where a researcher has gifts to share, it must be done so that all respondents benefit equally.

Finally, research in IDP camps in Maiduguri could have a severe effect on the mental well-being of a researcher. At any given opportunity, the IDPs like to narrate what they went through as a result of the activities of the insurgents. Listening to the stories of the IDPs could be heart-breaking. A researcher needs to be prepared for psychological counselling at any given time.

Notes

1 For a further discussion of how the worldview of (Europe-originated) modernity has given rise to a 'culture of unsustainability', see Kagan (2011, pp. 23–92).
2 The Rio+20 UN Earth Summit in 2012 also failed to integrate the cultural dimension.
3 Universalist definitional approaches aim to describe universally acceptable basic standards, needs and obligations for human societies. They are also called 'thin' definitions, because they are limited by what may purportedly be considered universally valid everywhere and across time (cf. Miller, 2011).
4 The three other tasks are: "(2) to 'green' the operations and impacts of cultural organizations and industries; (3) to raise awareness and catalyse actions about sustainability and climate change; and (4) to foster 'ecological citizenship'" (Duxbury et. al., 2017, p. 222).

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PART 1

Cultural Practices and Sustainable Development

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2

PERFORMING HEALING, SUSTAINING CULTURE

Experiences of Managing Collective Trauma amongst Displaced Persons in the Daudu Community, Nigeria

Shadrach Teryila Ukuma

Abstract

Over the years, particularly from 2011, there have been violent clashes between crop farmers and pastoralists in Nigeria. The most prominent of these clashes is experienced in the Central Nigeria area where large communities are sacked in the most gruesome manner, depriving community members of their lives, lands and livelihoods. This situation has created a large mass of displaced persons mostly traumatised from the grievous circumstances of their dislocation. In the Daudu community of Benue State, Nigeria, where these displaced persons are encamped with little or no access to psychosocial services and relief efforts of state and non-state actors focusing mostly on material needs, the people have found from amongst themselves and within their cultural repertoire a creative approach to dealing with their trauma experiences collectively. This chapter explores the performative mechanism of the displaced people in Daudu with a view to establishing how it contributes to their healing and at the same time serves to sustain expressive aspects of their cultural practices. From an ethnographic viewpoint, the chapter articulates the quintessence of a culturally familiar context used by the displaced persons in a bottom-up approach to generate positive energies enabling them to attain emotional growth and psychological integration, including social skills with which they imagine and work towards a better future. This situation of displacement challenges the cultural practices and expressions of the people, thereby threatening their heritage in the context of its availability in the future. The performances explored in this chapter are those found amongst the displaced persons who perform for themselves to share and communicate their experiences, release pent-up emotions and mobilise for help. This creative endeavour targets to tell the story of the displaced and helps in managing their traumatic experiences. Another important finding is that the

performances reinforce the creative and expressive art processes of the people in a way which ensures that that heritage is not lost. The chapter concludes that cultural performances amongst the displaced people help them to deal with trauma and also function to sustain their cultures.

Introduction

It is the thesis of this study that cultural performances are important in managing the collective trauma experiences of victims of violent conflicts as they help victims to attain catharsis, build an intense community spirit, deepen resilience and envision a brighter future. It also follows that the performances create a loop via which the expressive cultural processes and practices of the people are not lost to disenabling conflict situations.

Generally, violent conflict situations or disasters leave behind them a trail of regrettable consequences such as loss of loved ones, loss of livelihoods, bodily injuries leading to permanent disability or scars which become a constant reminder and horrific memories of carnage, some of which irreparably remain with the parties involved. Most times, these consequences include a mass of victims who will suffer traumatic experiences for a long time, either in their individual lives or as a collective within society. Individuals undergoing trauma experiences have symptomatic manifestations that include sadness, anxiety, depression, guilt, anger, grief, fatigue, pain, confusion, fear, despair, loss of self-esteem and loss of trust. These traumatic experiences necessarily impact the social dynamics, processes, structures, and functioning of a collective, or collectives. 'Collective' here is defined as a family, an identity group or a society (on a national, sub-national or transnational level). It is important to note that the excessive stressful experiences of individuals within a shared geographical space become crystallised into a commonly shared feeling of disorientation, hence collective trauma. Cordula and König (2017) outline four collective identity markers which combine to hamper learning and integration process of collective trauma; they include: collective narratives and memories of loss and despair; collective victimhood; collective angst; and exclusive values, norms and mental models. They argue further that while some of these factors have been discussed in the effort to understand the protracted nature of violent conflicts (e.g., Volkan, 2004, 1997; Azar, 1990; Kriesberg, 1989; Kelman, 1973), the lens of collective trauma has not been applied thoroughly enough in conflict transformation.

In considering such an application, it is important that spaces of creativity and aesthetics within a given cultural context are closely studied. According to Danita Walsh (in Lewis & Doyle 2008), "creativity underpins our health and wellbeing" (p. 78) as an enabling process that helps us "learn about, relate to and evolve with life" (p. 78) and is, therefore, an essential component in keeping us connected to the self and to others. For others, creativity is a means of emancipation, as skilfully executed works speak to the social situation of the makers

(Riggs, 2010). Citing Angus, Riggs (2010) opines that "the space in which creativity takes place can help victims reconnect links disconnected through trauma such as finding a sense of meaning, identity, and place" (p. 23). Angus describes the creative space, where energy, laughter, purposeful activity, the beginnings of trust, creditability, and confidence prevail as "a privileged ground between a community's potential for action and change, and its alienated and deprived members" (Riggs, 2010, p. 23). This is where the quintessence of the relationship between arts and well-being lies. The focus of this study is on the cultural performances' bottom-up approach of the displaced persons in the Daudu community of Benue State, Nigeria. Daudu community provides the space for creative performances as a place of refuge for displaced persons fleeing from violence. The community houses a United Nations High Commission on Refugees' (UNHCR) shelter facility provided through a partnership with the Benue State Government and the civil society network in Benue; this provides a sense of security and space for performances.

Cultural performance is an umbrella term encapsulating a wide variety of performance genres evident in people's daily events and embedded in their way of life (Ukuma, 2021). These performances could be those events in which a culture's values are displayed for their perpetuation: rituals such as parades, religious ceremonies and community festivals, as well as conversational storytelling, performances of social and professional roles, and individual performances of race, gender, sexuality and class. In this way, cultural performances become veritable instruments with which people move through the world as individuals, construct identity and build community together. The fundamental aesthetics of cultural performances serves a bifurcated function: one is reflective, i.e., showing ourselves to ourselves, and the second is reflexive, which is arousing consciousness of ourselves to see ourselves (Turner, 1982). It is in this quintessential role of "showing ourselves to ourselves" (Turner, 1982) and in the aroused consciousness to see ourselves that cultural performances become significant and critical mechanisms for managing collective trauma which is either occasioned by violent conflicts or disasters.

It is important to note that performances have the potential to tap into our expressive aspects of body, mind and spirit through the use of music, sound, imagery, role play, dance, and movement (Ukuma, 2021). It is noteworthy too that the performative, beyond its entertainment value, portrays a spectacular representation of a culture, and it is a mirror for entire societies, where individuals gain an understanding of themselves in society, and, therefore, in life. This means that the performing arts, and of course cultural performances, can be viewed as an expression of a culture's emotional state while also providing a conglomerate of forms that are all artistic with emotional outlets, creating a symphony of emotions, a wealth of cultural information from the past, as revealed through dramaturgical enactments. This underscores the fact that the processes of cultural propagation and documentation are embedded in such expressive outlets; new generations rely on the wealth of information from the cultural past

as contained in the performances and then socialise themselves into the practices and traditions therefrom. Codes of behaviour, values and aspirations are carried into the future, and the general understanding and navigation of social life within a society is gleaned from such a context.

It is also important to note that through the performative, there is created an emotional bond, known as empathy, developed between the performers and the audience. In this way, one can see that the performing arts do not only heal but also reflect societal sentiments within that healing process. When confronted with social injustice, like the traumatic experiences of the displaced persons, it goes down a little more easily if you have something funny to take your mind off of the pain it brings. Klein elaborates on this concept in the *Healing Power of Humour*: "Humour helps us cope with difficulties in several ways. For one, it instantly draws our attention away from our upset (…) By focusing our energy elsewhere, humour can diffuse our stressful events" (Klein, 1989, p. 8). It is against this backdrop that a consideration takes root that the medium of cultural performances is appropriate for managing collective trauma amongst persons displaced by the farmers–herders conflicts in the Daudu community.

The Farmers–Herders Crisis in Benue State

The farmers–herders crisis in Benue State is a resource-based conflict between crop farmers and pastoralists who basically clash over access to land and water. There are other ancillary factors such as politics, corruption and religion which these clashes are attributed to sometimes, but the central issue in dispute remains land use. From 2011 to date, the conflict has been characterised by mass atrocities including brutal killings, rape, displacements, destruction of livelihoods and heritage, and creating a generally unfavourable environment for cultural practices and expressions. Such a scenario typically leads to a loss of practices and adaptation of new ways of life in a bid for survival. In some cases, the hostilities between the farmers and herders have claimed the lives of the very producers and/or custodians of these expressive practices without the ample opportunity to totally transfer their expertise to their apprentices and into any other form of documentation as is usually the case with traditional societies.

Furthermore, the violent encounters do not only destroy tangible and intangible culture but also force on the displaced persons' new dynamics in their culture and its expressive forms. This situation allows for the arbitrary appropriation of cultural elements that may be strange to established norms, forms and traditions of the people.

The displaced persons who are crop farmers studied in this chapter found shelter in the Daudu community as they fled from their attackers. Daudu provides a good variety of study subjects with various degrees of traumatic experiences suitable for the study. It is important to note also that the displaced persons on their own indulge in cultural performances, and this forms the basic motivation for this research which is designed as a scientific inquiry into the nature of

these performances and how they function in managing collective trauma from the perspective of the displaced persons.

The methodological thrust adopted in this chapter is the ethnographic approach relying on the critical and performance ethnography strands (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Soyini, 2005; Denzin, 2003). Interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), observations and audio/visual recordings were used as methods for data gathering. Data for this study was collected between 2017 and 2018. In total, 15 key informant interviews, 6 FGDs, 3 performance sessions and 10 observation visits were conducted.

A Contextual Brief

Individual artists, cultural groups and peacebuilders working in areas of violent conflicts have engaged various art-based methods in conflict transformation. These methods include participatory theatre, narra-drama, painting, drawing, radio and television. Artists in every medium – visual arts, theatre, music, dance, literary arts, film, and so on – are supporting communities in campaigns of non-violent resistance to abuses of power, creating opportunities for building bridges across differences, addressing legacies of past violence and imagining a new future. However, there is a dearth of scientific studies in Africa by Africans, interrogating the use of art-based approaches in conflict transformation and especially in managing collective trauma arising from these conflicts, particularly in Nigeria. Bisschoff and Van de Peer (2013) posit that the creative representation and aestheticisation of trauma and the reception of such creative works are very complex, in particular when considering representations of African trauma and conflict created outside the continent, through global news networks, popular media and cultural industries. They contend further that

> many representations of African conflict by non-Africans, for example, mainstream Hollywood films using African atrocities as a backdrop, have not been useful in creating a multifaceted view of the continent. Rather they have led to the desensitization of viewers, promoting voyeurism and a type of "atrocity tourism", both real (…) and imagined.
>
> *(Bisschoff & Van de Peer, 2013, p. 5)*

Similarly, Chiang (2008), with the work *Research on Music and Healing in Ethnomusicology and Music Therapy*, posited that ethnomusicology has involved extensive work on documenting traditional music and healing traditions. However, ethnomusicologists have neglected to contribute their knowledge and efforts to healthcare-oriented research while music therapy, on the other hand, has been focusing on the benefit of the patient but rarely relates its practices to traditional music and healing traditions or non-Western music. Therefore, it is important that studies dealing with arts and well-being on the African continent, especially as they help victims of violent conflicts in managing collective trauma,

are carried out. In the case of this chapter, cultural performances are seen as a veritable platform to anchor such an inquiry as they also give insight into the cultural makeup of the group studied.

Despite the horrid experiences of the displaced persons, trauma management services remain in huge deficit in the response to the conflict, especially from the viewpoint of creative psychosocial support services. Despite the several strategies adopted by stakeholders to transform the conflict in the area, art-based approaches have received little attention. This research addresses these gaps by exploring the potentials and effect of cultural performances in managing collective trauma and promoting well-being amongst persons displaced by the farmers–herders' conflicts in Benue State, using a non-Western approach while also generating literature on the subject matter. The chapter also argues that such functional engagement of cultural performances as in the case of the Daudu community will ensure that these performances remain relevant and will therefore also be available in the future. More specifically, the analytical concerns of this chapter are addressed to questions of the general functionality of cultural performances in managing collective trauma amongst displaced persons in the Daudu community, the challenges experienced with utilising cultural performances in managing collective trauma amongst displaced persons in the Daudu community, and how this approach is an imperative for cultural sustainability in the Daudu area and beyond. In order to appreciate these questions and even attempt to answer them, it is pertinent to understand the nature, form and mode of presentation of the performance under study.

Cultural Performances of Internally Displaced Persons

The displaced persons in the Daudu community are of a homogenous ethnic stock, the Tiv in central Nigeria. Thus, the performances found amongst the displaced population in the study community are the same with those that make up the general performance repertoire of the Tiv. This is in terms of the nature of the performances, their form, structure and cultural aesthetics. However, the thematic preoccupation, functional application and indeed the aesthetic accompaniments of performances within the community of the displaced are unique to the extent of their context of operation. The performances are either an adaptation of old forms to suit their prevailing circumstances or some improvisation sufficient for aesthetic functionalism. It is important to accentuate the place of improvisation and spontaneity in the performances of the displaced, especially those involving dramatic enactments. It is a key characteristic of the performances that participants spontaneously recreate their experiences of the violence they survived, and other members of the group respond seamlessly to this sudden dynamic introduced. The displaced persons used mainly the song, dance and drama modes in their cultural performances to manage collective trauma. In this chapter only examples of the song mode and dramatic enactments are presented.

Songs

Songs are a prominent feature in the performances of the displaced persons as they create a more engaging atmosphere for the entirety of the displaced persons to participate. These songs also convey a more holistic picture of their experiences, and they have in them more performative nuances that spur the people more into expressive actions. Two of the songs are presented here below:

Song One

Tiv	English
Oo imbya ne mba er nena?	Oh! What's done in a matter like this?
On-Tiv oo imbya ne mba er nena o,	Tiv offspring, what's done in a matter like this?
Oo imbya mba er nena?	Oh! What's done in a matter like this?
Agwei zenda Tiv oo, imbya ne mba er nena	*Agwei* has sent away the Tiv oo, what's done in a matter like this?
On-Tiv oo imbya mba er nena? (2×)	Tiv offspring, what's done in a matter like this? (2×)

In this song, the displaced sing about the general sense of disorientation and helplessness. In the song, the displaced do not seem to know what to do in their volatile circumstances; thus they ask in despair: as we see them in Figure 2.1 forlornly raise their hands half way or drop them in resignation: "What's done in a matter like this?" They address their question generally to those who may offer help, but more specifically to those of Tiv origin. The song also makes a sweeping accusation that the *'Agwei'* (a nickname for the herder) has ransacked the Tiv, meaning also that it is the entire Tiv nation that has been attacked. This conveys collective victimhood

FIGURE 2.1   Displaced persons in a song and dance session (Ukuma, 2017).

and at the same time wins over into sympathy for Tiv or their friends who may feel safe since they may not be experiencing any physical attack themselves. This, to an extent, also implicates all those who in one way or the other could do something to salvage their conditions. The song is also silent about any provocations or retaliations, but rather focuses on the concern for a way out of the circumstances.

In a focus group discussion session, the participants specifically articulated that their song performances are lamentations unto their children and others who could help:

> *Agwei ngu a zenda u we a za gba shighen u genegh u ndivir, nyityôkwagh igenegh je kpaa i fatyô u eren we her. Ve se lu vaan mlyam man se aluer se alu a mbayev kera yô, ve ungwa mlyam ma ujijambaungôôv vev mban ve lu vaan ne.*
>
> *Mlyam ma se lu vaan man ka sha ci u mbavesen mbara ve ungwa kwagh u Fulani ve lu eren a vese ne.*
>
> When the *Agwei* (herders) launch their attacks and you start to run, you could fall, and sometimes you could even dislocate a joint; any other thing at all could happen to you there. That is why we cry out so that our children out there, and any other person who could lend help would hear the cry that their old broken mothers are crying.
>
> The lamentation (referring to songs) we do is such that the big people (those in authority) should hear what the Fulani are doing to us.
>
> *(FGD, 2018)*

The notion as expressed in the excerpt above presents the essence of the singing endeavour. The displaced persons are convinced that help has to come, but they must also reach out to the world in order to tell by themselves what the challenge is, and also take responsibility in asking for help.

Song Two

Tiv	English
A hia kpa a hia wan mbaior	If they're burnt they should burn; child of a people
Akôr a hia kpa a hia ka uma wase ga	If the yam-seedlings are burnt they should burn, it's not our lives
A hia kpa a hia wan mbaior	If they're burnt they should burn; child of a people
Akôr a hia kpa a hia ka uma wase ga	If the yam-seedlings are burnt they should burn, it's not our lives
Alôgô rumun zwa wase ga,	The *Alôgô* do not accept our tribe
Torkula Fulani rumun zwa wase ga	*Torkula Fulani* do not accept our tribe
Ior mban zua zwa a vese m karayem o	These people have ganged up against us, I'm on the run
Akôr a hia kpa a hia ka uma wase ga	If the yam-seedlings are burnt they should burn, it's not our lives

In song two, the general message is about the value the displaced attach to their lives above material things and properties. In this song, the displaced people

dismiss with outright nonchalance their burnt yam-seedlings, and by extension their entire crops and livelihoods, stating that those things are not their lives, meaning it is more important to them to be alive.

The song also articulates their perceived conspiracy against the Tiv ethnic group by their neighbours, the *Arago* (pronounced *Alôgô* by the Tiv) and the *Fulani* to whom the *Arago* have been a long-time vassal. In the song, the displaced performers go further to petition *Torkula* (the then king of the Tiv people) that the *Fulani* and *Arago* do not like the Tiv tribe and have thus conspired against them, which is why they are now on the run.

It is important to note that in the two songs above, the displaced persons seem to absolve themselves of any wrongdoing and blame wholly the Fulani herders as the aggressors. This is a contestable fact as the Fulani also claim to be victims of a conspiracy and attack against their livelihoods. Ikpanor and Tor (2020, p. 63) quote a Fulani leader whom they interviewed as saying:

> To a pastoralist, for you to seize his cows, he prefers to die. He does not have any certificate to tender to the federal or state government ... for employment. For him, his cows are his livelihood. He prefers to die. If you kill him you take the cows.

It is based on such notions as quoted above that the Fulani sometimes own up as the attackers but are quick to add that such attacks are only reprisals to earlier ones carried out against them.

Dramatic Enactments

The dramatic enactments performed by the displaced persons are completely improvisational. They do not have the kind of structure known in Western drama, much as they are also episodic. Anyone from the crowd could start action based on the common experiences the victims shared as they fled violence. However, no two episodes are played at the same time; once one member of the group starts up an action, the rest of the members join in by doing complimentary action which could be dialogic, or finding improvised props and other such elements to compliment the scene. In this way, several episodes get performed, thereby creating an enriching re-enactment of their experiences. In Figure 2.2 and 2.3 respectively, the displaced persons depict their flight from their attackers carrying with them everyday belongings which they could grab in the frenzied haste with which they vamoose their habitations. In Figure 2.3 specifically, women can be seen carrying their babies as they flee to safety. The dramatic depiction in the two images paints a picture of the disoriented state in which the displaced persons arrived the camps and the collective trauma challenges that followed.

In such a huge ball of positive energy as generated by these performances, the displaced persons find space to reflect on themselves, the world around them and their place in it. From these performances, one finds avenues to initiating the hitherto difficult dialogues that are actually critical to transforming the violent outcomes of

FIGURE 2.2   Displaced persons dramatising their flight with their belongings (Ukuma, 2018).

FIGURE 2.3   Displaced persons dramatising their flight with their belongings (Ukuma, 2018).

the conflict. The bitter emotions so bottled-up are equally let up, and the displaced persons become more open to engaging mediation processes with any open mind.

The dramatic nature of storytelling as practised in community groups is a prevalent performance mode in Africa. It is usually the narrative content of the storytelling that is approximated into dramatic enactments. Improvised music such as hand-clapping, foot-tapping, vocalisations or some piece of metal or wood found on the ground sometimes accompany such dramatisations.

This performance mode is almost innate with the Tiv such that even in the face of turmoil and the traumatising experiences of the displaced persons, they find it convenient to dramatise their experiences. One interesting thing to note here is that the displaced persons did not wait for some professional therapist or social worker to prompt them into action or organise them in a like manner. From the depths of their emotions, they reached within themselves and to their cultural repertoire, and from there adapted existing materials while also creating new ones in order to communicate their situation and also enhance their well-being. These performance experiences have salient issues in them as discussed below.

Highlight on Issues in the Daudu Performances

Prominent amongst the findings was the function these performances play for the displaced persons in their attempt to manage the collective trauma experiences amongst them. It was important that they communicated exactly not just who they are as an ethnic group but also as the victims in the violent relationships between the herders and farmers. There was a clear indication by participants in the study that their performances very much represent who they are, whether they are directly saying who they are in the songs and dances, or whether they convey other subtle messages that are peculiar to them or their aspirations, it all sums up to defining who they are. This strong notion of identity was profoundly described by an FGD participant thus: "Well, that is who we are, of course. You can tell from our performances that we are farmers, we are peace loving, we love our brothers, we care about our land. What else?" (FGD, 2018). This submission resonates with the wider literature on identity construction which point to the fact that dance, music, puppetry, masquerading, sculpture, painting and naming are all invaluable in gathering information about people or understanding their cultural ideologies (Ezeifeka, 2019; Jeannotte, 2016; Itulua–Abumere, 2014; Cerulo, 1997). Participants described the issues of identity in various ways they perceived as crucial.

Propagation was highlighted as a sub–theme of identity. Participants described their performances to be about promoting who they are and projecting this notion to themselves and the world around them. They described the performances as "our thing", "our being", "our practices" (FGD, 2018). A participant was emphatic that the "practices mark us out as unique" and "make us easily known" (FGD, 2018). This underscores that the participants see identity to be perceptions or perspectives that are engaged in defining the self, a group or groups, ethnicities and other social elements that may bind people together. Other issues were 'communication' and 'documentation'. It was important to the displaced that their experiences are communicated to the world around them and beyond. They hoped that such communication would bring them much-needed help. They also hoped that their experiences are never forgotten so documenting them in songs and dramatic enactments will ensure that they are passed unto generations after them.

Another issue from the experience is that the extent of knowledge on the effect of cultural performances in managing collective trauma amongst the people is significant. Participants were well aware that the performances were a way

of helping them relieve themselves of the burden of their excruciating experiences as they find in the performances positive and healthy energies which help in releasing the overwhelming emotions that envelope them. A participant said:

> *Kwagh u ngu ana ve se mba gberen amo ne kpa shi se vinen yô, shien u genegh ishima ngi a vihi u man we a gberen amo yô, Aôndo ngu a na jijingi u msaan-iyol ken a we; nahan shien u ka we a hii u vinen kpa u kera fa ga. Shien u gen je yô, ka u vaan kpashi u vinen.*
>
> The reason we sing these songs and dance is that, sometimes when you are sad and you begin to sing songs, you get enveloped by some soothing feeling, and because of that you do not even know when you begin to dance. Sometimes you could even be crying but still dancing without being conscious of it.
>
> *(FGD, 2017)*

This situation as described above by a participant resonates with the notion of performance being both reflective and reflexive. The performance brings the displaced persons face to face with their reality, and they see themselves in a mirror and that is why they are moved to tears in some instances. At the same time, these performances make them more conscious and deliberate in confronting the challenge of their new reality. Thus, these performances do not only contribute to the emotional balance of the people but also help them to cultivate a certain consciousness and disposition within their healing process.

Another finding was that the men considered the cultural performance mechanism a less serious one, only fitting for women and children. This disposition is no doubt rooted in the framing of African masculinities where right from boyhood, the males are socialised to operate within a certain cluster of norms, values and behavioural patterns, suggesting explicit and implicit ways of how men should conduct and represent themselves to others. Morrell (1998) in discussing hegemonic masculinities in South Africa and Malawi avers that

> in addition to oppressing women, hegemonic masculinity silences or subordinates other masculinities, positioning these in relation to itself such that the values expressed by these other masculinities are not those that have currency or legitimacy. In turn, it presents its own version of masculinity, of how men should behave and how putative "real men" do behave, as the cultural ideal.
>
> *(p. 608)*

This is to a large extent reflective of the traditional African man who is socialised into these roles and perceives them as his natural being. Obeng (2003), for example, examines the pre-colonial Asante and concludes that their notions of masculinity revolved around men's capacity to exercise authority over women and junior men and accumulate wealth and exhibit courage and bravery in the

face of adversity or war. According to Adinkrah (2012), cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity in contemporary Ghanaian society include a belief in the fundamental biological distinctions between male and female human nature as well as corresponding behavioural prescriptions. Therefore, men are expected, for instance, to be hard working and women to be nurturing. Furthermore, it is frowned upon when a man exhibits behavioural traits associated with women and vice versa. Uchendu (2008) reports that Nigerian youths

> regard masculine subjects as possessing, or being associated with, certain physical, biological and psychological qualities, along with elements of personality. These include superior physical strength, firmness, fearlessness, decisiveness, an ability to protect the weak, to be principled, to control, to conquer, to take risks, provide leadership, to be assertive, to enjoy a high social status, and to display versatility in martial arts. Also added to the list are: intelligence, bravery, sobriety, unemotionality and an absence of smiles.

The perspectives gleaned from the sources mentioned here help to explain why the displaced men in Daudu would think it is an 'unserious approach' to dealing with a 'serious matter' like displacement from violent conflicts when you choose to sing and dance about the situation. From this kind of background, therefore, the men may not only stay away from participating but also retain a bias against the approach. Such a disposition will take root in their subconscious and thus resist any effect the cultural performance mechanism could have in alleviating their trauma experiences.

Furthermore, as people who are used to communal lifestyles, group action helps them respond better to their circumstances as they are able to simulate the communal lifestyles they are used to. From their communal philosophy, shared burden is considered to be no longer too heavy, so as they continue to group together and perform together and generate positive energies amongst themselves, they feel that not all is lost. This then makes dealing with hurtful feelings less intense even if it is momentarily. This resonates directly with Turner's (1969, p. 96) idea of *communitas*. Communitas which is Latin for 'unstructured community' in which people are equal, or the very spirit of community manifests as the cultural performances by the displaced persons of Daudu galvanise an intense community spirit, the feeling of great social equality, solidarity and togetherness. This indeed typifies a characteristic of people experiencing liminality together.

During the liminal stage, normally accepted differences between the participants, such as social class, are often de-emphasised or ignored. A social structure of *communitas* forms: one based on common humanity and equality rather than recognised hierarchy. For example, the circumstances of displacement are a shared experience that is common to the entire population of the displaced people and so social hierarchies collapse; the performances help to foster a communitas that creates the ideal sense of community that hitherto seemed only utopian.

In this case of the displaced performers, it is the existential or spontaneous communitas that is at work and could evolve into normative communitas. Village heads are also amongst the displaced population in Daudu, and where they hitherto seemed infallible and omnipotent, their present circumstances demystify them as ordinary human beings who also grieve in pain and loss and could be equally helpless. This levelling experience helps to strengthen the commonalities that bind communities together against class and structural differentials that deepen oppressive hierarchies.

The displaced persons through their performances are able to foster a strong sense of community amongst themselves. The shared sense of a common problem and a common expressive medium creates a bond that generates positive energies amongst them. Indeed, this cannot be farfetched from the experience people have when they share audience-ship watching a theatre piece together, or a concert or an art gallery. These shared spaces and experience creates a sense of belonging. An instantaneous sense of communality sprouts and waxes stronger in an enduring loop as participants at the same performance event continue to creatively share their experiences freely while taking note of the uniqueness of each experience shared. Be that as it may, it can be said of the performing displaced persons as having an even stronger case of communality as participation is heightened on two levels: first they are not mere audiences sharing performance experiences; they are the performance; they create it, consume, and embody it; and secondly, they relive their own experiences in these performances thereby creating a more profound atmosphere for bonding.

Cultural Sustainability and Community Building Implications

A critical fact that undergirds the submissions here about the relationship of cultural sustainability and cultural performances in managing collective trauma is that human behaviour and activities are culturally embedded. What this means is that the lifestyles and livelihood activities of the farmers and herders are all rooted in cultural practices. The cultural performance mechanisms of the displaced farmers in managing their collective trauma are equally embedded in culture. It therefore follows that culture is a currency and/or requisite denominator for the rest of sustainability discourse. In the Daudu performances, for instance, the displaced people do not only use their songs as a way of creatively engaging their emotional burdens, but they also deeply communicate the issues and dynamics of the conflicts. They are able to also communicate their feelings and dispositions about their situation, and this may not be information that is readily made available through other means like peace meetings. When they sing that "The Alogo do not accept our tongue, they have conspired with the Fulani against us", or "if our yam seedlings are destroyed then so be it, it is not our lives", they are not just letting out pent up emotions; within these songs lie the subtle dispositions of the people which state and non-state actors can leverage in their quest for peace. From this cultural outlet as well, the

events are recorded by the very displaced persons who communicate their lived experiences of violence. This form of traditional documentation of happenings ensures that events are passed on across generations and are equally easily retrievable for didactic purposes.

Furthermore, conflicts destroy both tangible and intangible heritage. Cultural practices are abandoned and/or forgotten as things are either physically destroyed or people have no time and space to continue their 'normal' cultural practices, and without practice, intangible aspects of culture particularly are wont to go extinct. The Daudu experience communicates the desire of the people to also sustain their performative cultural practices. They find space and time to perform, they seize any available opportunity to burst into action and express themselves in a way that reminds them of their cultural essence, a way that reassures them of their identity and way of life which gives them the courage that all is not lost. In this way, the practices themselves are sustained and the children in the camp also have the opportunity to learn about and understand their world and therefore to carry forward their ways of life.

Culture is therefore not only central to the transformation of the conflict but also crucial in further development plans. The performances equally connect to the principles of culturally sustainable development as outlined by Throsby (2017). This reflects in three of the five principles as follows:

> Intergenerational equity: Intergenerational equity is about guaranteeing future availability of cultural forms, both tangible and intangible. There can be no better way of exemplifying this than a people in the middle of a conflict situation finding relevance for their cultural performance forms and engaging them functionally even to address their immediate challenges of emotional well-being. This will not only ensure that the forms do not go extinct, but also put the forms to task to carry along with them the events of the time into the future.
>
> Intra-generational equity: Intra-generational equity underscores the importance of cultural production and consumption being available to everyone without discriminations. To this end, the performances of the displaced persons are communal and inclusive. They are open performances by the people and for them; a free for all that enlists without restriction as long as members find participating in them to be relevant to them. The performances are open to all without any segregations of sex, class, caste, abilities and so on.
>
> Importance of diversity: Importance of diversity is about ensuring that there is space for cultural diversity in all forms. The performances of the displaced persons contribute to diversity as they project their identity and contribute to the diversity pool. At the same time, these performances also draw attention to otherness in the conflict context. No doubt, the performances are about the displaced and the circumstances around their displacement. This means that mention is made of the other party in the

conflict even though their identity may not have been robustly projected. However, this again draws attention to the fact that there is another party in the dispute and this too adds to the diversity subject.

Very importantly, it is the considered opinion of the author that cultural performances are quintessential to the future of sustainability studies and praxis. It is highly unlikely that sustainability will be achieved through top-down initiatives and the provision of expert-derived information. There is, of course, a role for information and a need for experts to study the science of climate change and the anthropogenic impacts of human actions; however, a definition of the sustainable future equally requires the inclusion of cultural worldviews, social norms and values. The displaced persons of Daudu understand their world and how to communicate it; they resort to their cultural outlets for expression for their collective well-being and sustained community spirit; they know why they were displaced and possibility how the conflict situation could be managed. The violent conflicts may even have persisted because their dispositions and sentiments as subtly embedded in their songs have gone unnoticed and been ignored. Sustainability emerges where experts and non-experts come together to collectively explore the values, societal beliefs, scientific facts and governance options that describe the sustainable future. In this model the role of the expert is decentred from being the source of authoritative knowledge conveyed to the audience, and in its place the processes and outcomes of collective conversation gain significance. This is the difference between substantive sustainability that describes the global-scale achievement of balancing ecological, economic, social, and cultural imperatives, and procedural sustainability that seeks sustainability in the social practices of people, groups, and institutions on the ground (Robinson, 2004; Robinson & Tansey, 2006). This underscores the importance of bottom-up approach such as that of the Daudu people and the need to give voice to alternative approaches that are inclusive and dialogical.

Another point to consider is the thinking-space that cultural performance avails. Thinking-space is an embodied act of performing relationships in space that embraces possibility and fluidity. It is process oriented rather than product oriented, and the outcome is a different valuation of embodied action than as a mere means to an end. Performance theory also describes this distinction between the lived moment of thinking-space and the document or record produced by thinking about space:

> Performance's only life is in the present. Performance cannot be saved, recorded, documented, or otherwise participate in the circulation of representations of representations: once it does so, it becomes something other than performance. To the degree that performance attempts to enter the economy of reproduction it betrays and lessens the promise of its own ontology. Performance's being, like the ontology of subjectivity, (…) becomes itself through disappearance.
>
> *(Phelan, 1993, p. 146)*

This concept, or rather, this praxis, thinking-space, clearly resonates with the claim by Thrift and Dewsbury that turning to the embodied, kinaesthetic moment as the moment of production (rather than abstract theorisation after the kinaesthetic moment) "leads us inevitably to the performing arts, for it is amongst their practices that we find fluid spaces worked up, worked on, and worked out" (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000, p. 19). In consequence, this means that performances offer the same potential for creative thinking space where inherent factors such as those fuelling the conflicts and likely solutions get reflected upon.

If the life of a performance is fleeting and ephemeral, as Phelan says, "performance's only life is in the present" (1993, p. 146), then the researcher is faced with a temporal conundrum: every performance, even a reiteration of a previous performance, exists solely at the moment and very few traces of the performance are retained in documents or records. What, then, exists as 'data' for researchers to take up, except memory. "Through repeated exposure to situations, places, objects, etc. we commit to memory the sensations, emotions and practices that these elicit in the body, whether we are conscious of this or not" (Merchant, 2011, p. 63). In this way we build and carry experiential memories with us at all times that "operate as an active character of performativity" (Crouch, 2003, p. 1956). With the performances, the displaced persons create for themselves embodied memory which makes them capable of 'knowing' their experiences in a bodily way even when their engagement of it is only partial. Merchant (2011), for example, submits that although engagement with a photograph is only partial because it directly engages only our visual organs, seeing the image can call up other sensory stimulations and sociocultural and spatial contexts not visibly present in the image. Further, viewing images of your own experiences provides "an extension of embodied existence (…) by means of a (albeit compromised) re-living and differently situated (…) view of a previous engagement with the world" (Merchant, 2011, p. 64). Photographic documentation of the event cannot possibly preserve the lived experience of the collaborative, dialogic work accomplished during a performance, but Martin claims that a practice of documentation can potentially "recognise the disruptive effects of the work of participation lost to representation" (1997, p. 321). With the performances, therefore, the displaced people contemplate more profoundly their roles in the circumstances they found themselves in and possibilities for navigating a better future.

Conclusion

The thrust of this chapter is the generation of evidence on the effect of non-Western approaches to well-being as seen in the role cultural performances have played in managing collective trauma amongst displaced persons in the Daudu community of Benue State. The evidence further underscores the notion that bottom-up approaches that are context specific best suit any sustainable development initiative as transplanting of context through predesigned templates can be problematic and does not empower the target population. As the displaced

people resort to the utilitarian value of their cultural performances in order to pursue their collective well-being, they articulate the quintessence of these performances as a carrier of lived experiences and an avenue to negotiating a better world. The displaced people themselves become an embodied documentation of their very experience. By using these performances, they also allow a critical space needed for the very survival of cultural practices and lives disrupted by violent conflicts.

From the foregoing, therefore, conceiving of sustainability behaviours as embodied social practices creates possibilities for new perspectives on the processes of social change, on temporal and spatial relationships that inform and are produced by practices, and on our embodied connection to the material, social and cultural dimensions of the sustainable future. The iterative potential of performance can potentially entrench practices of sustainability, and this could be both in terms of the performance of everyday activities, and in terms of how a performative act – done with intention for an audience – can be a transformative intervention.

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3

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS AS A TOOL FOR PEACE EDUCATION AND PEACE PROMOTION TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

A Case of Dalori Camp, Maiduguri Borno State, Nigeria

Naomi Andrew Haruna

Abstract

The concept of peace has been and still is a desired state for many Nigerians, especially those living in Maiduguri, with the Boko Haram insurgency. Non-governmental organisations and the government have invested a lot of effort and different strategies in advocating for peace and peaceful coexistence in communities, especially internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in camps. This research positioned itself as a tool and driver to create an enabling environment for sustainable development within the society through peace promotion and peace education. Focus is placed on processes of drawing visuals, what the visuals elicited from the IDPs and how peace promotion took place as a transformative educational process. The chapter concludes that visual representations are an effective means of communicating and educating IDPs on the importance of peaceful coexistence. The chapter calls on relevant stakeholders to encourage more of an approach where emphasis is placed on the artistic drawing processes as well as on the production of the final drawing in eliciting context-specific visuals for effective communication of the importance of peace for sustainable development.

Introduction

Nigeria, one of the most populous countries in the world, has been battling with different challenges ranging from ethnic, religious to political tensions for some years now. Such conflicts constitute various factors that have negatively influenced the development of the country and are unfortunately gradually becoming part of the national culture (Olowo, 2016). Consequently, the situation and

tension continue while the younger generations are not aware of the importance towards a shift from hate to that of a culture of peace. This assertion justifies the necessity of peace education and peace promotion among people, especially in the northeastern part of Nigeria which has suffered the most from a lack of peaceful coexistence. This research positions itself towards promoting peace and educating people about the importance of peace using visuals, steaming from the people's cultural orientation. The research aimed to use visual representations as a tool for effective communication in educating and promoting peace.

One of the greatest resources at the centre of peace promotion processes are the people who are affected the most by the lack of peace. It is through peaceful relationships and strong institutions that sustainable development is achieved. This makes it important for people to be educated on becoming peace agents which is central to the task of peace promotion. In order to achieve this, the study worked on eliciting a desired state of want for change towards a more peaceful society conducive for sustainable development to thrive. Seeing that peace education centres around a conscious human commitment to ways of peace, its importance cannot be overemphasised as it further tries to inoculate people against the evil effects of violence by teaching skills and creating a desire to seek peaceful resolution of conflicts (Harris, 2008).

To achieve that, educating the people on the importance of peace is paramount which has been widely acknowledged in Nigeria, as the ultimate legacy a parent, state or country can transmit to its children and citizens. However, due to the predominant Boko Haram insurgency, especially in the Northern part of the country where this research is centred, this has become quite problematic. Thus, this stresses the need for peace promotion and peace education within communities, especially among those who have suffered direct effects of the Boko Haram crisis, such as the IDPs living in more than 46 official and unofficial camps within the State of Borno. The insurgency in the northeastern parts of the country by the religious sect called Boko Haram, challenges Nigeria since 2009. The group officially addressed as Jam'aatul Ahlul Sunna li–ddawa'ati wau–Jihad, is popularly and most commonly known as Boko Haram (Cook, 2018). 'Boko' means 'school' referring to Western style education, while 'Haram' means 'forbidden', 'ungodly' or 'sinful' (Ajayi, 2012). Though a faction of the group currently refers to itself as the Islamic State of West African Province (ISWAP), the name Boko Haram will be employed throughout this study to refer to all aspects of the sect.

As part of the activities aimed at returning normalcy and peace within affected communities, the government at all levels such as local, state and federal, have established various internally displaced persons' formal camps (IDP camps) where humanitarian and other related services are provided to the people. These camps have grown to become new cultural settings responsible for bringing people of diverse cultural backgrounds to live together, albeit temporarily (Hamonise, 2018). The IDP camps comprise people mainly from Northern and Southern parts of Borno State. Although the Kanuri are the dominant ethnic group, there are also people from Gwoza and Damboa who are also part of major

ethnic groups of Borno State. Even though people living in the camps brought with them their different cultural values and beliefs, most of the people in the camps are bound by the common experience of being victims of the activities of insurgents. This has served to create the tendency for them to manifest dynamic reactions, perceptions and consequences in lieu of the violence and mayhem they may have experienced (Mu'azu, 2018).

As a result of the insurgency, there have been different intervention programmes by the Nigerian government at both state and federal levels, aimed at restoring peace within the Northeast. The local, state and federal governments have continued to work in collaboration with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other relief agencies, both foreign and domestic, to intervene by providing support to victims. This includes development projects, relief provision, infrastructure rehabilitation, workshops, radio programmes and many other numerous forms of assistance. The success rate has, however, been very slow. The slow process in attaining significant changes in the lives of the affected people in the Northeast has become a growing concern. While humanitarian attempts appear plentiful, the dynamics that usually surround areas of conflict continue to change, thus affecting progress of peace in general, making the need for a study focused on ways of promoting and sustaining peace within the zone of utmost importance (Mua'zu, 2018). This brings up the issue of appropriate means to communicate peace adequately to the affected persons, thus forming the driving force of this research, which is to produce visual materials that effectively communicate and promote peace among the internally displaced persons. The method identified for attaining and sustaining a culture of peace in Maiduguri, Borno State, in this study involved the use of graphic materials in the form of visuals, such as still images, which have been designed by the IDPs living in Dalori IDP camp 1 for easy comprehension using cultural cues.

Following the exploratory nature of the research, the researcher was able to grasp the underlying reasons, opinions and motivations that drove the experiences of the participant IDPs with regard to the effects of Boko Haram insurgent activities and how such phenomena had affected or reshaped their understanding of peace.

The essential processes in this study included observing and documenting in detail the unique experiences of IDPs in the complexity of the insurgent environment caused by Boko Haram. The researcher as a participant observer and a mediator in the study took into consideration the processes that influenced these experiences and the analysis of the resulting descriptive data. This approach allowed for adequate, narrative descriptions and gave the researcher opportunities to take into account the views of the participants and the subtleties of complex group interactions with multiple interpretations in the group's natural environment from 2017 to 2020.

The participants for the research consisted of IDPs living in Dalori IDP camp 1. The research also sought to understand the perceptions or experiences of these

FIGURE 3.1   A cross section of Dalori camp 1 where the data collection took place. This camp houses the IDPs who participated in the study (Haruna, 2019).

participants in relation to a phenomenon from their experiences through their own explanations and depictions in the form of drawing. In analysing the drawings, emphases were given to various meanings, context formed by these meanings and the world view of the respondent. The convenient sampling technique was used in conducting this study as it involved purposely handpicking individuals from the identified population of IDPs living within the Dalori IDP camp (Figure 3.1) based on availability and willingness of the people to participate in the research. The sample population for this study, therefore, is formed by 58 IDPs comprising 20 young men (15–20 years), 20 young men (15–20 years) and six state and non-state camp officials. The respondents' lowest educational level is primary school. This research employed the bottom-top approach for the generation of visuals. This was in the form of drawing sessions, which were conceived as a process of bringing together a group of people in a brainstorming session that encompasses the conceptualisation and eventual designing of intended visuals that represent the perception of the people. The collection of data for the research was conducted within a designated area referred to as 'safe space' for the females within the camp premises in Dalori. This was changed for the males due to safety issues. In both cases, drawings were done on the floor due to lack of appropriate drawing facilities. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 are photos showing the workspaces for girls and boys during drawing sessions. Drawing sessions of five groups with four individuals in each working group were conducted for the young women and the same for the young males. The groups further drew visuals based on their understanding of what

FIGURE 3.2 A cross section of the workspace for the female group during a drawing session of a group of girls. They are all within the safe spaces provided by the Nigerian government in collaboration with the non-governmental organisations for activities that engage the children (Haruna, 2019).

peace and peaceful coexistence meant, coming up with five attributes of peace, which are religion/spirituality, unity, happiness, respect, and justice and peaceful coexistence. Four major themes (religion, unity, happiness and justice) constituting values, norms and beliefs were prominent during these sessions, which are all related to the influences on the cultural orientation of the respondents.

A new way of thinking about peace is important in the world today. The power of the people's own understanding and views of peace both as a condition and as a value cannot be underestimated. This is because the people's experiences and ideas shape their feelings and actions, as well as how they live and relate with others.

These experiences may have provided the displaced persons with a renewed desire for normalcy, peace and stability among themselves and with other groups they may have encountered within the confines of the camps. Though at times the desire for normalcy, peace and stability may not be adequately captured through words, they may be captured through visuals.

The overall process that involves depiction of the IDPs' ideas and notions of peace can be termed as 'visual representation'; whereas the tangible objects or images they create can be termed 'visuals'. Visual representation in its general sense refers to the use of signs, symbols, shapes, colours and forms, which either

FIGURE 3.3   A cross section of the workspace for the boys during a drawing session of a group of boys. They are all within the safe space provided by the researcher for the activity; a relocation was necessary due to an attack on the IDP camp where they are based (Haruna, 2019).

take the place of something or provide an alternate reality for an experience or for something else. Through visual representation, the shortcomings of language can sometimes be overcome as visual representations afford an individual the opportunity to arrange or rearrange signs in order to form coherent semantic constructions and adequately express relations and other experiences.

Visual representation is an important factor in communication as it is the most vivid way of capturing human imagination. It is debatable whether in peace-making efforts a lot of attention is paid to the use of what this study may term 'site-specific visuals'. These 'site-specific visuals' could be described as a set of visuals that concentrate on a specific situation that is peculiar to a target audience, in this case, the displaced persons living within camps in Borno State. One reason that may account for the low use or non-central application of visuals in the promotion of peace is the seemingly low level of visual literacy or the inability to capture visually the message to be projected in a manner that communicates the true nature of the issue. This could be due to the dearth of persons

with expertise to capture the relevant visuals and contextualise meaningfully for the targeted viewers (Mu'azu, 2018).

Visual communication is any communication that is aided with visuals for the conveyance of information and ideas in forms, which can be looked at as a whole or in part, relying on vision. It is largely expressed or presented with mostly two-dimensional images, which include drawings, pictures/images, graphic designs, signs, illustrations and many more. This form of communication explores the idea that a visual message has a better ability to educate, inform or persuade an audience as well as address issues of literacy (Lisette, 2012). In visual communication there are different theories, such as sensual theories which are raw data from nerves transmitted straight to the brain. The application of this sensory theory is seen by the way forms and shapes coming together in drawings or visual representation of the IDPs. It explains the direct transmission of images as they are formed in the minds of the IDPs directly on paper. It shows how feelings and emotions are translated and constructed by the IDPs.

While perceptual theories are received stimuli drawn from prior experiences compared with other senses and stored images, these experiences are mostly what informs choices made and actions taken through the formation of attitudes. This research looked at these theories due to the theories important connotation to attitude formation, actions to be taken and the correlation to the study. In perceptual theories, semiotics and cognitive approaches of visual perception are considered content driven. The theory acknowledges the primacy of emotions in processing all communication, by particularly targeting visual communication as a parallel perceptual process, which is largely an emotion-based system of response (Lisette, 2012). Such emotion-based systems facilitate the understanding of visual representation, as processing visual information requires a level of emotional involvement from an audience. According to Lissette (2012), perceptual theories or received stimuli are better understood through the sub-theories of semiotics, where certain signs are used in presenting, such as the half moon and star which stands for Islam or the cross sign which stands for the Christianity. While cognition is explained practically by narrations of the visual representations by the IDPs, these theories (conative, affective and cognitive work together with the narrations to form a holistic approach used in effective peace promotion processes and peace education.

Artistic drawings provide insight into the minds of people and make it possible to discuss their world of emotions and thoughts from a broader perspective (Yilmaz, 2018). Drawing serves as the window to emotions and thoughts so people can freely reflect their dreams on paper (Crook, 1985; Burkitt, 2004). The process of drawing requires the individual to select and arrange colours, shapes and lines by synthesising several components such as content, style, format and composition in order to convey an emotion, a thought, an event or an observation (Malchiodi, 2005). To better understand what the pictorial expressions of people mean, one needs to listen to what they have to say about their drawings, as is reflected in this study. The reason is that people tend to draw "what they

know" rather than "what they see" in their drawings (Toomela, 2006). In this context, the best way to understand the message in such drawings is to talk to the people about their drawings and images as well as document the narratives given, as done in this study.

The Concept of Peace in Relation to Sustainable Development

The concept of peace delineates the integration of values, belief systems, local knowledge and technologies, traditions and forms of cultural and artistic expression that contribute to the respect of human rights, through cultural diversity, solidarity and the rejection of violence to build democratic societies (United Nations, 2005). For this to be achieved to its maximum, the concept of peace should be practicable within all communities, as it is the sum total of people which makes up a society. Seeing that peace and sustainability are closely intertwined, the importance of peaceful societies cannot be overemphasised as they serve as platforms for sustainable development. It is well noted that conditions that promote peace also have the ability to ensure the conditions for sustainable development (Surendra et al., 2015). But for that to be achieved, people have to be free from fear and violence, as it is a fundamental human right and the essential foundation for building peaceful and prosperous societies.

Emerson (2013) indicates that peace promotion, if addressed in cultural-sensitive terms, can be a source of identity formation and inclusion, particularly when mainstreamed within set strategies at the early stage of a person's life. Cultural initiatives that recognise diversity within a human rights-based approach may play a particularly important role in building tolerance and confidence among multicultural communities and in providing a common space for dialogue. Omotolo (2008) further postulates that areas encouraging cultural activities and creativity in conflict areas affected by insurgency can enable the affected communities to reconnect with their identities and regain a sense of normality, enjoying art and beginning to heal the scars of war. As mentioned previously, the importance of culturally based initiatives, in the case of this research, the use of signs and symbols, will represent some cultural identifiers of the IDPs when it comes to reading an image. This process enhances recall and cognition among people which strengthens cultural identity and effective communication. It is important to understand the context by which this research applies peace education and its importance to communicating an effective peace promotion process.

The Importance of Peace Education for the Creation of a Sustainable Culture of Peace

For peace education and promotion efforts to be effective, it is necessary to discuss these concepts holistically. Peace education is an essential part of education which seeks to promote a culture of peace for transformative purposes (Navarro-Castro

& Nario-Galace, 2010). It is a process where knowledge is cultivated based on values that seek to transform people's attitudes, mindsets and behaviours which have been affected negatively due to conflict. This process seeks transformation by promoting awareness creation and advocating for understanding among people by developing concern for each other. It challenges social action into helping people relate, live and create conditions which actualise justice, active non-violence, unity, dialogue and tolerance, which are all subsequently discussed within this research. To achieve this, a cohort of adolescent IDPs (male and female) participated in this research, where they discussed the ramifications of the Boko Haram insurgency and how it had affected their lives. Through discussions and interviews, they were asked to draw or interpret 'what peace meant to each of them' on a piece of paper. The process elicited a different way of communication which was quite transformative as it showed that communication of grievances and/or happiness can be done through non-violent ways where everyone had an equal opportunity to share their thoughts, feelings and learn from things shared.

This means that the learning process in peace education is a holistic one and tries to address the cognitive, affective and conative dimensions of an individual. Another vital means in the learning process of a holistic approach is the introduction of relevant knowledge or reinforced knowledge, which take into consideration a person's immediate environment as a learning platform. This is achieved by posing relevant questions during discussions and using participatory methods to elicit or encourage appropriate personal social action (Akinyemi, 2015). Reardon posits that peace education has an important social purpose meant to serve a larger society, where it seeks to transform the present state of human condition by "changing social structures and patterns of thought that have created it" (Reardon, 1988, cited in Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2010). The holistic approach of peace education in every step of peace promotion is important as it reinforces the peace messages which enhance human consciousness to commit towards sustainable culture of peace. Integrating the artistic approach for peace promotion and peace education creates a beneficial recall; thus it is important for the IDPs to express themselves through visual representations.

Promoting Peace through Visual Representation: Bottom-Up Narrations of Peace

In this study, the concept of peace was determined through visual representations and verbal narrations of the IDPs from the main constructs, which are religion, unity, happiness and justice. The focus of this section is to present the findings of the research, discuss these findings and bring emphasis to the effective use of artistic approaches (drawing of visuals by the IDPs) as a tool for peace promotion and peace education among IDPs on the importance of peace for sustainable development. The findings obtained from the respondents are visual representations, drawing and verbal narrations provided under the themes of peace, which are (1) religion/spirituality, (2) unity, (3) happiness, (4) respect and (5) justice

and peaceful coexistence. The peace definition by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace was considered in the determination of the main themes and findings (Navarro-Castro & Nario-Galace, 2010).

The most emphasised theme in the visuals and verbal narrations of the IDP participants was that of religion and family unit, where family unit is the immediate unit that a person wakes up to and retires to everyday. It's a sanctuary, a haven, a storehouse of knowledge and the foundations of all values, beliefs and norms of a societal environment. It's the first place to identify with before any other idea or concept is built; thus the importance of the family cannot be over emphasised.

Peace education starts from the home front and gets grounded by religious institutions as evident from data gathered during the course of this study. Thus religious institutions have a great impact on early formation of peace concepts which individuals grow with, making them aware and sensitive to social issues which have the ability to transform and maintain a systemic structure within the society.

A close look at the teachings of spiritual and faith traditions in the family context indicate that they are essential resources and wellsprings of peace. Individuals need to rediscover the values and principles that they uphold, to remind them of the essential goal of each faith tradition, that is, to seek peace.

Theme 1: Religion/Spirituality

The respondents identified religion as one of the predominant themes in their visual representation and narrations. The predominant religion in the camp is Islam, but there are also Christians. Figure 3.4 is a simplistic illustration of

FIGURE 3.4 Drawing by DCR 6G showing a praying hand held upright facing towards the frontal face. The hand is held in that position trying to show a praying hand. This sign with the hands is made by Muslims when they pray. The hand is painted with henna at the tips (Haruna, 2018).

praying hands by respondent DCR 6G who inferred that the act of prayer gives her a feeling of peace. To her prayer is the most effective means to achieve peace and to end the prevailing insurgency within the state. The illustrations show the respondents' familiarity with basic elements of art and also the presence of gender variations as evidenced by Figure 3.3. Figure 3.3 depicts the praying hands of a female by the application of the red hue at the tips of the fingers signifying the prevalent use of henna by most women in Borno State. The central areas of the face up palm are left plain as a symbolic representation of coming clean in the presence of the *"Almighty Allah"*. According to DCR 6G:

> I am trying to show hands that are praying. This is showing the impor-
> tance of prayer during times of fighting because that is the only thing that
> our parents told us could keep us safe and can end this Boko Haram so we
> can have peace again.
>
> *(DCR 6G, 2018)*

DCR 6G's narration expresses the innocence and simplistic approach to life and her experiences in the same manner as her illustration does. It enhances the desire of the respondent for a return to normalcy and the simplistic way of life.

Figure 3.5 shows the illustration of religious symbols as suitable visual elements for the promotion of peace in an insurgent ridden area. Figure 3.5 is a group work by DCR 10G who explains that "if they can rebuild it, it will make people happy and will bring peace to us all. Every time they preach about staying in peace with your neighbours" (DCR 10G, 2019). To them the image of the mosque, a worship place, is a solid structure that represents peace and unity. DCR 10G expressed her belief passionately that the mosque is a place of peace, hence it's representation. In her narration, DCR 2G indicates that "only Allah can bring peace. So,

FIGURE 3.5 Drawing (at the bottom right) by DCR 10G showing a mosque, where Muslims pray (Haruna, 2019).

I have to be close to Allah in everything I do" (DCR 2G, 2019). For DCR 10G and DCR 2, access to places of worship as depicted in their visuals will further enhance the desire to return to their indigenous communities and villages, places they call home. To DCR 10G, her access to their cherished mosque is significant because "where I find peace is in the mosque and when I pray" (DCR 10G, 2019).

Theme 2: Unity

These two images (Figures 3.6 and 3.7) show in a simplistic abstract form the concept of unity and oneness across races as a suitable tool for peace promotion. The joining of hands of all figures in the two visuals conveys a sense of continuum among mankind, while the use of many colours is also elementary yet symbolic in nature. All characters within the visuals are depicted holding hands in a circular formation around a larger circle illustrating the earth rendered in bright lines of blue (Figure 3.6) and plain white (Figure 3.7).

DCR 4G observes in her narration that "being each other's keeper is what brings peace. My parents always used to say let's look out for each other no matter what religion or who the person is" (DCR 4G, 2018). DCR 4G's narration regarding her visual illustration further highlights the urgency and importance of a combined effort towards peaceful coexistence. Her sensitivity to the difference in religions and idea that such should not matter, agrees with DCR 6G who mentions that "it is good to be together, respect each other, that how peaceful coexistence can be achieved" (DCR 6G, 2018). In summary, the respondents expressed the need for increased peaceful coexistence by stating "we think
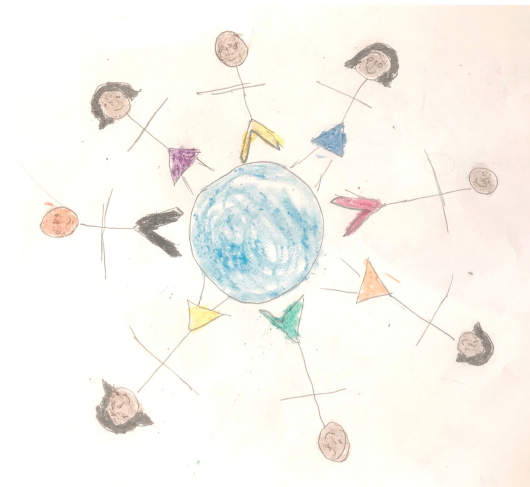
FIGURE 3.6 Drawing by DCR 4G showing the children standing in a circle holding hands (Haruna, 2018).
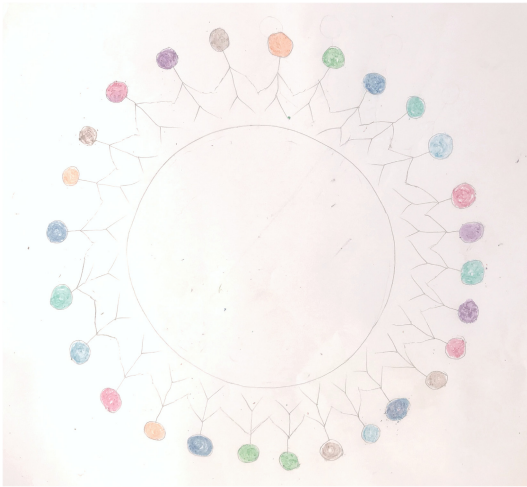
FIGURE 3.7   Group drawing by DCR 7G, 8G, 20G and 14G showing the children standing in a circle holding hands (Haruna, 2018).

coming together is what will bring peace and maintain peace in our communities" (DCR 4G, 2018; DCR 6, 2018).

Their assertions agree with the UN's statement that where a culture of peace is a set of values promoting tolerance, justice, understanding, diversity and equal rights, sustainability is achievable (United Nations, 2005).

Theme 3: Happiness and Family

During the drawing it was evident that happiness was one of the constructs that was widely depicted. In some of the drawings, the respondents further demonstrated their desire towards being happy in non-verbal exercise. This made 'happiness' a construct that couldn't be ignored and is thus narrated by DCR 13G's (Figure 3.8) representation of a house that they used to live in back home, which symbolises peace and stability to her. In her narration, she indicates why she illustrates her former house and what it means to her:

> My drawing is a house, the house we used to stay in back home. It has two windows and a door and then two plants that my mum made us plant. For me peace means going home, because that's where I find happiness and peace most. Here people are always fighting for food and want to cheat each other just so that they will have more than the next person. Whenever I want to forget what is happening, I just enter the small house we stay in (she is referring to a tent) and stay there and I talk with my mum. She always tells us that we should not worry, we will go home soon. So, when
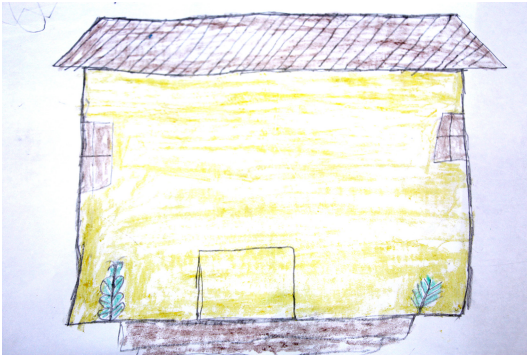
FIGURE 3.8   Drawing by DCR 13G depicting a house of the IDP who drew it. It tries to depict the importance of a family unit (Haruna, 2018).

> you ask me, what peace means to me I will say being in a place that has no fights and where people respect each other. Peace is my home, where I was taught about living peacefully with people.
>
> *(DCR 13G, 2018)*

The illustration of a structural building as a symbol of peace may seem absurd to anyone who has not experienced significant and continuous devastating attacks of the Boko Haram insurgency, which serve to elevate what the person may have taken for granted before the occurrences of such experiences.

Theme 4: Respect

The practice of transferring key knowledge and doctrines by the older genera-tion on the importance of attaining and sustaining peace is a key contributory factor to the process of peace promotion. This process has been a method that the older generation has employed in the past for peace education within the northeastern communities. DCR 24B explores traditional community activities such as storytelling. His visual representation shows an adult seated on a high-back rest chair with miniscule stick figures lined in the front. The variations in the proportion of figures within the image symbolically depict the respect and value accorded to elders within the region of Northeast Nigeria. He narrates the following:

> in my drawing you can see the figure of a man with children sitting in front of him. In my home town, before we came here [Dalori camp] due to Boko Haram, there is this old man that used to sit with us and tells us sto-ries that included the dangers of fighting. He used to tell us we should not be wicked to each other, when you are wicked to one another, anything

you do to others is what is going to be done to you. So, he is teaching us peaceful coexistence with each other. He used to tell us that we should not be wicked to each other. According to some of his stories, when you are wicked to one another, anything you do to others is what is going to be done to you. So, he is teaching us peaceful coexistence with each other. He used to say we should stop fighting, stop showing differences amongst ourselves; no difference in language or religion.

(DCR 24B, 2018)

In this drawing the old man uses storytelling to teach the younger children in the community to live in peace with each other. The practice of transferring key traditional knowledge and doctrines by the older generation in the family unit and communities has been reduced, due to the environment (IDP camp) that the people now live in. Furthermore, Figure 3.9 succinctly illustrates the need for all community members to participate in the shaping of the younger generation to be mindful of peaceful practices, through a heightened process in peace education. This actively encourages the elders within the community to pass down peace practices that have been in existence and used within the communities which have proved effective for these years. Further it is important that the younger generation of youths get involved within the community so that they feel their importance, thus having ownership towards well-being, development and peace building process in the community.

Theme 5: Justice and Peaceful Coexistence

Peaceful existence is the bedrock of every society, especially societies like that of Dalori IDP camp, where the inhabitants have gone through a lot of traumas. During focus group discussions (FGDs) with the younger IDPs (15–20 years),

FIGURE 3.9   Drawing by DCR 24B showing an adult teaching the children in front of him of peace and the importance of peace (Haruna, 2018).

they mentioned a desire for peaceful coexistence between them and the older IDPs (35 years and above), claiming that most of them view them with suspicion. This is due to the fact that most attacks were done by younger members of Boko Haram. Thus, it is important for the older IDPs to intensify their efforts towards the younger IDPs in admonishing and teaching them more on the importance of peaceful coexistence. DCR 25B continues in the same line as DCR 24B in representing a conversation of an erring young man asking for forgiveness from the older man he has offended. For DCR 25B, asking for forgiveness when a mistake is done is a process of attaining and sustaining a culture of peace. He indicates: "if we want peace, we have to learn to punish the wrong doing of people, so that they will know that there are consequences to bad choice and action. This will bring peace in our communities" (DCR 25B, 2018). Though the fact that forgiveness was asked should not absolve one from the consequences of wrongdoings.

The interconnected hands in Figure 3.11 are a familiar symbol which the respondent has encountered prior to the insurgency. However, the respondent provided different analogies when interpreting his work. DCR 26B explains that

> the reason why I did this drawing is because, when young and older people come together in one place, it brings peaceful coexistence. Then another reason why I drew these hands together in this form is because when adults and young people are facing each other and understand each other it will bring peaceful coexistence amongst them. So that's the reason I drew this the way it is.
>
> *(DCR 26B, 2018)*

FIGURE 3.10   Drawing by DCR 25B depicting an elderly security operative disciplining a youth (Haruna, 2018).
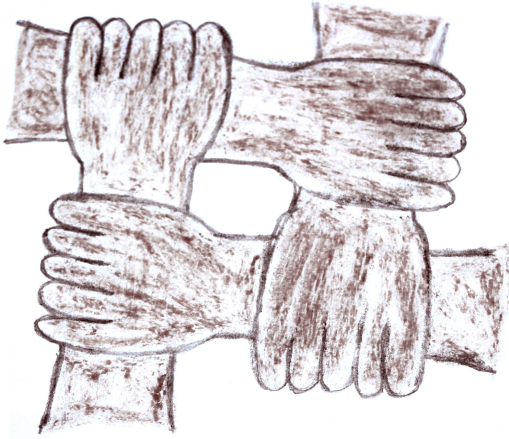
FIGURE 3.11   Drawing by DCR 26B depicting hands being held together, signifying unity among people (Haruna, 2018).

The respondent looks at the unity between the old and the young as an element and symbol of peace. To him a peaceful coexistence between the older generation and the younger generation is crucial and necessary in driving out sources of evil and violence such as that of Boko Haram.

From discussions above, the respondents show that a new way of thinking about peace promotion and peace education contextually is important. The power of the people's own understanding and views of peace both as a condition and as a value cannot be underestimated. This is because the people's ideas shape their feelings and actions, as well as how they live and relate with others. In this study the concept of peace was determined through artistic visual representations and verbal narrations of the IDPs from the main constructs, which are (1) religion/spirituality, (2) unity, (3) happiness, (4) respect and (5) justice and peaceful coexistence.

Visual Representations Fostering Peace Promotion for the Creation of Sustainable Development

Peace promotion from all the data gathered during the course of this study, mostly starts from the family and then gets grounded in religious institutions. The religious perspective is a great scope in integrating peace concepts that people grow with as part of life. This is by being aware and sensitive towards social issues and ensuring social transformation, which have the power to maintain a systemic structure in the society. A close look at the original teachings of spiritual and faith traditions indicate that they are essential resources and wellsprings of

peace. Individuals need to rediscover the values and principles that they uphold, to remind them of the essential goal of each faith tradition to seek peace.

According to Harris and Morrison (2003), peace with a philosophical approach expresses a process that involves the acquisition of skills such as listening, reflecting, collaboration and problem solving. These traits were clearly exhibited by the participants of this study through the process of drawing. It was clear that not only the drawing session itself was an effective reflective tool but the process of artistically visualising and creating the drawings. The interaction and the thought processes exhibited by the participants were also an expressive opportunity for them. After the creative drawing sessions, some of the participants requested for more sessions. One of them stated: "I would like us to continue with these drawings every day. It gives me a lot to think about. I go home thinking of ways and ideas of what I want to draw that will show and teach about peace to people" (DCR 23B, 2018).

Another similar response is that of DCR 20G who observed, "malama [madam] these drawings I can do it always because it makes me happy and it makes me think a lot and miss how we used to live before all this fighting. Can we continue doing it?" (DCR 20G, 2018). Such statements reinforce the importance of reflection and collaboration that take place in peace education processes. Furthermore, it is reinforced by Haris and Morrison's (2003) statement that "there is a high possibility of acquiring peaceful attitudes and behaviours that can contribute to ending violence before it becomes a conflict, by developing the competence of reflective and participatory thinking and further to these, to establish a sustainable environment". For these to occur in practice it is important to educate people on the principles of peace and spread peace promotion throughout different stages of growth and programmes, until it becomes part of life in families, schools and religious institutions.

Peace education has an important place for providing the needed knowledge, skills and attributes to individuals that can be utilised in preventing violence that is or will be present in individuals or in societies and in settling conflicts. It is possible to acquire peaceful attitudes and behaviours that will contribute to ending a conflict before it becomes violent, through possessing individual consciousness as part of the sociocultural life. This will enable people to develop the competence of reflective and participative thinking and further establish a sustainable peaceful environment. For all these to occur in practice it is crucial to spread peace promotion throughout local communities and include it in every aspect of daily lives.

Many of the major dilemmas in communities relate to issues of peace and conflict in Borno State, especially within the camps. Although the challenges faced are enormous, it is important to learn to read the signs of the times as part of precautionary efforts in curtailing or managing outbursts of violence which usually have long lasting effects on the lives and livelihood of persons who find themselves in affected areas. Just as the negative signs are noted, it is also important that signs of hope such as the growth of social movements that work for

the promotion of peace and justice in various ways and levels are also learned and transmitted to the people. This can facilitate an increase in confidence and resolve of the people to make their own contributions towards positive visions of peace and peaceful environments.

Therefore, peace promotion through peace education are core approaches towards attaining an environment ripe for sustainable development. One of the necessary steps towards building a peaceful society is the use of visual representation as a tool for the promotion of peace centred messages. The application of this artistic bottom–up approach allows for a peace narrative from the perspective of a people going through lack of peace to educate and re-educate themselves on the importance of peace from their community's perspective which has proven sustainable through the years and kept communities at peace within themselves. This approach further allows for self-expression and self-visualisation of a 'want', which in this case is peace. Some of the criteria applied here for an effective education process are:

a) **Brainstorming sessions**: in the form of a focus group discussion, where narratives are discussed and documented.
b) **Drawing sessions**: words are put into visual representations in the form of imagery by the people themselves using the visual skills available to them.
c) **Examining effectiveness**: these drawings are exposed to a group of people living and experiencing the same situations as those who have drawn the visuals for feedback.
d) **Finished visuals**: final drawings by the people, which would be used for the purpose of peace promotion and peace education using the visual presentation and effective communication paradigm.

This paradigm is posited as a medium with a wide reach to people if used along with the unique personalised methodology adopted by this study, which takes into consideration a variety of stakeholders and their perception towards peace.

In conclusion, the concept of peace is undoubtedly relative. The study discovered that the visual representations depicted within this study are the personalised concept of peace tied to the IDPs' traditional belief systems and way of life. From narratives of the respondents, it is clear that progress made in forms of their education, family life and livelihood has met a setback due to lack of peace. This is a state that the people would like to change in order to experience some sort of development within their communities. Another key outcome of the research is having an effective means of communicating with people which doesn't alienate them in any way. Hence, the adaption of context-specific cultural inferences in the creation of the visuals for the subsequent promotion of peace visuals always needs to be considered. Thus the importance of peace promotion and peace education cannot be over emphasised, as only a peaceful community can experience and enjoy sustained development initiatives and practice.

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4

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY IN NKWEN AND BAMENDANKWE, CAMEROON

A 'Video for Development' Approach

Susan B. Tanwie

Abstract

This study examines the role of Video for Development (VfD) as an art form in promoting peacebuilding and cultural sustainability in the land conflict between the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities in Northwest Cameroon. In order to ensure peaceful coexistence and cultural sustainability, communities should engage in effective and meaningful dialogue and participation rather than the 'top-bottom' approaches employed in resolving land conflicts. The main questions this chapter sets out to answer are: (i) To what extent is VfD relevant to building a culture of peace between the Nkwen and Babendankwe communities in Northwest Cameroon? (ii) How are dialogue and participation critical to peacebuilding and cultural sustainability in the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities in Northwest Cameroon? The study made use of focus group discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews (KIIs), Video for Development (VfD), workshop and desk review to explore the role VfD plays in community participation towards peaceful coexistence. The neorealist film theory of Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica and Luchino Visconti and Paulo Freire's theory on dialogical pedagogy were used as theoretical framework for the study.

The findings indicated that VfD provided an enabling environment for both communities' conscientisation, empowerment and engagement in the peacebuilding process of the land conflict that exists between them. Through community participation, participants also identified cultural practices that have been abandoned by both communities and proposed for their reintroduction for peaceful coexistence. The research brought out the role of art-based approaches to peacebuilding and cultural sustainability as well as showcased the strength of community participation in peace processes as an exemplary approach towards cultural sustainability.

Introduction and Research Design

The focus of this study lies on two communities in conflict over the use and control of their land in Northwest Cameroon and the role of Video for Development (VfD) in the transformation of these communities towards peaceful coexistence and cultural sustainability.

This chapter adopted a positivist exploration to examine the functionality of Video for Development in promoting a culture of peace and enhanced cultural sustainability through community-led art-based process in the land conflict between the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities in Cameroon. The research was conducted in 2018 in the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities in Northwest Cameroon. The research made use of key informant interviews (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), Video for Development workshops and video recording.

Fifteen key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted to get findings on the what, why, how and where of the dispute from individuals who have first-hand information about the communities and the conflict under study. These included two community leaders, eight residents from both communities, three residents of the disputed land who are and are not members of these communities and two government officials. Two focus group discussions (FGDs) were also conducted, one in each community made of ten participants each. In Nkwen and Bamendankwe, youth association members formed the focus group facilitated by a research assistant who asked questions with the aim of guiding and encouraging every member to participate. The FGDs took place in their individual community halls and lasted an hour each. The researcher made use of snowball approach to select the population and size on the basis of community members' knowledge of the land conflict between them, and their traditional and cultural practices. The questions asked were bordered around the intertribal cultural practices between the two communities and the conflict in general. Two Video for Development workshops were conducted under the theme 'Peacebuilding, Cultural Sustainability and the Land Conflict between Nkwen and Bamendankwe', 1 in each community made up of 18 participants in the Nkwen community and 12 in the Bamendankwe community. Each workshop was made up of KII respondents, participants from the FGDs and community members making it a mixed group of elders and members of youths' association. The purpose of the workshops was to create a storyline and rehearse in preparation for the video recording. The participants were introduced to story creation and basic acting and camera operating principles. Participants created their story through improvisation, rehearsed and acted for the camera. Community members were cast to play roles from the improvised story and the Video for Development was recorded on location with the participants. These tools enabled the researcher to collect both primary and secondary data to ascertain and provide concrete information on the video approach carried out in the communities under study. This method gave the researcher

the opportunity to have in-depth study and understanding of the communities under study.

Theory of Dialogical Pedagogy

The chapter is anchored on the theory of dialogical pedagogy of Paulo Freire, which is seen as a tool to empower marginalised communities (Freire, 1970). According to Freire, dialogue is a therapeutic and emancipatory experience, which can result in actual liberation and activism. Drawing from his background as an educator, Paolo Freire believes that conscientisation is the key to subvert this "Culture of Silence" as he calls it. He defines it as a process of learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Mda, 1993, p. 45). Authentic participation is a necessary precondition for dialogue to take place (Huber, 1999). With dialogue, communities will reach a level of consciousness whereby they become aware of their living conditions and are ready to take decisions and be more proactive. Freire's concept of learning is not one of hierarchical teaching and information transfer. He suggests a dialogue between scholar and teacher in which they jointly explore new questions and new alternatives. Freire, while referring to educational pedagogy, states:

> The concept of dialogue between teacher and student in search of solution brings the two into a social interaction where both operate from a democratic base of equality that has two principal features: freedom and equal opportunities in social and political life. The teacher and student should work together to solve problems on equal footing, or at least without the teacher claiming absolute knowledge and an authority superior to that of a peasant. This entails people beginning to have a choice among a number of options. The second feature is equality. This implies that, people are fundamentally equal in some respect.
>
> *(Freire, 2005, cited in Idebe, 2017, p. 106)*

To him, teachers have to refrain from the temptation to treat their knowledge as inherently superior to their audience's (Hess, 1997). They have to accept that other views are equally valid and meaningful as theirs, be they their equals or their students. Thus, for communication to take place, there must be cooperation among the Community members and this can only be through dialogue. This way knowledge will be created through a learning process. This is because dialogue brings people together and makes them reflect on their realities and take necessary actions to either adjust or fix it. It is thus the researcher's contention that Video for Development does not differ from Freire's dialogical pedagogy which seems to be the model for addressing inequalities and oppression in subaltern communities by creating an arena for dialogue, education and empowerment.

The Neorealist Approach to Film Production

The chapter also made use of the neorealist approach to film production where nonprofessional community members as cast and crew play both major and secondary roles in their natural environment to capture a sense of reality. As was the case with the neorealists, this study did not make use of sets, but rather real settings with real people in the background to further emphasise this effect, portraying the land conflict situation the way it was and not creating or inventing reality, characterised by their own stories. Indeed, André Bazin, a French film theorist and critic, argued that neorealism portrays truth, naturalness, authenticity and is a cinema of duration. Thus, he says, neorealism is characterised by a general atmosphere of authenticity (Bazin, 2005, p. 24). He suggests that a film should be able to show the essence, which he refers to as "structural depth" and "preexisting relations" by showing reality itself without adding anything. The story, characters created including characters' names, their costumes and language were all relatable and can be identified by members of the communities being that the participants themselves have lived the realities portrayed in the video.

The use of this theory therefore provides a useful opportunity, considering its practical evidences of the functionality of Video for Development as a participatory approach in addressing the land conflict between the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities of Northwest Cameroon and in effect building a culture of peace between these communities. It further highlights the actualisation of a more inclusive and sustainable approach to peacebuilding processes for communities through art. These theoretical perspectives therefore underpin VfD as a tool for peacebuilding and cultural sustainability by engaging community members in an artistic yet reflective activity that allows them to contribute to building for and by themselves a sustainable environment for peaceful coexistence based on their lived experiences. By creating a story about the conflict, they sensitise the larger community on the need for peace and cultural sustainability. The theories emphasise the perspectives of art, specifically VfD, towards peacebuilding and denounce the repressive, manipulative and oppressive conditions meted on both communities by hierarchical structures in their society. The bottom-top approach makes sure that community members contribute and own the peace process to ensure sustainability for social cohesion and cultural sustainability.

The Land Conflict between the Nkwen
and Bamendakwe Communities

According to Mbih (2011), Nkwen and Bamendakwe are both villages in the Northwest Region of Cameroon, belonging to the Ngemba clan. The Ngemba are a group of people speaking a group of inter-intelligible languages classified as Ngemba, a term coined in the colonial period from the local expression for 'that is to say', which is common to these groups (Vubo & Ngwa, 2001, p. 166).

The Ngemba comprise the following villages: Awing, Pinyin, Njong, Akum, Alateneng, Baforchu, Mbei, Baba II and Baligham, Bafut, Bambili, Bambui, Mankon, Mundum, Mankon, Mbatu, Chomba, Mundum, Banja, Nkwen and Bamendankwe, who all speak languages which fall into this category. However, there are differences in dialect. This study focuses on the Ngemba of Nkwen and Bamendankwe, found in the Mezam Division, Bamenda, Northwest of Cameroon (Ndeh & Ngeh, 2015).

Bamendankwe is located east of the Bamenda town in Northwest Cameroon, while Nkwen is located north and east of the Bamenda town, Northwest Cameroon. They share a common boundary to the east that covers the areas called Sisia III and IV, Ntenefor I and II and Achichem. Achichem, a common shrine used by both communities, marks the conflict area. In 1939 an administrative decision based on the findings of an Intertribal Boundary Settlement Ordinance of 1933 maintained relative calm between the two communities until 1988 when both started laying claims of the said land and their common shrine. In 2008, the Bamenda Central Division was divided into Bamenda I, II and III Sub-Divisions following the 2007 Presidential Decree no. 2007/115 of the 13/04/2007 (Nkwen and Bamendankwe palace archives, 2014). This division placed Nkwen under Bamenda III Sub-Division and Bamendankwe as Bamenda I Sub-Division. This also brought disgruntlement between these communities who engaged in several confrontations. In 2014, the Government of Cameroon intervened by placing an administrative injunction prohibiting both communities from all forms of investments and trespass on the land until the conflict is settled with the boundaries identified but both communities have not respected this order as some still continue with building projects and land sales which has heightened the conflict on both sides. Even as both communities speak the same language and share the same cultural practices and traditions, they are engaged in land dispute and dispute over the use of their common shrine.

The Concept of Video for Development (VfD) in Cameroon

In 1990, Film for Development (FfD) emerged as a rising genre in Cameroon (Buminang, 2008). This genre of cinema is developed from Theatre for Development (TfD) influences. TfD is a combination of theatre methodologies which are linked to social intervention by one or more communities to improve the people's quality of life. It is theatre for conscientisation and empowerment and it is participatory in nature. Bole Butake, a Cameroonian TfD practitioner, in his desire to have another dimension to TfD, introduced the concept of Film for Development otherwise known as 'People Cinema' (Buminang, 2008; Ngomssi, 2013). Butake decided to experiment on other forms and genres that could contribute to the mediation process of the numerous problems faced by the masses. Ngomssi (2013) states:

> c'est l'usage des films pour la sensibilisation des populations. Un film pour le développement se réclame entant que tel. Un film ne devient pas pour le

développement mais il est réalisé dans ce but précis. Bien que des films puissent se trouver une vocation de sensibilisation pour le développement aussi bien par la structure de leurs scenarios que par les themes qu'il sabordent, un film pour le développement est fait intentionnellement. Ce dernier est réalisé dans le but d'expliquer des situations à des personnes qui ne les comprennent que très peu.

Film for Development is the use of films for public awareness. A Film for Development claims itself as such. A film does not become for development but it is made for that purpose. Although films can be used to raise awareness for development both by the structure of their scenarios and by the themes they cover, a Film for Development is done intentionally. This is done to explain situations to people who understand them very little.

(p. 20, translation by author)

In order to clarify the use of the term 'video' instead of 'film' in this study, as Butake does, it is important to understand the dichotomy between film and video.

Film is a story or event recorded by a camera as a set of moving images produced on celluloid and shown in a cinema. It is a motion or moving picture that can be watched at home or at the theatre. Boussinet (1989) says: "le film designe evidemment aussi bien la pellicule positive que negative, mais surtout, dans le language courant l'oeuvre cinematographique elle meme" ("film refers to the tape negative as well as positive, but most importantly, in today's language, to the cinematographic product itself"; p. 628, translation by author). Film is an important art form, "a source of popular entertainment, and a powerful method for educating or indoctrinating citizens" (Buminang, 2008, p. 3). Films are produced by recording actual people and objects with camera(s) or by creating them using animation techniques or special effects. It has as an objective to entertain, educate, enlighten and above all communicate. Film therefore is an art form with potent conscientisation values, a sophisticated, expensive process that requires art directions, fabulous setting, produced on celluloid. As such film production requires more materials and a processing laboratory.

Video, on the other hand, has been considered by many as "the poor relative of film and television industries and has been perceived as a marginal attempt to compete with commercial networks" (Gumucio-Dagron, 1994, p. 56). Video has become increasingly popular due to one primary advantage it has over film: convenience (Ferreira, 2006). Unlike film, video does not need to be sent away for processing in a laboratory but can be played back immediately. Also, video tapes record sound whereas film requires a separate audio recorder which will be synchronised with the film in a laboratory. In addition, the advent of affordable digital video technologies allows for the production of quality sound and images as well as on-set editing using personal computer editing stations (Burnett, 1991; Ferreira, 2006). However, some films can be produced and converted to videos. Still, the technology of video has improved and is approaching the quality of

film. Thus, Butake's term 'Film for Development' is limited because of the technical demands in making a film, and if Butake uses this term loosely to mean any moving image captured on camera (celluloid) then he problematises the marked distinctions that exist in the features of a film and those of a video. To this end, one needs to look at the capacity to produce a film vis–à–vis same to produce a video (recording), the resources needed and the politics of the different production phases (preproduction, production and post-production phases) and their demands. In this study, therefore, the term 'Video for Development' (VfD) is proposed and considered more appropriate when engaging a rural population with a lack of technical skills as is the case in the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities.

The objective of VfD is primarily focused on the conflicting people of Nkwen and Bamendakwe Communities. The people's collective will to identify their social problem, figure out ways of addressing these issues and proposing and creating scenarios of change that will contribute to the community's development. The VfD lays emphasis on the message of peaceful coexistence and cultural sustainability in the two conflicting communities and how the participants work together through a bottom–top approach to understand their problems and seek solutions; a community-owned cultural product that creates awareness on the potentialities to seek change and transform the existing land conflict situation to that of peace and cultural sustainability through participation.

As an art VfD sets an enabling environment through story creation, reminding the Nkwen and Bamendakwe communities of their similarities and common humanity, to begin to voice out their fears; it provides room for them to transform and uplift themselves from aggression and oppression. Film in all its genres, not leaving out VfD, builds creative retrospect in people's minds (Butake, 2001). It makes them critically rethink their past and present situations and begin to take operational measures on how to build the future that will best suit their ways of life (their reality).

Generally, two kinds of videos can be distinguished for developmental purposes. The first type is the production of a video about the problems of a community targeted by an external team to this community. The team is usually made up of technicians, the actors and the project coordinators. The team will identify a problem within a community, write a script and make video with professional actors. The final product is then broadcast on a television channel without the involvement of the target community. This category of VfD is commonly produced in Cameroon and is realised both "sous la forme de spot de sensibilisation que sous la forme de telefilm" ("as an awareness spot and as TV movie"; Ngomssi, 2013, translation by author).

The second category, which this chapter adopts, consists of a video production where project coordinators and technicians visit the Nkwen and Bamendakwe communities and select participants. Together they identify and prioritise community issues. Subsequently, and on the methodical bases of TfD, a story is created by improvisation. The participants, who are members of the Nkwen

and Bamendakwe communities, become characters in the story and the video is recorded in real settings in the same communities. Copies of the video are distributed to participants and, in some cases, copies are also distributed to media houses for broadcasting.

Considering the foregoing definitions, we can say that VfD is a concept whose main objective is to encourage the change of mentalities within the conflict-affected Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities in Northwest Cameroon. Without a change in process rather than in terminology, the approach of VfD follows the processes of TfD and FfD, with an addition of a VfD script and an in-camera record on different actual locations. It's crucial to now look at the process of Video for Development vis-à-vis selection of participants and story creation and video recording.

Video for Development Process with Local Communities: Selection of Participants, Improvisation and Story Creation

Video has the potential to retrieve experiences and reflect the voices of underrepresented communities. It provides an accessible record of testimonies, discussions and activities. Groups and individual participants make use of these audio-visual records to discuss and reorganise their opinions and concerns. These go a long way to pass across information and communication between grassroot communities and those whom the under-represented groups will not normally be able to address, that is, the governing powers. This section gives an analysis of the processes involved in the production of a VfD, a project carried out for the purpose of this research.

It should be noted that the video methodology for this study makes use of aspects of participatory video. That is to say, both the process and the product build up the storyline for the final video product. The video depends on excerpts of key informant interviews (KIIs), focus group discussion (FGD), workshop sessions and the improvised story for its storyline and is a synthesised product of videos from both communities under study. Participants were members of the two conflicting communities who either in a KII, FGD or VfD workshop session provided the storyline and dialogues for this video.

The Video for Development (VfD) project in the two communities is conceived as one that would assist participants in particular and these communities in general to develop a 'video letter' to their entire communities and stakeholders raising concerns and providing inputs related to the ordeal of the land conflict and its impact on culture and development, from the perspectives of those living in these communities. In carrying out this research, the researcher ensured the participation of members of both communities.

The selection of the participants for the video project was based on the theme, the individual's knowledge on the theme, and the different stakeholders involved in the conflict. In the Bamendankwe community, members of the traditional council were selected from the different communities that make up

the Bamendankwe community. This was to make sure that the interests of each selected community were protected. Youth leaders as well as women representatives were also selected.

The selection of participants in the Nkwen community was a bit different from that of Bamendankwe. The president of the traditional council selected a member to represent the council, who then selected the youths and women in the community, who have insight into the conflict, as was guided by the researcher.

Some of the participants were inhabitants of the conflict area who are not indigenous from either community but were affected by the conflict in one way or the other. This is to say that the participants were all representatives of the local communities. Again, the participants were selected based on their availability for the video project. Participants who were available for the production were selected and given roles to interpret. They were guided on the theme of the workshop, 'peacebuilding, cultural sustainability and the land conflict between Nkwen and Bamendankwe', by the workshop facilitator, based on the overall requirements of the project. At the end of the selection process, some participants were actors in the video while others were trained to operate the video camera.

After introducing the idea to both communities, the researcher liaised with a member of the traditional councils of both communities, who assisted in bringing together other community members. In Nkwen, the researcher was able to generate discussions with community members in a FGD session and a workshop session. The FGD session was with some randomly selected youths, meanwhile the workshop was a combination of both the youths and the community elders (made up of men and women). In Bamendankwe, the case was a little different as the community members requested the researcher to have talks only with their community leader since he is the overall representation of the community. According to their culture and tradition, the *Fon* (traditional ruler) is the paramount ruler whose verdicts must be respected by the community. He is the overall representative of the community and most respected by the people. This is why the Bamendankwe people explained that they cannot contradict their leader, else it will be considered as an act of disrespect. Reasons why the analysis obtained from this community was generated from the audio recordings of FGD and VfD workshop sessions, video interviews of the Fon in the presence of some community elders and youths, as well as key informant interviews of some community members.

Following the techniques of Theatre for Development, the workshop for this video was conducted in five inconsistent days including the two days of the video shoot. The first day was devoted to a FGD during which information was solicited from participants to know their concerns on the conflict. Two days were dedicated for the workshop. The workshop started with theatrical games to set the mood for the day. Participants were put through the methodology of Video for Development – story creation via improvisation, introductory exercises and lessons to acting, script development and then video recording. Participants were grouped into small groups of four wherein they developed different stories for

the video. These stories were later merged into one story. The stories were all centred around loss of culture and impaired development due to the land conflict, followed by discussions about the cultural link that exist between the communities and the causes and consequences of the conflict to cultural heritage, and the possibility for peacebuilding and reconciliation. Guided by the facilitator, story creation laid emphasis on the cultural practices of these communities which are facing near extinction due to the conflict. The creation of the story took place in a collective and participatory manner and in several phases allowing glimpses of various possibilities towards the development of the final video while involving all the stakeholders. Dialogues were developed by participants in their best spoken language and rehearsed in an all improvised manner.

At the end of the workshop, the story created revolved around the land conflict between these communities; a mixture of fiction and reality. The story opens with the village diviner lamenting as he tries to consult the ancestors about the conflict situation but cannot because he feels insecure carrying out rituals at an 'open' shrine. He establishes the fact that the shrine itself is an element of conflict as the two communities that depend on the shrine for spiritual consultation now each lay claims of ownership. Community members have sold out parcels of land surrounding the shrine to strangers who do not have respect for the sacredness of the shrine. Mr Armel, a community developer, buys a piece of land from one of the communities (Bamendankwe) but is unable to obtain a building permit for the land due to interests of the authorities in charge of the piece of land. He later found out that the said land is a conflicting site between the community that provided him with it (Bamendankwe) and a neighbouring community (Nkwen). On one of his trips to survey his parcel of land, he was surprised to meet a traditional injunction planted on the land. He decided to visit the Fon's palace to complain about the injunction. In the palace he meets the Fon and some elders in council deliberating on the same land issue. The Fon promised to look into the problem by involving the state authorities.

During a visit to the City Council, Mr Armel met with a friend who took him to the palace of the other community (Nkwen) since she happened to be a native of that community. Upon arrival in the palace, they met the Fon, his notable and some youths from the community who came to complain about the destruction of houses they were constructing on the disputed land. Mr Armel informed them about his intention on the land and it was well received by the Fon and his subjects. Incidentally, he withdrew his intention of investing on the land while stating that his fear of losing his life in such conflicts. After realising what both communities stand to gain, the Fon concludes that Mr Armel should build a school on that land and he promised to increase the land. Mr Armel, however, rejected the offer and advised both communities to resolve their problems. At this point, both Fons are confused as to what decision to take: do they keep fighting or resolve this problem for the good of the communities? Both community members narrated the history and the beautiful common culture they share, such as football tournament, hunting game, annual cultural festivals,

common traditional rites and ritual performances, etc., that fostered love and respect for each other. They recommended a return to these cultural practices with the belief that durable solutions to the conflict will be reached if this is done.

Just like Boal (2002) stated that theatre of the oppressed has the potentials to enable people to be free, express themselves and create their visions of the future, rather than waiting for it to be decided for them, VfD provides a creative and reflexive platform through which community members see themselves and they better understand their realities seeking and suggesting profound solutions to their oppression. The video exposes another dimension of cultural mishaps in both communities. The story grew out of the experiences of the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities since the era of colonialism to present day, which is characterised by love, separation, hate, anger and jealousy for one another. Poverty, urbanisation, mutual suspicion, cultural loss and show of strength are all elements of the story. The story conveyed a realistic picture of the conflict between these communities; their sociocultural life acted out by the community members. Expressed in their own discussion, they read out their stories of past centuries – that of love, cultural exchanges and brotherliness. The character of Mr Armel came in as a reawakening to these communities. It made them realise how much they have lost both culturally and otherwise and will still lose if they do not settle their differences. Mr Armel is ready to withdraw his investment from the community which would have benefited both communities. It is only at this point that the Fon considered addressing the conflict.

Potentials of Video for Development (VfD) to Mediate Conflicts between Local Communities and Facilitate Peacebuilding Processes

Art forms such as Video for Development provide a veritable atmosphere for participation and conscientisation; therefore, they should be particularly observed as spheres where culture is learnt, practised and sustained. Cultural content is created and transmitted while enhancing social cohesion for cultural sustainability. The research concludes that the engagement of community members in the artistic video process is an effective approach for peacebuilding and cultural sustainability between conflicting communities in Northwest Cameroon (as depicted in figure 4.1). Such engagements offer them the freedom to articulate their fears and hope for the active creation of a better community. The findings indicate that VfD provides an enabling environment for both communities' conscientisation, empowerment and engagement in the peacebuilding process of the land conflict between them. Through community participation, participants also identified cultural practices that had been abandoned by both communities and proposed for their reintroduction for peaceful coexistence. Kidd (1982, p. 264), though referring to TfD, expounds that TfD is "used as a means of bringing people together, building confidence, and solidarity, stimulating discussion, exploring alternative

FIGURE 4.1 A composition of both community members in a role play during the video recording session. The characters represented the Bamendankwe community in this scene made up of the traditional ruler and his guard, two community elders and community women who came to complain about their inability to farm due to the conflict (Tanwie, 2018).

options for action and building a collective commitment to change, starting with people's urgent concerns and issues" this to him is a medium for community organising and participative action for cultural sustainability. This assertion has been proved also in the context of VfD with regard to the communities studied. The people in the community at first were reluctant to open up to issues that bothered them, but by the time of story creation, and throughout the process of rehearsals and video recording, they opened up their minds and fully participated in talking about personal concerns of the issues and subject matter. The process of VfD built their confidence, which allowed them to interact with less inhibitions.

The study came out with a synthesised video made from recordings of the process in both communities and an acted story created by participants through a participatory story creation process. Community members highlighted common cultural practices that exist in both communities (see Table 4.1) that are near extinction due to the conflict. Re-echoing and re-enacting of these cultural elements in their story narration adds to the discourse as to whether cultural practices are maintained and will be made available for future generations. In this respect, cultural sustainability is concerned with the practices of cultural elements like beliefs, traditions – including both tangible and intangible

TABLE 4.1   Key Cultural Practices Identified by the Respondents for Peacebuilding (Tanwie, 2018)

Nkwen	Bamendankwe
Exchanged traditional ritual practices	Exchanged traditional ritual practices
Crop sharing	Crop sharing
Joint hunting	Joint Hunting
Combined ritual practices	Combined ritual practices
Reintroduction of tournaments	Reintroduction of the use of peace plant by the Fon
Annual festival	

practices – music, dance and languages. These cultural practices have been used in the video with the aim to create more awareness on the use of VfD and participants-led approach to peacebuilding and cultural sustainability. Hence, VfD can be seen as an arts-based strategy that can significantly contribute to peacebuilding and cultural sustainability in Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities of Northwest Cameroon.

Participant-led arts-based approaches and arts education can be identified as critical to peacebuilding processes for cultural sustainability. Conflicting communities should leverage on such approaches in resolving conflicts that are deterrent to their sociocultural development. The video is a cultural content that provides not just cultural education but also entertainment to both communities who can easily relate to the story, characters, costume and language used in the video. The video experience by the community members was a unique phenomenon in the sense that the people were frustrated and tired of fighting and waiting on the government to take concrete decisions to end the conflict. They welcomed the video idea as a medium where they can speak to their leaders and contribute to the land conflict resolution and peace between them, especially the subjects who were the most affected by the conflict. Even as it was their first experience, the collaboration during the rehearsal process contributed to the success of the VfD. Improvisation and spontaneity being part of the process require a lot of creativity and strict obedience to rules and repetitive actions. This helped them to negotiate their roles and actions towards each other even as it was a dramatic performance but also in their day-to-day dealings with each other in the community. However, a lot of challenges were recorded. Most of the participants found it very difficult to retain their conversations for each scene; unlike improvisation and spontaneous actions in theatre where the actors will write and perform story simultaneously before a live audience, it became challenging with the video as different shots were to be taken, thus requiring that they memorise their initial conversations to repeat during a close-up shot, for instance. A major challenge faced was that the actors at a point became tired of repeating the same actions multiple times for different camera angles. The improvised story creation gave the communities a critical look at their realities and helped to strengthen

social cohesion and cultural sustainability through the use of their common cultural materials and activities including costumes, language and a relatable story along the lines of the ongoing conflict.

The participant-led artistic video process showcases the lived experiences of the Nkwen and Bamendankwe communities with identifiable characters like that of the Fon, and scenarios such as traditional injunctions on farmlands and respect for traditional authority. Despite the fact that the women in the scene were angry because they were chased from their farms by members of their rival community, they still did not lose sight of the fact that they were before the Fon and had to prostrate while addressing him. Scenes like this and many more in the video carried pocket cultural messages that transmit beliefs, customs and traditions down to younger generations.

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5

GENDER EQUITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

A 'Film for Development' Approach among the Kom of North West Cameroon

Alasambom Nyingchuo

Abstract

Gender equity provides equal opportunities for individuals of all sexes to participate in socio-economic activities in the society, especially letting each sex to put their intrinsic qualities at the service of the community. Among the Kom of North West Cameroon, sociocultural practices have seriously limited women's participation in the community, a factor that has led to social tensions as well as reducing the socio-economic growth of the community. The Film for Development (FfD) approach first brings together disadvantaged people to reflect on their predicaments and brainstorm on solutions, resulting in story creation and the making of a participatory film that sensitises the public on their problems. This study used the FfD approach to promote gender equity in the Kom society to foster sustainable development. The study answers the following questions: Which sociocultural practices in Kom society exclude women? What are the effects of exclusion on the socio-economic output of women in the community? What are women's views on how to foster their inclusion in the Kom society? Using participant observations, focus group discussions and key informant interviews, this study revealed two categories of practices that exclude women. The first includes those endorsed by the traditional leaders (institutional practices), such as lack of access to political positions, widows expected to marry late husband's brother and exclusion from land inheritance; while the second includes those actively fought against by the traditional leaders, such as high bride prices, forced marriages, dispossession of widows and discrimination of the girl child in education. Suggestions from respondents on how to empower women in Kom were further woven into a community film through participatory dramaturgy.

Introduction

Situated in the western highlands of Cameroon, the Kom people originated from Tikari, Ndobo, Kimi or Rifum, somewhere between present-day Adamawa State of Nigeria and the North Region of Cameroon (Neba, 1987, p. 53). Today, the Kom are one of several Tikar tribes located in Boyo Division of the North West Region of Cameroon, some 25 kilometres west of Bamenda, the North West regional capital. Although the Kom are a matrilineal society where blood line is traced from maternal ancestry when it comes to family succession, the traditional ruling authority is vested in men. The paramount ruler (the *Foyn*), his advisors and judicial arm (the *Kwifoyn*) continue to be the most respected leaders in the community despite the existence of district officers who represent the central government (Nkwi, 1976, p. 12).

In Kom, women have limited access to land, property and decision-making positions as a result of sociocultural beliefs that consider women as property, assets and second-grade members within family circles and the community. Males hold the vast majority of power and privileges, while females labour mostly in domestic roles in kitchens and on farms (Nsom, 2015, p. 1). This exclusion is also seen in the family succession system which does not permit women to inherit property, but rather places the woman and her children as part of the deceased estate. This state of affairs seriously limits women's psycho-social well-being, economic potentials and, most importantly, their participation in community development both at the conceptual and practical levels.

The World Commission of the United Nations on Environment and Development's publication *Our Common Future* (1987), also popularly known as the 'Brundtland Report', defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". This definition was from an environmental perspective, which laid emphasis on development that does not destroy the environment and does not deplete natural resources. However, in the context of this work, sustainability goes beyond environmental protection to include the cultural component. This means that the 'sustainability' of a project or 'sustainable development' here refers to development that is socially inclusive, tailored along the cultural values of the people as well as creating an enabling environment for cultural expressivity, especially through the arts. That is why one of the theoretical frameworks of this chapter is 'cultural sustainability', which considers culture as the very foundation on which the other dimensions of sustainability like the economic, environment and social are rooted.

Theoretical Perspectives: Liberal Feminism and Cultural Sustainability

Feminism is a societal theory on gender whose objective is to generate support for social equality between men and women, while working against sexism and

patriarchy. According to Macionis (2010), feminism has three groups in theory: radical feminism – which advocates for traditional family systems to end; liberal feminism – defends the equality of opportunity; and Marxist/socialist feminism – which advocates for gender roles and social classes to end. In the context of this work, the liberal feminism perspective has been adopted, given that this work seeks to negotiate avenues for equal opportunities for men and women in the Kom society through Film for Development, which will enable women to be in control of their own lives. From the premise that society is patriarchal, structured in a way that favours men, traditional ways of thinking as have been analysed in this study culturally support the subordination of women, leading to the neglect or unserious consideration of issues affecting women. This subjugation of women has reduced women's participation in the economic and social development of the Kom community.

Theoretical arguments that guide this study are also drawn from the recent trend of discourses on cultural sustainability. In their attempt to define cultural sustainability as a theory, Anita Kangas, Nancy Duxbury and Christiaan De Beukelaer (2017) present perspectives worth highlighting:

> Cultural sustainability tends to be defined in two ways. On one hand, it refers to the sustainability of cultural and artistic practices and patterns, including, for example, identity formation and expression, cultural heritage conservation, and a sense of cultural continuity. On the other hand, cultural sustainability also refers to the role of cultural traits and actions to inform and compose part of the pathways towards more sustainable societies. Culture lies at the core of practices and beliefs that can support or inspire the necessary societal transition to more sustainable living. These narratives, values, and actions contribute to the emergence of a more culturally sensitive understanding of sustainable development and to clarifying the roles of art, culture, and cultural policy in this endeavor.
>
> *(p. 130)*

This chapter aligns with the perspective above relative to cultural sustainability as the promotion and viability of cultural and artistic practices that enhance "identity formation and expression, cultural heritage conservation, and a sense of cultural continuity" (Duxbury & De Beukelaer, 2017, p. 130). The role of cultural traits and practices as pathways towards achieving more sustainable societies is also relevant in this study. This is because in the context of the Kom society where this study is based, sociocultural practices which exclude women largely reflect the traditional community practices (customs and traditions). These customs and traditions define identity and role play among the sexes. Through these practices sustainable development can be advanced or thwarted, depending on how well these practices encourage adherents to participate in the socio-economic development processes of the community.

Duxbury et al. (2017), citing Dessein et al. (2015), also classify the different perspectives of cultural sustainability into three approaches:

> The first representation, "culture *in* sustainability", considers culture as having an independent or autonomous role in sustainability: culture becomes the fourth dimension of sustainability. The approach views cultural sustainability as parallel to ecological, social, and economic sustainability, with all comprising interconnected dimensions of sustainability. The second representation, "culture *for* sustainability", stresses culture having a mediating role to achieve economic, social, and ecological sustainability. The third representation, "culture *as* sustainability", considers culture not only as an instrument but a necessary foundation for meeting the overall aims of sustainability. In this approach, culture encloses all other dimensions of sustainability and becomes an overarching concern or paradigm of sustainability.
>
> *(p. 221)*

The third – holistic approach of culture *as* sustainability, i.e., culture as the general foundation for meeting the overall aims of sustainability, is particularly relevant in this chapter. From an African perspective, this would refer to defining sustainability as development endeavours tailored to the belief systems, mode of life and the material and moral preferences of beneficiary communities in an inclusive manner.

Qualitative Research Design

This chapter adopted the qualitative research design, from a constructivist episteme, using the ethnographic approach. This approach was suitable because it is "designed to examine groups with shared patterns of behavior, beliefs and language with much larger units of analysis" (Creswell, 2014, p. 90). Specifically, this work also falls within the parameters of critical ethnography. This refers to an ethnographic approach in which "the researcher seeks to emancipate marginalised groups in society, or speak out against inequality and domination" (Creswell, 2014, p. 93). From July 2018 to March 2019, participant observations, focus group discussions with women's groups and key informant interviews with traditional leaders and elites constituted the major tools for gathering the necessary data on women's exclusion in the Kom society and the impact of such exclusion on sustainable local development. A total of seven traditional leaders were interviewed for this work. This was done right after the focus group discussions with the women, and the objective was to triangulate the information from the women. As for the composition of the traditional leaders and elites, one of the traditional leaders was a second-class chief (one of the four regional chiefs of Kom, from Mbam in Fundong), two were third-degree chiefs from Belo and Njinikom, three were general overseers of warrior societies (or 'generals', also in

charge of enforcing customary laws), while one was a king maker. Except for one third-degree chief who was illiterate, the other traditional leaders could at least read and write. Their ages ranged from 50 to 75 years. For the three women's groups selected, each had an average membership of 60 women, but for the purpose of this work and on the basis of availability of members during the FGDs, an average of 12 women per group was obtained, making a total of 36 women. They were mostly composed of teachers, traders, unemployed, uneducated, primary school dropouts, secondary school dropouts, married women, single women and divorced women.

Sampling was purposive in nature. Three women's groups were selected, from each of the three council areas that make up the Kom fondom, namely Belo, Fundong and Njinikom. Due to the ongoing hostilities between the Cameroon government soldiers and separatist fighters in the region, the research was conducted with Kom women living in Yaounde, and traditional leaders who had fled to different towns in Cameroon. The targeted groupings of Kom women in Yaounde bear the appellations of their valley or council area development associations. For the Belo area, the Belo Area Development Union (BADU Women's wing); for the Fundong area, the Abassakom Area Development Union (ABADU Women's wing); and for the Njinikom area, the Njinikom Area Development and Cultural Organization (NADECO Women's wing) were selected. The main objective of working with the women's groups was to gather experiences that reveal the sociocultural practices in Kom that exclude women, the impact of these practices on their lives and their perceived solutions to these problems.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) were carried out following the Theatre for Development (TfD) processes (reflection, dialogue, projections) in which the women narrate and dramatise their personal stories, as others indicated if they have similar experiences. These experiences were prompted by talking points initiated by the researcher. Each session, which lasted one hour on average, was recorded on video by a research assistant, while the researcher served as facilitator. The FGD guides have been prepared based on the talking points, formulated along the major objectives and research questions of the study. The four main talking points are:

1. Sociocultural practices in Kom which exclude women in Kom
2. Effects of exclusion of Kom women on local personal and local sustainable development
3. How the women think their sociocultural exclusion in Kom can be redressed
4. Opinions of the women on film as a forum for them to make their voices heard

Each talking point gave rise to several suggestions as well as personal stories, and every participant was given room to give an opinion on each suggestion or personal story brought forth by other participants. Sometimes a suggestion

would spur up a very personal story corroborated by others either with similar experiences or who know a woman who had similar experiences. Since the women were to eventually take part in the film, the last segment of discussions centred on whether from their experiences they believe that film could be a good medium for them to make their voices heard.

Concerning traditional rulers and elites selected, the seven traditional leaders were selected from all the three council areas, according to the hierarchical structure of the Kom traditional administrative apparatus. Three prominent elites were also interviewed, one from each of the three council areas. While the FGDs with women constituted the main source of data for the research questions, these key informant interviews (KII) were designed to triangulate data from the FGDs. The instrument used to conduct KIIs were interview guides, with open questions.

It should be noted that the researcher here being a man, there were peculiar effects on the research process, especially at the level of confidence building on the part of the respondents. With the women, they were very happy to see a man who was interested in knowing the problems they face in the community and were very willing to open up. From their interventions in the various FDGs, they also seemed to believe that besides channelling their preoccupations to the village hierarchy and elites through film, the researcher could also physically lobby for them in men's circles. This made them to be sincerer in their responses. The traditional leaders on the other hand complained that the Kom tradition was highly misrepresented on the social media and in the community and took the research as an opportunity to set things right. This increased their eagerness to participate in the research process.

Sociocultural Practices That Exclude Women in Kom

Globally, communities interpret biological differences between men and women to create a set of social expectations that define the behaviours that are 'appropriate' for men and women and determine women's and men's different access to rights, resources, power in society and health behaviours (Galdas et. al., 2010, p. 12). Although gender and sex are separate concepts, they are interlinked in that gender discrimination often results from stereotypes based on what is expected of members of each sex (Greenberg, 1999, p. 31).

In the discussions with women's groups, traditional leaders and elites of Kom, practices that exclude appeared to be in two categories, which are classified here as institutional and non-institutional. While the institutional practices benefit from the public endorsement of the Kom traditional leadership, the non-institutional ones include practices that are not inscribed in the customs and traditions in place, or erroneous interpretation and implementation of some of the customary laws and traditions. An example of such erroneous interpretation could be when a successor interprets family succession to mean taking away the deceased person's estate from his widow and children, contrary to the customs

in place which provide for successors to be mere administrators of this estate with the sole objective to better cater for the needs of the widow and children.

Institutional Sociocultural Practices That Exclude Women

One of the most glaring practices of women's exclusion in Kom society is their exclusion from political positions. Unlike with most of the grievances expressed by the women, when it came to political positions in Kom the women usually talked in a resigned manner, which seemed to suggest that they have come to accept their fate. One of the respondents of the Njinikom Area Development and Cultural Organization women's group put it this way:

> Actually, the Kom tradition does not give any place to the woman, because in terms of hierarchy you have the *foyn* (ruler), the *Nchisido* (palace guards) etc. but you won't find women at any level. I don't really know how women can be fitted in because it comes from the top.
>
> *(NADECO FGD, personal communication, 22/09/2018)*

However, what the respondents were really uncomfortable with is not having a say even at the family level: "As a woman, even in your marital home your husband will not even give you space to have a say. He will keep oppressing you under the pretext that he is the head of the household" (NADECO FGD, personal communication, 22/09/2018). This subjugation of the woman at home seems to be inspired by the public policy that seems to assert that women are supposed to be seen and not heard. For sustainable development to take place in every community, there is a need for all human resources to be mustered. Given that women make up about 52% of most Cameroonian communities (2005 census), more than half of the population and workforce of Kom is left out in terms of development ideas and implementation.

Another prominent aspect of women's exclusion in Kom society is exclusion from land ownership. The traditional land tenure system in Kom is based on two main principles: that the *foyn* is the titular owner of land, and that "the defacto control of land, both arable and residential is exercised by the village and lineage heads" (Nkwi, 1976, p. 59). Real owners of land in Kom are thus the village, lineage and family heads. What this clearly suggests is that women in Kom cannot lay claims to ancestral lands since they do not have rights to inheritance.

Also, successors are expected to have sexual relationships with the widows. Following the matrilineal system in Kom, when a man dies, his brother or nephew (sister's son) takes over as family head, taking over the deceased's estates, widows and children inclusive. One of the younger women in the Abassakom Area Development Union (ABADU) complained:

> I think the whole issue of brother or nephew succeeding is because the successor is expected to have a sexual relationship with the widow(s) but this

should not happen in the modern world. It should depend on whether the widow accepts it or not.

<div align="right">

(ABADU FGD, personal communication,
21/09/2018)

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This indicates that although the customs allow it, the women would rather want to decide for themselves with whom to continue their lives after the death of their husbands. But unfortunately, since the customs permit it, failure to comply sometimes attracts negative consequences, as one of the ABADU women explains: "the successor may meet a widow and start sleeping with her, against her will. When you refuse his advances, he will start maltreating you" (ABADU FGD, personal communication, 21/09/2018).

Kom is mostly rural in nature and subsistence is land based – agriculture, livestock, fuel wood, housing, etc. With no permanent access to land, development trends are left solely in the hands of the men, which seriously slows down the pace of development.

Non-institutional Sociocultural Practices That Exclude Women

Discussions with Kom traditional leaders revealed that some of the sociocultural practices decried by the women are equally frowned upon by the traditional leaders. In all three FGDs with the women, the most recurrent of such complaints was the poor treatment of widows by successors, especially their eviction from their late husband's estate. One of the *Nformeis* (inspector of warrior groups) was very categorical on the subject:

> [...] the Kom tradition does not ask people to treat widows poorly. That's why there are successors – to indicate that the father of the compound is still there. But people come and put more value on material things. Things that do not speak.

<div align="right">

(Interview with inspector of warrior group, personal
communication, 18/12/2018)

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This remark shows that dispossessing a widow of her husband's estate is not a dictate of the Kom customary laws. Unfortunately, there seems to be an increasing number of such cases, as this NADECO woman explained:

> Some nephews just come because of property. He would send away the widow and even the children. He won't even bother whether the kids are going to school or not. Then he would take the lands on which the children could build and sell. Some would even send away the widow from her farms then give them out on rent.

<div align="right">

(NADECO FGD, personal communication,
22/09/2018)

</div>

This excerpt suggests that some successors now use the inherited estate as a source of income for themselves to the detriment of the widows and children and prefer to put the deceased's farms on rent so as to raise money.

Another non-institutional practice is the neglect of widows and children by successors. Succession in Kom is not just about rights, but mainly about responsibilities. The widow and children are not supposed to feel the absence of the deceased, as the successor is expected to provide for their needs. Unfortunately, some successors neglect their material and spiritual responsibilities in the inherited estate. A widow and children may struggle on their own to meet their material needs but the spiritual leadership will be impossible without the father since it can only be provided for the family by a father. This spiritual leadership intervenes at three levels: healing, blessing and intercession with the ancestors. In Kom, it is believed that a father is the direct representative of God, so children need regular blessings from their fathers to succeed in life or to get well when afflicted with illness.

On healing:

> A father can use wood ash collected from where fire is made in Nawain's (mother's) house to bless a child "*si chiti wayn*". This act will be performed when the child is sick or experiencing some threats, and in the act the father is pleading to the ancestors for a quick recovery of the child. The act can also be performed when the child has an important mission to accomplish, and in this act the father will be pleading to the ancestors to bless the child with wisdom and courage so as to accomplish the awaited task.
>
> *(Nsom, 2015, p. 91)*

On blessing:

> The father can use his traditional cup to sip wine for the child. This will be in a situation where the father is happy with the general behavior of the child or when the father is unhappy. In the first situation, the father will sip wine to the child as a sign of love. The father is by this act approving the conduct of the child and encouraging him to work harder. In this case the act is referred to as "*si mu'miluh*". In the second case the father will sip as a sign of reconciliation with the child. In this case, the sipping act is referred to as "*si chu'miluh*" which means washing away the bad thoughts focused on the child.
>
> *(Nsom 2015, p. 91)*

On intercession:

> The father can offer the necessary sacrifices needed by the ancestors if certain things are going wrong in the compound such as illness, deaths or

disturbances from evil spirits. In all such situations it could be required that the father offers some sacrifices to the ancestors in some specific manner.

(Nsom, 2015, p. 91)

These excerpts clearly outline the spiritual roles of fathers in compounds in Kom, and successors are expected to play these roles to make sure that persons living in that compound live healthily and that the children are progressing in their daily lives. By not performing their spiritual tasks, successors thus fail to ensure that Kom sons and daughters succeed in their various undertakings, which is the foundation of sustainable development.

Another non-institutional practice that excludes women in Kom society is forced marriages. According to Kom tradition, marriage is a union between two people of the opposite sex. At the level of the bride's family, the decision to endorse the marriage is an inclusive one mostly led by the women:

> The middle person will address the mother of the girl in a low soft tone of voice. "Nini, I have come to beg a kola nut". This simply means, seeking for their daughter's hand in marriage. The mother with head bowed in deep meditation will listen to these words. The mother after much thought and reflection will request for a second visit. The middle person can be told to pay a third or even a fourth visit when she comes for the second visit, just to test her patience and the young man's love for the daughter. If the girl persists in her willingness to marry the man in question then the opinion of the other family members is sought, and should any of them give a contrary view with solid reasons the whole affair has to be suspended, for further investigations.
>
> *(Nkwi, 1986, p. 5)*

This explanation reveals two key issues. The first is that the girl has to be willing to marry the man, and the second is that the opinion of other family members is sought before finalising the union. Some men in Kom simply force their daughters to marry their friends, friends' children or creditors as a means of repaying their debts. In such cases, neither the opinion of the girl, her mother nor the other family members is sought, contrary to the traditions in force.

Impact of Women's Exclusion on Sustainable Development in Kom

Based on the second objective of the study, this section examines how the discussed sociocultural practices of women's exclusion have actually affected the quality of life of the Kom women in particular and sustainable development in Kom in general. The objective is to examine the degree of need for concerted actions to be taken if women have to live fulfilled lives in Kom society and be able to participate more in local development.

Women's Voices Not Heard

As mentioned earlier, women in Kom have very little access to political positions, starting from the family level through the village heads to the paramountcy. From the home, some women shared experiences about their husbands who do not seek their opinions in family issues, while at the ward and village levels all the political and the judicial organs like the village heads, courts and spiritual lodges are mostly men. This is a serious problem for the women because their voices are completely ignored. Reasons advanced by the elders as to why women are mostly left out include the fact that most of these political positions also come with certain spiritual practices that are considered too strong for women. But what about the village council? It should be noted that village councils are made up of selected villagers from different wards of the village to foster peaceful coexistence and development in the village, and their activities do not have any spiritual undertones. But as one woman from the BADU women's group testifies: "At the council you will see that the president and vice are all men. Maybe with a woman or two who are just following the crowd with no say, since most decisions are taken through vote" (BADU FDG, 18/09/2018, Yaounde).

Although the situation may have improved considerably in the semi-urban areas in Kom land, it might only be due to education and exposure, but if things have to change at a faster rate, there is need for a concerted plan of action to weave in the voice of the women in decision-making processes in the Kom society. This will go a long way to enable women to participate fully in local development, both at the conceptual and implementation levels.

Additional Stress on Women and Children after Loss of Husband

Following the matrilineal system in Kom which traces bloodline from the mother's family, a man's successor is his brother or his sister's son. Consequently, most women spend their old age with their sons together with their sons' wives and children. Most of these women move out to live with sons or brothers when they are too old to cultivate food, fetch water and firewood, etc. to take care of themselves. In most cases too, by this stage of their lives their husbands are dead and the compound has been taken over by a new set of people so she moves out to live with people of her lineage.

However, the case is usually more complicated when the widow is still young and her children are not yet of age to settle down. She would either have to move to a distant relative or have to cope with all kinds of humiliations from the successor until her son becomes of age. Sometimes she may even be forced to live with a daughter in her own marital home. The death of a husband thus always ushers in a new era of stress in the life of any woman and her children. Some of the widows and children are actually expelled from the deceased's property. One participant put it: "You can grow with your husband, building houses,

buying lands and investing. When your husband dies, his brothers and nephews will come and send you away from the house" (ABADU FDG, 21/09/2018, Yaounde).

A woman of the BADU women FGD explained her own experience:

> This kind of things make life difficult for the widow. She will just stay there out of fear and wait for her own son to grow up and build his own house so she can move out to join him. But even at that, she will not be happy because she is not seeing her husband's grave. That is what I observed with my mother. You could actually see that she was not happy, but when we wanted to talk she would just ask us to stop for fear that she would be killed.
>
> *(BADU FDG, 18/09/2018, Yaounde)*

Besides the pain of losing access to her late husband's estate, the above excerpt also underlines a crucial traumatic experience of young widows in Kom – that of living far away from their husband's graves. Having lost her husband early, one of the consoling factors for the widow is usually the fact that she still occupies the space she used to spend with him with all the personal effects that keep his memory alive in her, including the grave. As another woman of the BADU FDG corroborated, "some women actually die before their time because they can no longer live the lives they used to live with their husbands". These testimonies seem to suggest that unruly successors in Kom have rendered the event of loss of husband even more challenging than it is supposed to be, and only a strong traditional supervision system as well as an effective sensitisation campaign will be able to curb this phenomenon.

Almost every woman in the different focus group discussions spoke very emotionally about these issues indicating that unruly successors sometimes just wait for uncles or brothers to die so that they can inherit their possessions, and they always send away the widow and children, who will have to start life afresh. When widows and their children are dispossessed of their entire lives' work by successors, it becomes difficult to send the children to school or to learn a trade. In their traumatised state, they become mentally and emotionally weak and unable to optimise their participation in local development processes. This is why even the traditional leaders themselves were very bitter about this practice and are putting in place several disciplinary measures for such deviant successors.

Community Filmmaking Workshop – A Practical Research Approach

The approach adopted for this work aligns with that of Samba (2016), Tume (2015) and Chinyowa (2005). While Samba followed the footsteps of Boal (1985) and Freire (2000) to tackle situations of dictatorial sociopolitical systems

to demonstrate that the idea is not just to serve as the voice of the voiceless but also to educate on strategies for an alternative life, Tume (2015) emphasised how people theatre practice appropriates new information and communication technology into local settings as an expressive and affirmative medium. This is the same rationale behind the community film that is associated with this study.

From the initial contact with the respondents (women's groups, traditional leaders and elites) it was made clear that at the end of the research exercise there was going to be a joint presentation of suggestions raised during the focus group discussions and discussions in the community film. The final phase which consisted of a workshop and participatory filmmaking took place in 2019. As expected with community filmmaking processes, the key crew members were made up of the researchers and a hired camera operator and lighting technician. The entire cast and other crew like makeup artist, costume manager and production assistants were from the community. The cast was made up of ten women drawn from the three women's groups and eight men from the community.

The Story Creation Process

It was practically impossible to get all the suggested solutions to women's exclusion into the 36-minute film to be produced, so there had to be a prioritisation of suggestions. The first exercise was to outline general orientations that define the skeleton or spine of the story before going into the specifics. At the level of the storyline, consensus was on creating a central female character that pulls the film from the beginning till the end. The women expressed the wish for a female superhero who defies the odds against her to defend the truth and protect her rights. Theoretically, this reflects, to a greater extent, the assertions of De Lauretis, who specifically poses the question of how to theorise gender beyond the limits of "sexual difference" (De Lauretis, 1984). Drawing from Foucault's theory of sexuality as a "technology of sex", De Lauretis thinks that gender, both as representation and as self-representation, is the product of various social technologies, such as cinema, as well as institutional discourses, epistemologies and critical practices, which means it is not only academic criticism but more broadly social and cultural practices. This adopted, the next step was to map out the most important issues to be handled. Emphasis was to be on solutions, not the problems, like one woman stated: "Everybody knows about the problems already. We need to give them the solutions" (Film workshop, personal communication, 18/09/2018).

As brainstorming continued with members acting out past experiences related to the points highlighted, a simple story was developed: *Nange, an educated woman, intends to defend her rights despite all the odds against her. She won't surrender her lands to her father's successor and wins the case at the village court.* This simple story was further expanded, then the group agreed on how the events were to be arranged from beginning to end, which constituted the plot. Next, the women inserted plot points that usher in change of action within the story. After the plot points

were determined, the scenes were mapped out – giving a brief outline of what was going to happen in each scene as the story progressed.

After outlining the plot, plot points and scenes, the facilitator – who is also the researcher – wrote the script paying particular attention to the message of each scene or group of scenes, the circumstances around the scenes as discussed with the participants, as well as the various needs of the scenes like locations, costumes and accessories. The script was then read out to the hearing of all in the next session, and necessary adjustments were affected as members chipped in further contributions before the production phase started.

The Film Production Process with the Community

After the final script was read and adopted, the film production itself had to begin. To bring the script to life, the first step was staging, and with people who do not usually participate in filmmaking, it is a particularly daunting task. As the women progressively received positive comments on their performance during rehearsals, it boosted their self-confidence. The staging period also helped us to confirm the cast for the most important roles, based on ability to perform. There was no problem here because during the rehearsals everyone could see who is doing better, so the confirmation of the major cast was a collective responsibility.

Once the staging was fairly satisfactory, the shooting phase began. Principal photography took five days. The major challenge was with crowd scenes, as it was difficult to get people to leave their daily activities that helped them earn a living in the capital city to come for the crowd scenes. The picture below (see Figure 5.1) constitutes one of the biggest crown scenes in the film. Although it is fairly convincing, I would have preferred a larger crowd.

no sucessor should sell land without consulting the widow and children in that compound

FIGURE 5.1 Spokesman of the paramount ruler of Kom gives instructions from community to community on practices of women's exclusion that need to be stopped with immediate effect (Nyingchuo, 2019).

Also, some 'actors' would not come on time or not show up at all due to unexpected calls for business opportunities. Principal shooting was completed successfully in five days and editing followed.

Filmmaking, Community Empowerment and Sustainable Development

At the end of the shoot, many of the participants expressed excitement at having learned a lot, not only on how social cohesion can be fostered in the community through gender equity, but also on the process of making a film and how film could serve as a sensitisation tool. This was an indication that the research project achieved the objective of empowering the community on how to mobilise themselves, tell their own stories through films, promote social cohesion and foster sustainable development.

A few weeks after the production, the researcher brought the community together to show them the film and discuss their reactions. The objective was to measure the susceptibility of the community to change, especially the traditional leaders and elites. As expected, the 'actors' were very excited to see themselves on screen, as all of them had never acted even in a sketch before. Other spectators were equally marvelled at seeing regular persons they meet daily on screen, a sort of demystification of the screen among the audience. The watching session was consequently very far from the conventional silent viewing with popcorn and all. It was rowdy, more like the watching of a live comedy on stage as viewers laughed, commented and hailed the 'actors' present.

The major worry was if the traditional leaders and elites present would be able to get the main issues proposed by the film in the midst of such excitement. The feedback session that followed was quite satisfying as comments spanned across all the issues that were raised in the film. The women from the focus group discussions were generally satisfied with how the issues they raised during the previous focus group discussions were presented in the film. This was quite understandable, given that the idea prioritisation process during the production phase was quite inclusive, as well as the shooting itself. Another observation was that the women were eager to get the reaction of the elders and traditional leaders present. Since the men were interviewed separately, and the focus group discussions involved only women, the feedback session offered the first opportunity for the traditional leaders and the women to have direct and genuine debates on sociocultural practices of women's exclusion in Kom, as raised during the FGDs.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study had as objectives to identify the sociocultural practices that lead to the exclusion of women in Kom, examine the impact of exclusion on the quality of life of women and community development processes. The second approach was

the production of a community film which presents alternative ways in which women can be better integrated into the sociocultural life of the Kom people. The findings suggest that gender profiling plays a vital role in the exclusion of women in the Kom community. Women in Kom have been summarily excluded from certain rights and activities, based on faulty assumptions on what they are capable of doing.

While the 'institutional' practices of women's exclusion are a direct application of the customs and traditions of the Kom people, thus benefiting from the endorsement of the traditional leaders, the 'non-institutional' ones are deviant practices by individuals in Kom, also condemned by the Kom traditional leadership. This clarification shed more light on points of divergence and convergence between the Kom women on one hand and the Kom traditional leadership on the other, as it further became clear that while both the Kom women and the Kom traditional leadership frowned at 'non-institutional' sociocultural practices of women's exclusion arising from deviant individuals, only the women frowned at those that are endorsed by the customs in place. This fact also served as an indicator for the eventual solutions that were more likely to receive a unanimous acclaim in the Kom community and those that were apparently going to face stiff resistance from the traditional leadership; a tip-off that orientated the choice of suggested solutions to be considered for the community film. The overall message of the project film was geared towards making the viewers understand that some of the practices in the Kom society that exclude the women are deviant acts, and not a reflection of the Kom culture, with suggestions on how the women could gradually be included in political life in Kom.

This cultural inclusion is in tandem with culture *as* sustainability, the guiding theoretical roadmap of this study. From this perspective, this study asserts that the sustainability of cultural practices that enable identity formation and expression, a sense of cultural continuity as well as the role of cultural traits and actions in building more sustainable societies constitute the foundation on which sustainable development can be build. In this light it becomes imperative for cultural practices to be inclusive enough to enlist all social classes in development processes. As indicated in the findings, women have limited access to political positions as well as land ownership in Kom, a cultural practice that greatly reduces the human resource potential and social cohesion in the community, which in turn presents the culture as an unstable guarantor of a sustainable community. This is why recommendations formulated at the end of this study are geared towards a cultural reengineering in Kom that creates a more favourable context for cultural inclusion and social cohesion to thrive.

Recommendations for Government

Given the dual system of governance in Kom that takes into consideration statutory laws and local traditions and customs, the research findings show that it will be better for women and other vulnerable social classes in Kom like orphans and

widows in Kom if statutory authorities collaborate with traditional authorities and put their coercive resources at their disposal for better protection of vulnerable people. This is because statutory laws are accompanied by policing mechanisms which the traditional system could benefit from to stamp out malpractices like dispossession of widows and children by successors, high bride price and discrimination of the girl child in education.

Furthermore, the district officers, for example, could ensure that all traditional councils have a fair representation of women so that their opinions in the community will also be heard. The presence of women in the traditional councils will encourage women to denounce abusive marriages and cases where widows and children are being forced by successors to leave their late husbands' estates. The traditional councils will in turn alert the statutory authorities to intervene. It is only when traditional and statutory authorities work together that laws can be enforced to create an enabling environment for sustainable development.

The above recommendations are quite feasible because traditional leaders in Cameroon have the official status of auxiliaries of the public administration, under the Ministry of Territorial Administration (the statutory ministry of district officers), with monthly salaries. This means that the district officers and traditional leaders are under the same ministerial department and are normally supposed to cooperate in terms of intelligence sharing and the implementation of coercive strategies; but this collaboration is usually not well implemented in the field. All it takes is a conscious effort from the government and the traditional leadership to tackle culture-based misdemeanours with the same rigour as they tackle misdemeanours that emanate from the non-respect of statutory laws.

Recommendations for Traditional Leaders in Kom

In the light of the findings of this study, the paramount ruler of Kom could pass further injunctions relative to the following:

- Equal representation of women in village traditional councils
- Stipulate the maximum amount to be received as bride price, irrespective of the level of education of the bride
- Ban the segregation of girl children in education
- Warn against forced marriages or using daughters to settle debts
- Warn against successors dispossessing widows and children of their late father's estate
- Stipulate specific sanctions for defaulters of these injunctions
- Serve a copy of such injunctions to the statutory authorities, especially the district officers, which they will follow in case of disputes

These measures, if taken by the traditional leadership in Kom, will educate the statutory authorities on what to expect, thus giving them a framework to cooperate with the traditional authorities during policing and judiciary operations.

It should be noted that in recent years, the Kom traditional leadership has passed a number of injunctions, limiting the amount of corn to be provided by the bride's family during weddings, the amount of palm oil to be provided by the groom during weddings, etc. The time schedule for weddings and death celebrations has also been greatly reduced to exclude all night activities due to security concerns. Furthermore, any corpse of a loved one who died out of the community brought into the village must be buried within a few hours of arrival to avoid the possibility of the spread of diseases. The fact that these recent injunctions have been well respected indicates that the Kom traditional leadership has the capacity to instil discipline in the community and can successfully implement the above recommendations.

However, most of these recent injunctions are relative to aspects of public life such that defaulters can easily be noticed and punished accordingly, while the above recommendations are mostly connected to private life and will require victims to denounce defaulters before actions can be taken. This is where the supervision and coercive methods and resources of the statutory authorities will become very useful, hence the need for an effective and efficient collaboration between the statutory and traditional authorities in Kom.

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6

DESIGNING WITH WASTE

A New Paradigm for Set Design in Theatre Productions in Ghana

Mawukplorm Harriet Abla Adjahoe

Abstract

The concept of designing with waste materials is gradually catching on with contemporary artisans. Some visual artists, fashion designers and performance designers have explored the avenue of advocating for a sustainable environment through the use of waste materials as resources for the production of the art works. While the performance culture of Ghana relies on wood for the construction of sets for theatre productions, it has become necessary that with the increasing rate of deforestation, other resources be explored to reduce the pressure on the forest reserves. This ties in to promoting sustainable cultures while finding alternatives to unsustainable cultures through an artistic lens of performance, as is discussed under the theories of cultural sustainability. The discussions of this chapter, with focus on the culture of set design, reference the classical period juxtaposed to the performance culture of old and contemporary Ghana. While arguing for the advancement of sustainable practices, this chapter draws on an artistic approach to solving the waste issues through the analysis of an experiment using waste materials as the main resource for set designing and construction. The analysis is based on the case study of the set design for the production of *The Marriage of Anansewa* which is geared towards, among other things, sustainability of the environment as its main material for construction is derived from plastic waste.

Introduction

Theatre set design has existed for over two millennia from its first identification as a distinctive art form during the classical period circa 500 BCE. Like the practice of theatre itself, stage design has undergone conspicuous development

from the material used in its construction, to creative methodology and to spatial characterisation. Although numerous scholarly works point to the Greek civilisation as the beginning of theatre (Altman et al., 1953; Brockett & Hildy, 2008; David & Dymkowski, 2013; McConachie et al., 2016; Underiner et al., 2016), still other schools of thought identify the Egyptian civilisation as the true north of the compass of theatre arts (Wetmore, 2003; Zarrilli et al., 2010). When the art of dramatic performance was first identified in the city of Athens in Greece in 534 BCE, the stage design was a fixed block, compelled into a coalescence with the platform meant for acting and other dramatic activities. The immovability of this design implied that all plays were performed against this background regardless of its suitability or otherwise.

Thence, stage design has evolved through the Romans, Italians, English, Americans, arriving at a creative and revolutionary peak during the Renaissance and Baroque from mid-16th century to late 18th century. Not only was stage design revolutionised, but the very theatres that housed and displayed those designs were well engineered to accommodate and provoke weightier creativity (Di Mari, 2002; Johnson, 2018). Borrowing from these periods as well as the masterminds, today, stage design is so made that incredible changes can be done a number of times for a single play, at a single sitting, and with the help of technology create a spectacle that awes audiences.

Unlike the theatrical histories of the aforementioned civilisations, the history of stage design in particular and theatre in general in Ghana dates only to recent years, in the 1900s. There are divergent opinions surrounding the beginning and periodisation of theatre in Ghana (Kerr, 1997; Losambe & Sarinjeive, 2001). That drama existed in its unique nature and form in Africa based on archaeological findings and the oral history of its people was one of the major arguments posited by these writers. The straitjacket definition assigned to theatrical activities accounted for the inability of historians to carefully place the beginning of theatre in Ghana within a specific time frame.

The sparse literature on the subject of theatre in Ghana (Banham et al., 1994; Cole, 2001; Gibbs James, 2009; Sutherland, 2000, inter alia) points to the period of the Concert Party Tradition, Cantatas and Folk-opera, a period Charles Angmor characterises as "operatic drama" (Angmor, 1978, as cited in Banham et al., 1994) as the beginning of theatre in Ghana. However, oral history as well as authoritative records produced by such scholars as Sophia Lokko, J. H. Nketia, A. A. Opoku, J. E. K. Agovi and Martin Owusu reveal that the Ghanaian tradition and culture is swamped with ritualistic initiations, extending from birth to death, and between these ends is a number of initiation processes at every stage of life. These ritualistic initiations and more were characterised by such activities that equally cover the definition of drama and performance. As Lokko (1980) would put it:

> Long before the arrival of European culture in the fifteenth century, Ghana enjoyed a rich culture of pageantry in which gold ornaments and iron played prominent parts. The cults of iron and gold were the foundations

on which societies were organised; the gold cult, handed over from mother to daughter, embodied the arts of drama, music and dance, which mothers sought to pass on as richly as they could.

Rituals pervaded these rites which developed into ceremonies like initiation.

(p. 309)

Evidently, the influence of the arrival of the Europeans during the start of the 15th century, through a rather culturally biased exchange, infiltrated every aspect of the Ghanaian culture with the arts and performance not exempted. 'Western' education is one of the results of colonialism. Although it bears a number of positives in its manifestation, Western education has had greater influence on the extinction of many indigenous cultures. Among these extinct or near-extinct indigenous practices is the unique yet ubiquitous African performance culture of storytelling, which of course has been replaced or is being replaced by what is referred to as 'theatre'.

With this type of performance culture comes stage design, costume and makeup, lighting design, stage management, directing, sound design, the list goes on. Unlike the participatory art of storytelling which perceives the natural occurring environment (i.e., at the courts, on the compound, under a moonlit night, etc.) as its setting, in the practice of theatre, the stage, carefully planned and decorated, delineates the spectators from the performers. In the practice of scenic design for theatre performances in Ghana and across the globe, wood is the commonly used material for its manifestation as an environmental description of the play on stage.

As theatre has come to be accepted as the new mode of performance, it is needful to consider its relationship with culture and nature and how it is able to impact society as society impacts it. Taking into account the various types of materials used, with focus on wood, this chapter addresses the place of stage designing and construction in the culture of waste production, waste reuse, recycle, repurpose and reduction. Secondly, within the framework of cultural sustainability theories, this chapter aligns the contribution of the concept of designing with waste, particularly on how culture serves in both its capacities as an encumber to sustainability and development and a concrete tool for the advancement of sustainability talks and actions.

On Culture

Culture has become an important phenomenon in the current dispensation of sustainability and sustainable development discourse. This is rightly so because it is the fundamental rubric upon which several perceptions and value systems are formed. Not only are talks and actions centred on how culture has to be protected and conserved, but discussions also border on how culture in itself becomes a tool for conservation and development. At the mention of culture, a wide array of

principles spanning from individual to group, from specifics to generals come to mind; in which case we could talk of culture of dressing, culture of politics, to culture(s) of a people. The mass of literature on culture apparently articulates the difficulty in placing its definition within a specific descriptive frame. There are, however, common trends in its definition, with the most common and widely accepted being Williams's (1976) "culture as a way of life". This more encapsulating definition covers a rather wider description of what culture could ever mean.

In a bid to restructure and broaden the depth of the meaning of culture, a number of scholars have attempted to refine it in specific terms relatable to various fields of inquiry. For instance, Hawkes (2001) and Soini and Birkeland (2014) outline customs, faiths and conventions, dress, codes of manners, language, arts, religion, behavioural patterns, etc. as a breakdown of, among other things, what constitutes the concept of culture. In this vein then, culture covers the specifics both of what can be considered as an individual's principles and a community's values. Further advancement of culture is seen as development and expression of social values (Dessein et al., 2015; Hawkes, 2001; Kagan, 2011), value system and set of signifiers framing social identities and disposition to act and to believe (Kagan, 2011). Hawkes (2001) further reasons in his description that culture also resides in the means through which these identified values are produced and transmitted. In which sense then, culture becomes both the message and the medium which bears "the inherent values and the means and the results of the social expression" (p. 3). At this point, it is important to conceptualise this chapter within a precise culture description or classification and to operationalise what culture means in the following discussions.

Culture in the discussions of this chapter is conceptualised firstly along the thoughts of Soini and Birkeland (2014), who classified arts as a component of the broader definition of culture. Arts in the sense of this chapter will refer to the performing arts, particularly the performing arts tradition comprising the borrowed concept of theatre, and the indigenous artistic practice of storytelling. Considering arts from a point of a causal nexus simulates the form, means of production and the result, so that the sagacity of arts here becomes a manifestation of culture as seen in the indigenous oral tradition of storytelling and/or drama where performances were done in an open area with the natural lighting of the moon; stories shared or told were not too long and were mostly performed in one evening. This cultural form comprised dialogue, mime, acting, music, active audience participation (Asiedu 1999) and the lessons or morals of the drama were to foster social cohesion, belongingness and peaceful coexistence (Tamakloe, 1975).

Secondly, culture in this chapter is applied along the lines of Kagan's development and expression of social values. Culture is said to be dynamic and ever evolving. All that is needed for a change to occur is the realisation of the bad of a certain cultural practice; a practice that has outlived its benefits and appreciation; or a practice that can be transmissible, expanded to reflect upon other areas of the lives of the people. It is in this light that the discussion of the culture of

stage design for theatre, including the materials, the process, the implementation and the results, are considered as influential in expressing the good social practices while proposing a medium of expunging or curbing the bad practices.

On Culture of Performance in Ghanaian Theatre

Although bearing semblance with other practices across the length and breadth of Africa, the people of Ghana had their peculiar mode of drama performance. Migration is one notable conduit through which cultural expressions have been exchanged. Especially in a nation like Ghana who has seen many of her people emigrate from other countries to form the diversified cultural makeup she has now. It is what Homi Bhabha labels as cultural hybridity which problematises the true identity of groups of people, bearing on their cultural interrelation and developing overlapping cultural practices.

Drama has been a constituent of Ghana's intangible indigenous culture, although it has not been enrolled into the UNESCO list of intangible cultural heritage. The art and performance of the age-old storytelling form existed under several names in Ghana as a reason of the variations in language. Referred to as *agorↃ/agor* in Akan, which means *to play*, this rich, *au naturel* intangible cultural heritage was characterised by music, chants, riddles, drama and dance, and pre-existed the sophisticated aggregation of the Performing Arts (Adjahoe, 2017; Asiedu, 2014; Owusu, 1983; Nketia, 2014). This is derivative of Efua Sutherland's *Anansegoro* which was modelled on the traditional storytelling form. At this point, it is important to note Efua Sutherland's dramatic genre of *Anansegoro* as it forms the nexus between the proposed mode of stage designing and cultural sustainability, to be examined later on.

The storytelling drama was an oral tradition through which education of our cultural values, beliefs, religion, inter alia, were passed down from generation to generation. As Tamakloe (1975, cited in Asiedu, 1999, p.4) rightly puts it, "the need and desire to inform, educate and inculcate the religious, moral, political and civic values in the youth was of high national significance and concern. Storytelling, dance and music were therefore employed for the purpose". The bases of this cultural form were participatory, highly moralistic and for social control. This tradition reached its active peak with more storytelling drama groups springing up, when European presence in Africa was also at its oppressive peak. So that the gatekeepers of this culture were striving for its preservation despite the fact that African traditional ways were and are still considered evil to the point where those who persisted were severely punished. This was a struggle for the existence of their cultural values sometime between the 16th and mid-18th century (Asiedu, 1999).

Given that there was no proper documentation of the storytelling tradition, and with people losing interest in indigenous activities, the teaching and learning of foreign practices overpowered the Ghanaian cultural form (Losambe & Sarinjeive, 2001). The early dramatic writings, although served

in a capacity of forerunning documentation of theatre in Ghana, were influenced by European principles and philosophies. This is evident, for instance, in Kobina Sekyi's *The Blinkards* (written in 1915); Ferdinand Fiawoo's *The Fifth Landing Stage* (originally *TƆkƆ AtƆlia*, written circa 1938/1940, and first published by the Achimota Press in 1942), among others. Although these premiere documentations were originally captured in local languages, i.e., *Fante* and *Ewe*, the structural composition deviated from the usual oral, participatory, semi-spontaneous, quasi-improvisational elements that classified the traditional storytelling, to one that was detached from the audience and had to do with robust rehearsing before performance. Ferdinand Fwiawoo's play had its roots partly in Ewe traditions of narrative and partly in European theatrical traditions (Gibbs, 2009).

When talking about the development on Ghanaian theatre from an oral tradition to a literary form, the introduction of technology and its attendant effects are central aspects to discuss. The level of technological advancement in these Concert Party performances was visible in the application of lighting, sound and sometimes minimalistic set (Adjahoe, 2017; Cole, 2001). The Concert Party tradition was which emerged in the early 1900s and was a product of urbanisation and westernisation processes. Drawing inspirations from the African indigenous dramatic traditions, this popular theatre exploited the "expressive resources of Ghanaian historical culture, including folktales and songs, riddles, proverbs, costume, political symbolism, ceremonial, magic, and religious ritual. Storylines rarely, if ever, focus on pre-colonial themes however, dealing instead with topical pressure points in contemporary Ghanaian society" (Bame, 1985, p. 168). With its nature of the travelling theatre, the popularity of this genre hanged on societies' acceptance, liking and attendance of the shows; its sociological roots were not in elite or privileged minority sub-cultures but rather in the intermediate and agricultural sectors and the working class; having made profound impact on other performing arts and cultural forms (Cole, 2001).

Efua Sutherland was also instrumental in the development of literary drama and theatre in Ghana through her institution of 'The Ghana Experimental Theatre' – a programme based on the storytelling art in Ghana; the construction of the *Kodzidan* at Atwia Ekumfi in the Central Region (circa 1960) and the Ghana Drama Studio (built with the assistance of Rockefeller Foundation in 1961 in Accra). It was razed down in 1990 to make way for the construction of the National Theatre and rebuilt in 1993 at the School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana. The studio has thence been named Efua Theodora Sutherland Drama Studio – ETS Drama Studio); and her several plays written for both children and adult performance. By 1956, one year before the independence, a National Theatre Movement was started in Ghana with its aim as generating a theatre form that will derive its vitality and authenticity from the traditions of the people (Sutherland, 2000). The construction of the National Theatre in Accra in 1992 was one of the objectives in formulating a National Theatre Movement and it was the Concert Party that was the first beneficiary of

the state-of-the-art edifice. It was then in this space and within this period that scenery or set design gained grounds.

In line with this Theatre Movement was the introduction of performing arts as an academic programme in the University of Ghana in 1962. Under the Kwame Nkrumah regime, theatre, dance and music, were inculcated into the tertiary curriculum, at the Institute of African Studies in the University of Ghana. In 1991, the Theatre programme saw an expansion with the addition of the technical courses – set, sound, light, costume – to cater for the increasing demand of technical personnel in manning the newly built theatre edifice. The practice of the craft of set designing and construction in Ghana has thence dwelt chiefly on the use of new materials made of wood, which are majorly sourced from the forest reserves.

Being an adopted concept, this situation is not peculiar to Ghana. Professional set designers, theatre practitioners and theatre scholars from across the globe share similar experiences in their scholarly writings and project reports. Gerald Millerson, Michael J. Gillette, Chuck Gloman, W. Oren Parker, Dick Block and R. Craig Wolf, just to name a few, provide in-depth discussions, among other things, on the essence, process and styles of stage designing while referencing spectacular designs that appear to have wood among their chief materials. Reference is indubitably made to metal and plastics, but truth is these are subsidiary materials that require special skill training for their application.

In Ghana, stage designers as Johnson Edu, Prince Hilton, Nash Neequaye, Agnes Adomako Mensah and John Djisenu have revealed through project reports the dependency of the craft on wood as primary material. It is quite a difficult thing to maintain one style for long especially in changing trends. Thus, sometimes stage designers have had to experiment with other materials, particularly when the material in use did not support the design framework, to implement a design concept or just plainly to cut down cost. For instance, Agnes employed found materials (in nature and recyclable) for the construction of the set for the 2016 remake of Mohammed Abdallah's *The Slaves* at the Legon Botanical Garden, University of Ghana. Her exploration centred around finding an alternative in the natural environment as a theatrical space rather than the conventional theatrical buildings. Johnson and Prince have also on some levels used foam, polystyrene and, particularly for Prince, alucobond (an aluminium plate), in their many designing endeavours. Although some of these designers have explored other materials, the core of the argument remains that wood has for many years and counting maintained its position as the premier consult of material for theatre stage designers.

This would not have been much of a problem in today's dispensation, had it not been for the overburdened reliance and abuse of our natural resources coupled with the contamination of the environment with multitude of non-degradable waste. In Ghana, for example, the rich nature reserves, such as the Atiwa, Oda and Apamprama forest reserves, are overly exploited for mining – legal and illegal (what is locally known as *galamsey*), timber extraction or logging,

and farming purposes. The literature differs in the main source of depletion of forest reserves in Ghana. However, excessive logging and unsustainable agricultural practices, mining and bush fires are frequently labelled as leading causes of deforestation in Ghana (see, for instance, Acheampong et al., 2019; Appiah et al., 2009; Berenguer et al., 2019; Yoda Salami Sulemana Awudu, 2019). Logging is purposed for exportation and home use where it is considered for as a main construction material – construction of houses, of shops, road engineering, arts (creative and performative), among others. And for the culture of stage design and construction for performance purposes, the pursuit of such a wood-base practice would defeat the purpose of sustainable development, for instance, as defined in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the UN in achieving a fair and just ecology by the year 2030.

Arts and Waste: *Designing with Waste*

It is no new thing that designers have applied to their creations, waste materials or items which have otherwise completed the function and utility purpose for which they were produced. In recent years the fashion industry has seen an upsurge in recycling from waste in fashion and textiles, where used garments and fabrics are sourced for the creation of freshly designed solutions (Gwilt & Rissanen, 2012; Pandit et al., 2020). In the arena of fine arts, many sculptors and visual artists have turned to eco-art activism to preach the effects of the unsustainable practices that account the devastating effects the earth is encountering, while calling for the change in lifestyle and production processes as a way to support and promote a healthier earth. Artists such as Australian Barefooted Welder has since 2015 collected over seven tonnes of scrap metal (steel, copper, and aluminium) for his sculpturing works. In Ghana, Serge Attukwei Clottey addresses the waste menace plaguing the country, while telling the migration history of his family, through the conversion of large plastic gallons, popularly known in Ghana as 'Kuffuor gallons' into enormous strips of yellow carpet.

   In the theatre sector, some designs have hinted at ecofriendly stage set-ups. The concept of *green theatre*, which is catching on rather quickly, is a product of many stage designers rethinking the effects that the production process has on the environment. One outstanding designer for this green theatre advocacy is Tanja Beer. She hosts an online platform for theatre artists who pursue or would like to contribute to the course of what she terms as *ecoscenography* – ecological design for performance. Innovations captured on her blog are not limited only to stage designing, but also to costume, lighting designs and sound, and they transcend orthodox theatrical traditions. Imogen Ross, for example, tries to solve the waste problems created by her set by going in for upcycling and recycling of her costumes and set. All these little efforts, when put together, collectively serve the purpose of a gradual and steady change of the cultural interface of stage designing.

It is argued that *designing with waste* – a concept herein proposed, however it is applied, must be a conscious effort to either complement the designs with waste materials of any sort, or to rely heavily on waste products as the main resource for construction. There have been other instances when stage designers used certain waste materials for some aspects of their designs. One of those instances is when the author, for the performance of August Wilson's *The Piano Lesson* in 2019, at the University of Cape Coast. used polystyrene, removed from an old fridge box, to mould a wine shelf. This was as a result of the designer running out of wood coupled with the unavailability of funds to acquire extra wood for that portion of the set. Such instances as this do not entirely qualify as designing with waste.

Drawing on the Tanja Beer perspective (Beer, 2021a, 2021b), for a design to qualify as waste design, the designer should be fully aware of their environment, understand the implications of their and others' actions on the environment, be positively responsive to environmental issues and to proceed to take sustainable actions in the mode and processes of production. It is for this reason that nonchalantly including waste materials in design projects without premeditating the actions before and after the production, does not characterise as designing in waste.

(De)Reconstructing Set Design through Waste: Case Study of *The Marriage of Anansewa* by Efua Sutherland

The main set design project under discussion on the concept of designing with waste in this chapter, was implemented by focusing on waste materials as a major resource for its construction. Having selected Efua Sutherland's *The Marriage of Anansewa* as the play text, the performance space was designed hugely from plastic drinking bottles (of varying grades), sachet rubbers, waste papers and sawdust. The performance was mounted at an open, found natural space in 2021 at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana, with a backing conceptual framework of the indigenous artistic practice of storytelling. The designer opted for a natural space as it is characteristic of the performance genre – under a moonlit night, on the compound of a courthouse, players gathered under the age-old family tree, with perhaps a fire to participants warm from the cold evening air.

Selecting this production as a case study for discussion in this chapter is grounded on two concepts – mode of production and mode of performance. From the array of examples of existing practices divulged above, a number of set designers have exploited the use of waste materials in complementing their designs. Nonetheless, only one of the examples presented comes close to fitting in the aim of the discussion – the set for Mohammed ben Abdallah's *The Slaves*. When it comes to the mode of performance *The Slaves* set, however, is still lacking. It is against this background that the production – both of the set and performance – was selected for discussion.

Unlike the culture of a common set designing, *The Marriage of Anansewa* set was not meant to delineate the audience from the performers as happens on

proscenium stages. That would greatly defeat the purpose of the adoption of the storytelling culture. The African storytelling drama genre is highly participatory and requires the involvement of 'audiences' even when they are new to the story being told. Participants are allowed to interject, while being asked what they think the story is about and how they imagine it unfolds. The setup of this genre of performance simulates a close-knitted gathering of people enjoying *skinship* (in this sense, it is the feelings of affection between man and earth through sitting, touching and other forms of physical contact), or rather kinship with mother earth and fellow participants, at the same time absorbing the fun in learning new things. Storytelling here becomes a collective creative process with the end product under the ownership of the creators – narrator and audience.

The initial and utmost objective of this project was to build a design for a stage performance that sourced its materials solely recyclable waste, without any addition of wood or any other new material. It has been discussed earlier that deforestation is a growing concern in Ghana, so much so that on June 11, 2021, the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources embarked on a tree-planting project, for the celebration of the Green Ghana Day, with a target of planting five million trees across the nation. While the vegetation is being cleared, the culture of over-consumption of plastic and glass products results in a mass production of non-degradable waste that fill major parts of arable land and eventually find their way into the water bodies. Yet waste management remains of a greater concern in the country (Addaney & Oppong, 2015; Miezah et al., 2015; Quartey et al., 2015).

In a suburb of Cape Coast, at every turn, there are large heaps of non-degradable waste heavily mixed with biodegradable ones, allowing houseflies to fester, pungent smells consuming the atmosphere and raising concerns for the security of future generations. These waste materials not only plug the gutters, but also increase the occurrence of flooding and mosquito breeding, cholera infections, etc. In view of the numerous workshops and conferences, including the recently held UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow (COP26), and its subsidiary conferences, this heightens issues of unsustainable practices ranging from domestic to industrial.

It is on the back of these many unsustainability concerns that this waste designing project was birthed. The concept of the project called for deconstruction processes in order for reconstruction to occur in favour of the project. Deconstructing set design for this project implied that the constitutional makeup of set designing and construction is dismantled, analysed to evaluate the suitability of the proponents of the various stages in the set designing and construction process. The process of designing for a stage performance can be divided into two major components. Beginning with the *conceptualisation* phase, this has to do with the initial creation process which begins right from the moment a designer agrees to partake in the production. The second classification here becomes the *implementation* phase which comes after the creative thoughts have been processed through research, blocking, drafting and discussions with other crew, and a final design is selected for construction.

The traditional mode of designing as described above, reflects a top-down approach where (i) a play interests a designer, (ii) they research on possible ways of accurately capturing and including the playwright's imagination and the director's blockings, (iii) go on to draft series of designs; select apposite design, (iv) buy materials, (v) finally build and (vi) evaluate the process. This suggests that the play is the problem for which an artistic solution is needed. In the spirit of this *waste design* project, a bottom-up approach is adopted as the process begun with (i) conceptualising waste materials combination; (ii) evaluating desired process; (iii) then gestating a set design idea, selecting a suitable play; (iv) researching ways of accurately capturing the production concept; (v) drafting series of designs; (vi) selecting appropriate material combination through testing; (vii) upcycling into desired set or production design concept and (viii) evaluating the implemented process. Inferably, the waste materials become the inspiration for the entire creative imagination and the creation process.

Gathering from the ample scholarship on the process of designing (see, for example, Crabtree & Beudert, 2012; Dufford et al., 2015; Gillette, 2013; Gillette & Dionne, 2019; Gloman & Napoli, 2007; Winslow, 2006), a designer is led through stages of conceptualisation that does not take cognizance of materials and tools, until after the selection of the suitable design. This readily suggests the notion that the required materials are new and purchased, not that a designer could explore recyclable materials or, better still, waste materials. For this project, the prevailing design process could not easily apply as the resource had to be sorted from a pile of plastic waste and put together to now serve as the material used in the construction process. In this case then, one would say that the materials influenced the designing of the set rather than the design of the set, influencing the materials needed as has been suggested in existing literature.

The Method for Set Designing with Waste

As this waste designing project predominantly dwells on creating new materials from old materials, for designing and construction of stage for a theatrical performance, this called for an art-based mode of enquiry, which is by nature, qualitative. From the assumption that not all 'waste' materials can serve the purpose which this project seeks to implement, the project adopted an experimental approach within a qualitative framework (trial-and-error process where a descriptive method was employed to record the changes observed during experimentation). Initially, a variety of waste materials was sampled, tested and determined as to which was appropriate for set creation.

The foremost concept underpinning the material building was to intercept the flow of waste into the land and into our water bodies right from the source of production. Consequently, contact was made with restaurant managers, beach resorts managers and pub owners to discuss the project and to seek for collaboration particularly in the collection of the waste materials before they

are pulled to the dumpsites. It was very crucial to stress segregation of the waste materials as it is not a common practice in this part of the world. Almost all the managers grudgingly accepted this challenge but asked that a token of appreciation be made available to the workers who 'painstakingly' segregated the waste for the designer.

In sampling the waste materials that would be appropriate and durable for designing, Cornock's (1983) cyclical pattern of activities for design was employed. The stages in this pattern include: (i) generation (manipulation of materials in the studio); (ii) selection (elements of form and pattern identified while engaged in (i)); (iii) synthesis (conceptualisation and planning of piece of work); (iv) articulation (of problems or concerns emerging from (i), (ii) and (iii), contextualising these, where appropriate); (v) presentation (of (iii) and (iv) so as to engage critical attention); (vi) critical discussion (which may generate new ideas). The first three stages are 'generative', and the remaining three are 'analytical and reflective'. Designing the set also saw the adaptation of this pattern while combining it with some elements from Gillette's (2013) archetypical design process, listed as (i) commitment, (ii) analysis, (iii) research, (iv) incubation, (v) selection, (vi) implementation and (vii) evaluation.

The Anansegoro Effect to Promote Ghanaian Traditional Storytelling Drama

Anansegoro is the intellectual and artistic ingenuity of Efua Theodora Sutherland, born out of a desire to rekindle and promote Ghanaian traditional storytelling drama. This dramatic form was modelled against the indigenous oral tradition of *Anansesem* which embodied the folktale narratives in Ghana. *Anansesem* is an Akan term formed from *Ananse* (Akan name for spider) and *asem* (in this context, story or tale). By adopting this oral tradition into literary drama, Sutherland had created a new dramatic form whereby its performance moved from oral to written; from a spontaneous activity to a deliberate one which involved rehearsal, designing of costumes, stage, light, as is characteristic of Western theatre; and structured actor-audience detachment. Yet, some elements remained unchanged as: the central character – *Ananse*, to whom they say all stories belong; *Mmoguo* (the Chorus) – which provides intermittent music to inform on the dialogues and actions, as well as to entertain the audience; and the structure of the storytelling art. One thing remaining unclear, however, is the audience participatory level of this art form as some notable followers (such as Martin Owusu, Yaw Asare) vary in terms of directions of the *Anansegoro* plays. In short, one could say, the *Anansegoro* is a hybrid theatre borne out of the cultural interaction between Ghana and the West. Sutherland's known pioneering play in the materialisation of *Ananasegoro* is *The Marriage of Anansewa*. The play is centred on *Ananse*, who wily exploits three Chiefs in choosing a suitor for his daughter, *Anansewa*.

An initial inclination of a proscenium stage designer is to formulate designs in and around their comfort zones. This materialisation was vivid at the initial creative

thought process of this project, until *The Marriage of Anansewa* was selected. It has been described at length, the characteristics of the genre of storytelling drama. Outstanding of them is its participatory mode, implying that a proscenium stage design may be defective of the play chosen. The challenge became how to design a participatory-stimulative set while designing for a proscenium stage. Thinking again about the spatial characterisation of the drama genre broadened the scope of the performance space explorable to the designer. It was at this point that an open space, central to the notion of ecofriendly environment where participants would conspicuously experience nature and man-made simultaneously, was chosen.

The Marriage of Anansewa has been displayed on many theatre stages (for instance, at the ETS Drama Studio, the National Theatre of Ghana, the University of Jos and the University of Cape Coast) with similar stage adaptations. The musical version, adapted by John Edmondson Sam, sought to re-interpret some spoken dialogues into sung dialogues, expanding the singing and dancing to all other characters rather than the initial limit to the *mmboguo* (this is the Akan name for the chorus, who provide intermittent songs during the performance and also comment on the play). This version brought some freshness and extra challenge to the creative formulation of the scenery, heightening the sense of recreating a similitude of a Ghanaian courthouse where most storytelling sessions took place.

With the trees to provide a sense of shelter and homey-feeling, the large sheets of hundreds of water sachet rubbers were nailed to the tree trunks to simulate an enclosed area, while providing an opening to suggest the entry into the courthouse. The sawdust was applied on the rubber sheets to impress upon the audience the feel of a rough wall. A courthouse has a number of houses joined at the edges by miniature walls, and which served as a housing form for large extend families. Focus was on *Ananse* and her daughter, thus only one, house built inside out, was placed at the adjoining ends of the plastic wall. The house was built of plastic bottles and large sheets of waste paper for a finer finish (and for painting opportunity). This design served as a space where the actors, audience, music band were all located within this wide enclave of waste materials, drawing the attention of participants and passers-by to the inherent reflexivity of waste materials and arts versus waste materials and culture. A picture of the set being constructed, taken by Bismark Ofori is provided in figure 6.1.

Art and Cultural Sustainability in Set Designing

In the report of the World Commission on environment and development by Gro Brundtland in 1987, commonly referred to as the Brundtland report, sustainability has been defined as the achievement of ecological integrity, economic well-being and social justice. This definition misses the place of culture in how sustainability materialises. It was John Hawkes's (2001) conceptualisation of culture as a fourth pillar to the structured sustainability discourse that propelled the evolution of the many cultural sustainability theories existing today. The crux of the many theories (Dessein et al., 2015; Duxbury et al., 2017; Kagan, 2008, 2011; Kangas et al.,

FIGURE 6.1 The production team constructing the 'waste designed' set and space for the performance of *The Marriage of Anansewa* (Ofori, 2021).
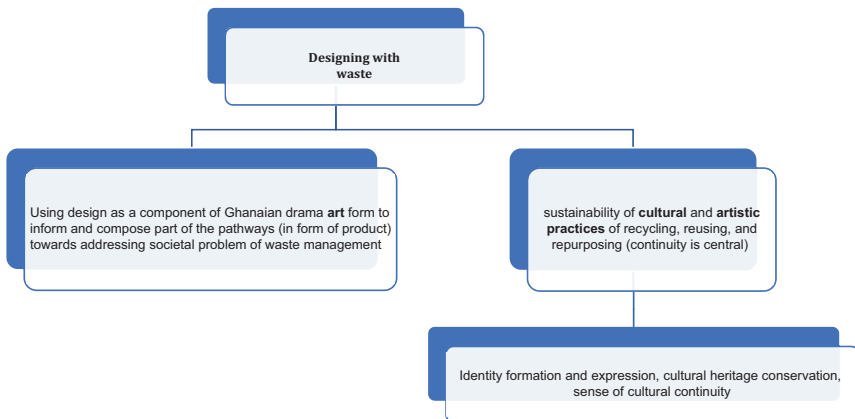
FIGURE 6.2 Designing with waste (Adjahoe, 2022).

2017; Soini & Birkeland, 2014; Soini & Dessein, 2016) maintains the preservation, conservation of our world in all its bounty for the comfortable existence of future generations, as "sustainability represents the search for a way out of 'unsustain-ability'" (Kagan, 2019). Sacha Kagan's (2011) perspective on cultural sustainability draws examples of artists exploring sustainable approaches to cultural conservation and still describes how the modern culture of hyper-consumption degenerated

into a culture of unsustainability. This line of thought reflects the culture of over production and over consumption of non-degradable items that end up suffocating the environment. Whereas set designing, as discussed in this chapter, becomes a strategy for combating the waste menace in Ghana, it also drives the conversation on conserving the age-old cultural practice of storytelling.

The Kangas, Duxbury and De Beukelaer's (2017) cultural sustainability model which are on two levels: (i) sustainability of cultural and artistic practices and pattern (identity formulation and expression, cultural heritage) and (ii) the role of cultural traits and actions to inform and compose part of the pathways towards more sustainable societies is adopted for analysis of this chapter. This model captures (see figure 6.2) the conceptualisation of *designing with waste*.

From the model, set design becomes culture which serves a conduit *for* sustainable development. For the benefit that set design was adapted into storytelling, a new identity is being formed and expressed, which promotes cultural conservation. Dessein et al. (2015) formulated a model for the role of culture in sustainable development which comes in three folds – culture *in* sustainable development, where culture becomes the fourth pillar of sustainable discourse – economic, social and ecological; culture as a mediator between the three pillars of sustainability; culture *for* sustainable development; and culture *as* sustainable development where culture serves as the foundation upon which the discourse on sustainability is built.

The second dimension (i.e., culture *for* sustainable development) is the most suitable for this research context. This is because the set design serves as a motor, a mediator for the ecological and economic dimensions of sustainability. In which sense therefore, the project worked towards minimising the quantity of waste that is injected into the environment by intercepting it from the waste generation sources while lessening the pressure on wood. For the economic dimension, the set for *The Marriage of Anasewa* became a product which served both ways of earning money while saving the bulk of the expected budget. In performance, the aspect that consumes the majority of money allocation is the technicalities – costume, light, sound and obviously set. While applying waste materials as the main resource for creation and building, cost was greatly reduced.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the concept of set design as it has filtered through the culture of performance from the classical Greek period, to present-day modernity. The performance culture in Ghana existed devoid of an intentional demarcation of acting and audience seating space as a result of its participatory nature. Set design became a component of performance as a by-product of a borrowed concept of theatre arts, and thence has relied on the forest reserve for its resources in construction.

Discussions in this chapter have drawn on examples of artists who have pursued the prospects in exploring waste materials as a way of promoting sustainability

practices using the arts. With focus on set design, *designing with waste* has been proposed as a model for sustainable design, having been formulated against Kangas, Duxbury and De Beukelaer's (2017) model of cultural sustainability. The method applied for the conceptualisation and implantation of the design has been discussed through a lens of the cultural practice of storytelling, evolved into *Anansegoro*. The examination of the theory of cultural sustainability borders on using arts to solve, among others, the social menace of waste such that the finished cultural product will be one means of finding solution to this canker, by employing cultural heritage as a tool for sustainable development.

It is important to understand the value of recycling, reuse, repurposing and even upcycling of waste materials on the environment and the entire ecology, as has been discussed of the case study in this chapter. Recycling/upcycling reduces the amount of waste in the environment as well as reducing the waste generated from using new materials for design. Thus, it is recommended that set designers, and designers within the performing arts field, leverage on the over-abundance of waste materials in the various communities as resources to expand the frontiers of their particular design fields. By so doing, they would not only expand the scope of their design prowess but also promote a safer ecology and contribute to its sustainability. The ability of other arts disciplines to successfully employ waste materials in their designs indirectly implies that theatre designers could adapt their sustainable processes of production, or otherwise create their own pathway to a sustainable practice towards a sustainable ecology.

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7

EFFECTS OF DISPLACEMENT ON KANURI CULTURAL PRACTICES OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS OF BORNO STATE, NIGERIA

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Abstract

This study employs an ethnographic approach to examine and document the changes in cultural practices of displaced persons of the Kanuri ethnic stock, forced out of their original places of habitation as a result of the violent attacks carried out by Boko Haram insurgents, and are accommodated in temporary settlement camps in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital. It specifically aims to record changes in the rites of passage that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood for boys and girls, and gender roles in traditional Kanuri society. The study reveals that forced displacement has caused a modification in the performance of these rites and a switch in gender roles among the studied group. Also, the study identifies the limitations of the cultural policy for Nigeria and recommends, among other things, a review of the cultural policy to capture current reality in the country. This will ensure the safeguarding of cultural practices in displacement.

Introduction

Prior to 2009, Borno State, Northeast Nigeria, witnessed the peaceful coexistence of both indigenous and non-indigenous people. This earned the state its popular slogan: "Home of peace and hospitality". However, the terrorist attacks by Boko Haram insurgents that began in 2009 and which have become frequent occurrence since then have robbed the region of this state of peace. Boko Haram, which literally means 'Western education is forbidden', began as the agitation of an Islamic sect with a 'strange' commitment to non-conformists' standards of social organisation in Northern Nigeria (Walker, 2012). The insurgency rendered many Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the state uninhabitable, forcing

inhabitants to flee their homes for refuge in the safest available places in neighbouring towns, states and, in some cases, neighbouring countries like Niger, Cameroon and Chad. Majority of these people fled to Maiduguri, the Borno State capital, with most of them finding homes in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) Data Tracking Matrix (2017), there are 13 official IDP camps in Maiduguri Metropolitan Council (MMC) and Jere LGAs of Borno State. These camps are classified as official because of the support they receive from the government.

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, violation of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border (OCHA, 1999). This definition is one offered by former UN Secretary General's representative on IDPs, Francis Deng, and used in the guiding principles on internal displacement.

The displacement caused a significant shift in the cultural practices of Borno IDPs and has created a disconnect between them and their heritage such as their land, physical or material objects, monuments, sites, beliefs, customs, knowledge, traditions and so on which were inherited from generation to generation. Their cultural practices have been altered, ushering them into an entirely new way of life that is different from what was obtainable in their places of origin before their displacement. It is important to mention here that the migration is rural–urban in nature which implies that the two settings are different. Therefore, the camps' set-up is in sharp contrast with the original communities from which they were displaced.

Curiously, there is a dearth of literature on the effects of the Boko Haram-induced displacement on the culture of the displaced people in Borno State. It is against this backdrop that this chapter fills this gap by making available a documentation of the effects of displacement on the cultural practices of the IDPs in Borno State, the epicentre of the Boko Haram insurgency. To address the aforementioned problem, the study responds to three fundamental questions:

1. What characterised the rites of passage from childhood to adulthood and gender roles in Kanuri traditional societies before displacement?
2. What are the effects of displacement on Kanuri cultural practices with regards to rites of passage from childhood to adulthood and gender roles of the IDPs?
3. To what extent does the Nigerian cultural policy ensure the sustainability of Kanuri culture?

An attempt is made to provide answers to these questions from the perspectives of Borno IDPs. The researcher is aware that culture varies across space and time. It is in this light that this study uses the conceptual categorisation of before and after displacement to accentuate the differences between the two categories. The

focus lies especially on the rites of passage that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood for both girls and boys as well as on gender roles, bearing in mind how important culture is to humanity and its centrality to the sustainable development agenda.

The rite of passage from childhood to adulthood is considered crucial because it signifies the threshold from a somewhat unproductive life to a rather productive one. Rites of passage are indeed essential in fostering sustainable development in traditional Kanuri societies because having undergone this rite, the initiate is expected to contribute to development at both individual and community levels by fulfilling certain roles based on gender and as prescribed by culture, hence the inclusion of gender roles in this study.

Internally displaced persons residing in three temporary settlement camps in Maiduguri Metropolis of Borno State, namely Bakassi, Teachers' Village and Mohammed Goni College of Legal and Islamic Studies (MOGCOLIS), are the subjects of this study. These camps are inhabited by displaced persons from Abadam, Kukawa and Monguno LGAs of Borno State who are all of the Kanuri ethnic extraction.

The qualitative research design using the ethnographic approach was employed in this study, situating it within the interprevist/constructivist worldview. Through in-depth interviews and observations, data was collected on the effects of displacement on the cultural practices of the IDPs over a period of seven months, beginning August 2018 to February 2019. This allowed the study participants to tell their own stories based on their experiences in the new environment. Participants were adult males and females within the age range of 25–70 years who are residents of the selected IDP camps. Participants gave their full consent to participate; ID codes were used to identify participants. Interviews were tape-recorded and observations were captured in field notes. Dominant concepts used and the theoretical framework underpinning the study are presented and discussed in the ensuing section.

Cultural Practices and Cultural Sustainability Concepts

Frese (2017) defines cultural practices as shared perception of how people routinely behave within a given culture. He suggests there is a relationship between norms and cultural practices, as norms prescribe certain behaviours. Once these behaviours are socially routinised – meaning if the people within the culture accept them and perform them habitually – they become practices. From the above explanation, therefore, it can be argued that cultural norms lead to cultural practices. These cultural practices, according to Frese (2017, p. 1328), are inferred by perceptions of common behaviour of others – "how do people think and behave around here?" Cultural practices are handed down from generation to generation and hence they become cultural heritage. Cultural heritage includes the material aspects of culture (moveable and immoveable) – sites, buildings, landscapes, monuments and objects – as well as the non-material

aspects, which are embodied in social practices, community life, values, beliefs and expressive forms such as language, arts, handicrafts, music and dance (Loulanski, 2006, p. 55).

The cultural sustainability concept gained popularity with the emergence of the shift from the economic logic of development thinking to the human-centred development approach which emerged in the late 1980s (Duxbury, Kangas and Beukelaer, 2017). This approach was an attempt to provide a framework to conceptualise and measure development as the opportunities people have to build a life "they value and they have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, cited in Duxbury et. al. 2017, p. 216).

Cultural sustainability tends to be defined in two ways. On one hand, it refers to the sustainability of cultural and artistic practices and patterns, including, for example, identity formation and expression, cultural heritage conservation and a sense of cultural continuity. On the other hand, cultural sustainability refers to the role of cultural traits and actions to inform and compose part of the pathways towards more sustainable societies. Culture lies at the core of practices and beliefs that can support or inspire the necessary societal transition to more sustainable living. These narratives, values and actions contribute to the emergence of a more culturally sensitive understanding of sustainable development and to clarifying the roles of art, culture and cultural policy in this endeavour (Duxbury et. al., 2017). This study aligns with both definitions; it argues for the safeguarding of cultural heritage and cultural practices because it has identified certain practices imbued with the potential of contributing to sustainable living.

Kagan (2011) argues that the cultural dimension of sustainability involves not only the inclusion of the value of culture and the arts in the discussion of local sustainable development and sustainable communities. This usually provides an understanding of the contribution of culture (as in 'cultural expressions' of a community, cultural activities and the arts) to economic, social and cultural capital. It also involves an understanding of 'culture(s) of sustainability', i.e., set(s) of norms and values, social conventions and institutions, informing the transition to more sustainable practices. At a more abstract level, the question of culture(s) of sustainability also touches upon transformations in worldviews and paradigmatic bases for the knowledge of the world around oneself, i.e., epistemological issues. Under this perspective, Kagan's preoccupation is with figuring out the connections between the arts and the culture(s) of sustainability. In his own words, to "understand how the arts are related to such a question of culture(s) of sustainability" (Kagan, 2011, p. 16).

Kagan (2018) came up with four expressions of the relationship between culture and sustainability as follows: (1) the fourth pillar, (2) cultural sustainability, (3) cultural dimension of sustainable development and (4) the culture(s) of sustainability discourses. The 'fourth pillar' expression originated from the title of the publication by Australian cultural policy analyst and community arts advocate John Hawkes in 2001 (*The Fourth Pillar of Sustainability: Culture's Essential Role in Public Planning*) (Kagan, 2018).

(1) Hawkes's fourth pillar metaphor sees cultural vitality and diversity for quality of life as a development goal in itself. This expression of the relationship of culture and sustainability is rooted in cultural planning and community cultural development. It focuses on cultural policies and support for the arts and culture. (2) Emerging from the late 1990s onwards and subsequently finding some common ground with the fourth pillar discourse, the 'cultural sustainability' discourse sees features of culture under sustainability-related perspectives and cultural processes and institutions as sustaining human societies and nature. It also investigates sustainable processes and their effects within the cultural field. This expression foregrounds preservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage, cultural memories and intercultural exchange (Kagan, 2018). (3) The 'cultural dimension of sustainable development' discourse critiques the fourth pillar metaphor. It argues that the integration of all dimensions of sustainability is a cultural, educative and transdisciplinary mission. The focus of this discourse is cultural education (Kagan, 2018). (4) Finally, the 'culture(s) of sustainability' discourse looks at features or qualities of cultures that are able to evolve and sustain human development in challenging environments, allowing human societies to learn through crises, overcome them and transform themselves accordingly. It foregrounds artistic research and arts-based research (Kagan, 2018).

Based on Kagan's (2018) description of the relationship between culture and sustainability, this study situates itself within the cultural sustainability discourse because here, cultural sustainability is not a pillar that shares equal importance with the economic, environmental and social pillars; rather it is the foundation upon which the other pillars stand. The study also sees culture as having a significant role to play in sustainable development and advocates for the preservation of cultural heritage and cultural practices through the review of the cultural policy for Nigeria.

Turner's Liminality Theory

Victor Turner first formulated his theory of liminality in the late 1960s and described it as the condition of being "betwixt and between" (Turner, 1967, p. 2). Initially, liminality was used to describe the condition of being between social states in the context of rites of passage (Turner, 1967). Turner asserts that rites of passage are not confined to culturally defined life crises or cycles but may include any change from one state to another. Also, they are not sociologically restricted to movements between human statuses (birth, puberty, marriage or death). Hence, it has frequently been applied to describe several experiences (Amran & Ibrahim, 2012).

Turner introduced his interpretation of liminality drawing heavily on Van Gennep's three-part structure for rites of passage which are separation, liminal period and re-assimilation (reintegration). He focuses entirely on the middle stage of rites of passage—the transitional or liminal stage (Amran & Ibrahim, 2012). In a liminal state, the hierarchical order of society temporarily breaks

down, people merge briefly into an undifferentiated mass and emerge renewed from the experience (Ng & Lim, 2018).

Relying on Turner's liminality theory, this study examines the experiences of IDPs in Northeast Nigeria who are temporarily settled within the selected IDP camps in Maiduguri, in order to understand the changes that occurred in their cultural practices which are the backbone of their existence. It explores the implication of the new environment on their cultural practices during what could be termed their 'liminal period'. The findings of the study are discussed in the following section.

Rites of Passage in Traditional Kanuri Societies Pre-displacement

Rites of passage are the various rituals performed during periods of transition from one stage to another during the human life span. Ezenweke (2016) asserts that one basic and general fact of rites of passage is that they are the major turning points in the developmental stages of humankind. These can be experienced individually or collectively and, in some instances, as in child-naming rites, the baby is totally oblivious of the happenings. The Kanuri people place high emphasis on rites of passage as they play a vital role in the preservation of their unique cultural identity. Male circumcision (*kaja*) and the wedding eve musical night (*dəla bowota*) are the main focus here. These ceremonies are usually a kaleidoscope of cultural heritage both tangible and intangible. It is chiefly the significance and the customs accompanying *kaja* and *dəla bowota* before displacement that this section is concerned with.

Kaja *(Male Circumcision)*

Male circumcision, known as *kaja* among the Kanuri people, is the removal of the foreskin of the penis. In traditional Kanuri society, male circumcision is a religious and cultural obligation and is performed by a *wanzama* (traditional barber) when a male child is about the age of seven as stipulated by Islam, the predominant religion practised by the Kanuri. Although the procedure can be performed medically, in the traditional Kanuri setting, it is performed by a *wanzama*. This is often done collectively for peers that fall within the same age range in the community. A date is selected and the *wanzama* together with his team members perform the circumcision procedure. A lot of cultural activities accompany the process which will be discussed in detail below.

Announcing the Ceremony

Male circumcisions are usually performed during harmattan, which is the cold season in Kanuri traditional settings, because the searing heat impedes fast healing of the cut. The event begins with an announcement made by the head

wanzama (*fugu*) and his assistants. The announcement is done by the blowing of a horn (*kangade futu*) with the purpose of gathering people around to inform them about the event. The parents of the boys to be circumcised must have made preparations for the event before the official announcement. They must have made arrangements for grains, food stuff, meat and drinks. In addition, they must have sewn new gowns and jumpers (*bujima* and *kulwu*) for the boys and bought chickens for preparing chicken soup for the boys as it is known culturally among Kanuri people to aid healing. With the official announcement, however, family, friends and well-wishers troop in with gifts of grains, chicken and cash to support the ceremony. The maternal uncles are key players in the ceremony as they have the responsibility of presenting the boys to the *wanzama* for the circumcision procedure. Oftentimes, they are present while the procedure is performed. The maternal uncles also present the boys with new gowns and jumpers (*bujima* and *kulwu*). The announcement is followed by feasting and merry making alongside drumming till dusk.

After the announcement, the *wanzama* and his assistants set up the circumcision hut (*ngushi*). The circumcision procedure takes place in the *ngushi* and the boys remain there to be taken care of by older boys, supervised by the *wanzama* until the wound heals. The *ngushi* is erected using stalks or reeds.

Circumcision Day

On the circumcision day, the boys to be circumcised will be nicely dressed in their new *bujima* and *kulwu* and lined up in a single file in front of the *ngushi* where the *wanzama* sits in. The boys will be taken in for the procedure by their maternal uncles who will assist in pinning them down by holding their legs while another holds their hands to prevent them from moving during the process. The *wanzama* recites some verses of the Holy Quran and says a word of prayer before cutting off the foreskin of the boy's organ. El-Yakub (2009) reports that the horn is again blown to announce a successful circumcision procedure on each boy and word is taken to the boy's home to announce the success of the procedure while women respond to the news with ululation and dancing.

Once the procedure is performed on all the boys, the *wanzama* ensures everything is okay and he then hands them over to a caregiver(s) made up of an older boy(s) (who himself/themselves had passed through the rites previously) depending on the number circumcised. The *wanzama* instructs the caregivers(s) on how to care for the boys. He will, however, be checking from time to time to monitor the progress of their healing. A participant outlined the responsibilities of the caregivers thus:

> They will bathe the boys, make sure they don't touch the wound so that the healing can be fast. They use two sticks to keep the legs of the boys apart to prevent rubbing and the boys wear the big gowns to cover their pubic areas without trousers or pants. They also monitor the progress of

the healing and draw the attention of the Wanzama if things are not going well. These older boys cannot object from taking care of the boys. Once you are selected, you can't say no because someone did it for you before, others also will benefit from you. The caregiver will be there with the boys until they are completely healed and due to come out of the ngushi at the presentation ceremony.

(Bakassi 05, 2018)

After the circumcision, the boys are kept in the *ngushi* for at least three weeks. Various delicacies will be sent to the boys by their mothers such as porridge, rice and stew and chicken soup to aid fast healing. Millet soaked in water will also be given to the boys to chew and swallow as it is said to aid the healing process as well. The culture of communal eating is part and parcel of Kanuri culture as it is observed even in the *ngushi*. Speaking about the culture of communal eating, a participant said: "When they bring the delicacies, all the boys share and eat out of it. It is not meant for the boy whom the mother sent specifically. It is prepared in large quantity for all the boys to eat and drink" (Bakassi 05, 2018).

Circumcision Presentation Ceremony

On the presentation day, usually about three weeks after the circumcision when the boys' wounds must have healed, the boys are presented to the public as 'men'. This is the ceremony that officially ushers them into manhood. Family, friends and well-wishers congregate to celebrate and congratulate the boys. The presentation ceremony begins with the boys being given a bath by their maternal uncles and the *Fugu* (the head *wanzama*). The boys will have many new sets of traditional gowns to select from and wear in the post-healed circumcision. Gifts of rice, millet, maize and money will be presented to the boys. For the presentation, the boys come out of the *ngushi* putting on a set of traditional gowns comprising a big top dress (*kulwu*), inner dress (*gemaje*) and trousers (*yange*) holding sticks which they designed beautifully using hot knives to inscribe motifs. They also wear specially sewn caps for *kaja* boys and sometimes they also wear turbans. On the significance of the stick, a participant explained:

> When the boys come out, they will line them up on the street and before you cross over the stick, you must drop some money. This is also part of the circumcision ceremony. Cars stop to drop money, passers-by, bicycles, motor bikes etc. The money is meant for the boys that were circumcised. Just drop whatever you have to celebrate them. Only after you drop some money before they lift the sticks for you to pass.
>
> *(Bakassi 05, 2018)*

It was also gathered that stepping over the stick is taboo for women so they ensure they drop some money so that the boys raise the sticks for them to pass.

Men on the other hand drop money for the boys out of solidarity as they too have passed through the initiation rite. The celebration goes on with merriment and feasting till dusk. Circumcision launches the young male child into the world of an adult Kanuri man. Although still young, the newly circumcised boy begins to learn the roles expected of a man within the Kanuri society. In some cases, the young boy is taught the rudiments of a chosen trade; this could be trading, craftsmanship, farming, fishing and so on by attaching him as an apprentice to someone who has succeeded in the profession.

Dəla Bowota *(Traditional Music Night on Wedding Occasions)*

While Kanuri boys are initiated into manhood through circumcision rites, marriage is the rite of passage that ushers Kanuri girls into womanhood. Series of events are observed during the wedding ceremony. However, the ritual that marks the transition of Kanuri girls into womanhood takes place during the *dəla bowota*, a traditional music night. Marriage age for Kanuri girls is about 12 years (Cohen, 1961). However, there are slight changes nowadays. Kanuri girls are married for the first time usually at the age 14 and this is more prevalent in rural areas than urban cities, especially among those who are not formally educated. One can confidently say that most girls in typical Kanuri societies skip the adolescent stage in their life cycle.

Dəla bowota is a musical performance by the women folk which usually begins on the eve of the wedding. *Dəla bowota*, which literally means 'call the Jackal', is performed to chase evil away in preparation for the events to follow such as the initiation of the girl into womanhood (Platte, 2011). The women sing and create rhythm by placing calabashes upside-down on water filled in a basin. They smack the calabashes with sticks or slippers which in turn produces beautiful rhythms which they sing and dance to.

Dəla bowota songs are praises and advice offered to the bride in musical form revolving around how to maintain a peaceful matrimonial home. She is advised to be submissive, to love and respect her in-laws, be religious and so on. In some cases, especially among the upper class, the services of the *Bala* musical ensemble are employed. The *Bala* ensemble has an average of 6–15 members comprising singers, drummers and a jester (Sheriff, 1992). They are professional musicians within Kanuri traditional societies. Sheriff (1992) further explains that there are two classes of *Bala* songs, namely *Cidi Bikke* and *Fero betə*. *Cidi Bikke* refers to all types of performances that are not related to the initiation of a bride, while *Fero betə* is strictly performed on invitation by a bride's family. For the *dəla bowota* event, *Fero betə* songs are performed. This can be performed by the women folk themselves or by the *Bala* group to the female audience.

The performance usually takes place in front of the bride's mother's room, and there the bride's initiation into womanhood is announced. Platte (2011) reports that while this is going on, the patrilineal aunts of the bride (*bawa*) conduct the *bəjiro gənate* ritual. This ritual symbolises the bride's new status and her

departure from her parents' compound. While the music is going on, the bride is made to sit at the edge of the new mat brought by the bridegroom's aunts (*bawaram*). A protective verse, *ayatul kursi*, is recited from the Holy Quran, then one of the *bawa* (aunts) carries the bride three times across the doorstep and then places her down on the middle of the mat again. This is followed by ululation from the women. This raising and seating of the bride on a new mat is symbolic of her rise from the status of a child (who sits by the edge of a mat) to an independent bride occupying the central position of the mat (Sheriff, 1992). Once this rite has been performed, the initiate is considered a woman and is expected to act as such.

Gender Roles Pre-displacement

Participants revealed that gender roles were clearly defined before the displacement as a result of the Boko Haram insurgency. Men were predominantly responsible for providing food and guaranteeing the safety of their families, while the women were saddled with the responsibility of managing domestic matters within their homes and ensuring their children were well nurtured and given the proper upbringing. One of the male participants elaborated on traditional gender roles as was obtainable before their displacement:

> Back home, we men were responsible for providing for our families. We have big farmlands. We sell some of the proceeds from our farms while we take the rest home. We ensure that food is in abundance and our dependents lack nothing. We buy clothes for our wives and children and ensure that they are happy. For the women, they take care of the children, do domestic chores and ensure that the children are well trained.
>
> *(MOGOLIS 07, 2018)*

The men had central authority manifested in their power in decision-making as the heads of households as well as the breadwinners of their homes. While the opinions of women were sought, the power to take the final decisions lay almost completely with the men. Men who allowed their wives influence their decisions were often referred to as weaklings. In relation to this, a female participant responded: "My husband is the head of the family, hence he had the final say in our home. Whatever he says stands. Any man that allows his wife to control him is not man enough" (Teachers' Village 03, 2019).

Almost all female participants revealed that they largely depended on their husbands financially even though they had their own sources of income which they got from petty trading, crafts and beautification skills such as hair plaiting and henna design. It is worth mentioning that a few stated otherwise. They mentioned that the profit they made from their businesses also went into family upkeep and they supported themselves from the profit as well. In other words, they were not totally dependent on their husbands.

All the male participants revealed that they had multiple sources of income before the displacement in order to meet up with their responsibilities. They all engaged in agrarian activities alongside their main jobs as farming is seasonal. None of the male participants was employed by the government; they were mostly traders, commercial vehicle drivers, farmers and craftsmen. Although none of them claimed to be wealthy before the displacement, they all maintained that they were able to provide for the basic needs of their families. They mentioned that they owned private houses with enough space for gardening and rearing of domestic animals within the compound.

Discussions with the IDPs revealed that men had a lot of power and control over the women before the displacement. Information gathered reveals that at every point of a 'responsible' woman's life, regardless of her age, she should be under the authority of a man – be it her father, husband or a consanguine male relative. In the case of divorced women, they were either under their father, brother or uncle while for the widowed, she could choose to remain with her late husband's relatives until she remarries or goes back to a consanguine male relative. Women had to seek permission from their husbands or male guardians for almost every action such as going out to visit family or friends, going to the market or hospital or attending social events. Proceeding without the consent of the husband or guardian could have dire consequences. In several instances, according to some participants, such instances led to divorce. A conclusion can be drawn from the responses of the participants that in a traditional Kanuri society, males are the heads of households which automatically places them in a position above the females.

Rites of Passage after the Displacement in the IDP Camps

After the displacement, in the IDP camps, *kaja* (male circumcision) and marriage rites are still observed because life still goes on and the various transitions from one state to another within the lifecycle must be observed as culture demands. However, the study shows that significant changes have occurred in these rites within the IDP camps compared to the period before the displacement of the occupants from their original villages or towns.

Kaja *(Male Circumcision)*

It was observed during the period of ethnographic fieldwork that a lot of changes have occurred regarding the procedure of the cultural practice of male circumcision in the IDP camps. Cultural events accompanying circumcision rites have been significantly altered and several parts lost. Although collective circumcision is still practised, the motive behind doing it has changed. The reason it is performed collectively in the camp is because of financial constraints. What obtains now is that a parent who has a child mature enough to be circumcised declares the intention to do so. He mobilises other men that he thinks have children

within the same age range with his own child and are due for circumcision. He shares his intention with them and if they are in agreement, they proceed to contact a *wanzama* within Maiduguri whom they plead with to assist them by subsidising the cost because of their circumstances. If he agrees, they select a date. On the selected day, the *wanzama* comes to the camp and performs the procedure in each house where there is a boy to be circumcised and, collectively, the fathers of the boys put money together – sometimes 3,000 or 5,000 Nigerian Naira – depending on the number of boys, to offset the cost.

In essence, all the pre-circumcision activities such as horn blowing, gifts presentation, setting up the circumcision hut (*ngushi*), music and dance performances and feasting have been lost in the *kaja* rites performed in the IDP camps. Similarly, the boys are not given new clothes and the roles the maternal uncles play of bathing the boys and presenting them for the procedure have all been dropped. A male participant revealed:

> Male circumcision is not performed here anymore. What is done is just the cutting. The other cultural activities have all been dropped. No one even hears about the news of circumcision apart from the people that share the same flat with you. Circumcision was done when we were at home, not here. It used to be a big ceremony in the past. I am not happy about it at all.
> *(Teachers' Village 05, 2018)*

This participant feels bad about the changes in the practice of male circumcision. From his explanation, it is the cultural activities that make the event, not just the cutting away of the foreskin. That is to say, circumcision where only the removal of the foreskin is observed is not complete.

The parents of the circumcised boys monitor the healing process and care for the boys themselves. The *wanzama* leaves as soon as his job is done and he may never return to the camp until he is commissioned to perform another procedure on another set of boys. To aid their healing process, the boys are served nutritious meals. In the IDP camps, participants mentioned that some boys do not even get the privilege of taking any chicken soup until they heal on their own.

No form of presentation ceremony takes place. The boys heal based on their individual physical abilities to heal and they begin to move about once their wound is healed. Circumcision ceremony is one major rite that has witnessed a major decline in the observance of cultural practices accompanying the event.

Dᵊla Bowota *(Traditional Music Night on Weddings Occasions) in the Camps*

While the women find time to perform the *dᵊla bowota* (music performance) for a few minutes, participants mentioned that the *bᵊjiro gᵊnate* (the ritual that symbolises the transition from childhood to womanhood) is not performed in the camps. They sing the same songs but only clap their hands to create rhythm

without the instruments described previously. They select a few songs from the *Fero betə* genre.

The researcher also observed that the mother of the bride at all weddings observed during fieldwork sang songs of praise and appreciation to all those that supported them for some minutes. They usually gathered around the items to be taken to the bride's new home with a few female friends and family members and there they perform the praise and appreciation songs calling out the names of those that supported them. The mother would call and the women present would respond, with no instrument accompanying the singing.

It was also revealed during the period of fieldwork that a *Bala* musical ensemble exists in Bakassi IDP camp among the Monguno people; however, the members of the ensemble do not perform in the camps, rather they go to Maiduguri town on weekends carrying along their musical instruments to scout for houses where weddings are holding and there they perform. They were always rewarded handsomely after their performances.

It is obvious that the performance has lost some of its essence and has become optional at weddings. The practice can, therefore, be said to be fading post-displacement for financial reasons on the part of the traditional musicians because the IDPs can no longer afford their charges. Another possible reason is lack of space as recounted by a study participant below:

> The space here is limited. We live in shared apartments as you can see. We need a lot of space to perform dela bowota. For that reason, we just leave it out.
>
> *(Bakassi 04, 2018)*

Shifting Gender Roles in the Camps: Women as New Breadwinners and Increase of Freedoms

It was discovered during the period of fieldwork that there is a significant switch in gender roles among males and females. Men find it difficult to fulfil their roles as breadwinners of their families as they no longer have access to farmlands and can no longer engage in some of the trades that they hitherto participated in before displacement. Unskilled jobs for men are as well hard to find in Maiduguri, the city that houses the displacement camps. It is imperative to mention that it is culturally demeaning for a Kanuri man to take up certain menial jobs such as housekeeping, clothes washing, waiting in restaurants, etc. as revealed by some participants. This has resulted in intense suffering in many homes; hence, the women who were responsible for domestic chores pre-displacement decided to take up menial jobs such as housekeeping, farm labourers, cooking and serving in restaurants within Maiduguri to feed their families. This is a clear indication of a switch in gender roles in the IDP camps. In most households within the camps, women are the new breadwinners. They leave the house very early in the morning for their places of work and return sometimes before noon while the

men are at home mostly seated under the shade of a tree and engaged in idle talks with each other. This switch has significantly influenced the role of the woman within the home manifest in decision-making, financial independence, freedom of movement, among others, as opposed to the pre-displacement era.

In the IDP camps, the strict rule of women seeking permission from men before leaving the house, as discussed earlier, does not operate in most households after the displacement. It was observed that women moved around freely both within and outside the camps. They go to their places of work as well as visit their family and friends in town unhindered.

Most female participants, barring a few exceptions, claimed that before the displacement, they relied largely on their husbands financially even when they had their own sources of income. In their new environment in the IDP camps this has taken a drastic turn. The women now work hard to generate their own income which they use to fend for themselves and their families, and sometimes give to the men as well. This is because, as explained above, the women are ready to engage in menial jobs unlike the men. The women are now at liberty to do whatever they feel like with their earned money in terms of spending. Participants also revealed that men now also engage in child caring while their wives are away at work. This is another case of a complete shift from the pre-displacement practice where it was completely the responsibility of women to take care of children.

Although this switch in gender roles has created a form of tension between men and women in the IDP camps, it brings to limelight the hidden potential of the rural Kanuri woman as being capable of contributing meaningfully to the development of her family and her community at large. The observed changes in cultural practices and shifts in gender roles have some imperatives and implications for cultural policy as would be discussed in the section that follows.

Policy Imperatives and Implications

UNESCO (1998) Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development recommends that any policy for development must be profoundly sensitive to culture itself and take into account cultural factors. This implies that cultural policy is vital in the formulation of development policies. At the time of data collection, it was observed that there is no clear and documented policy specifically giving direction to the coordination, management and resettlement of IDPs at the state government and community levels. As a result, it is arguably impossible to ascertain the extent to which policy ensures the sustainability of Kanuri cultural practices especially in times of displacement at the state level.

Duxbury et al. (2017, p. 222) came up with four expressions of the role of cultural policies in the sustainable development agenda. However, this study is connected to the first expression: cultural policy to safeguard and sustain cultural practices and rights. This expression focuses on the active agency and knowledge embedded in diverse cultural practices that should be safeguarded and sustained

within a broader sustainable future. Here, cultural policy acts as regulator and protector.

A vibrant cultural policy will ensure the continuity of cultural practices that foster sustainable development such as the rites discussed. Although the cultural policy of Nigeria has the preservation of culture in all its forms as one of its cardinal points with the objective of "ensuring harmony with contemporary realities and the demands of change and development and to prevent the mindless sweeping away of the Nigerian cultural heritage" (Cultural Policy for Nigeria, 1988, p. 7), the issue of the preservation of the Nigerian cultural heritage in the face of internal displacement is not captured in the document. Internal displacement is a contemporary issue in Nigeria that should be looked into. Another limitation of the Nigerian cultural policy is the fact that less attention is given to the philosophical aspect of culture as compared to the material, institutional and creative aspects. For instance, ways of preserving and promoting the material and creative aspects mostly expressed in the arts (fine arts, performing arts, crafts and literature) are clearly delineated in the document while that of the philosophical expressed in ideas, beliefs and values appears to not have been thoroughly dealt with. This perhaps can be attributed to the conflict between foreign religions (Christianity and Islam) which are both widespread and accepted in Nigeria and traditional religions which, oftentimes, these beliefs, ideas and values are hinged upon. Hence, the authors were silent about it. Ways of promoting and protecting these cultural expressions are equally important if indeed they form part of our culture. The Nigerian cultural policy document also takes into account mobility of people; nevertheless, this is limited to travel and leisure without any reference to displacement. The preservation of culture in displacement is crucial as otherwise some cultures will be consumed.

Furthermore, the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which Nigeria ratified in 2005, has the objectives of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage; ensuring respect for the intangible cultural heritage of communities; creating awareness for the intangible cultural heritage; and the provision of international cooperation and assistance (UNESCO, 2018). This study identifies Kanuri rites of passage as aspects of intangible cultural heritage requiring urgent assistance for its safeguarding. It is along these lines of thoughts that this study recommends the following:

a. A review of the Nigerian cultural policy to take into account the current reality in the country such as the issue of internal displacement.
b. The inclusion of the philosophical aspects of culture expressed in ideas, beliefs and values within the focus of implementation of Nigerian cultural policy with ways of preserving and promoting them.
c. Those responsible for the implementation of the policy should ensure that the Nigerian cultural policy informs every other policy document in the country such as the one on the management of IDPs to ensure the sustainability of the diverse forms of Nigerian cultural heritage.

d. The inclusion of *dəla bowota* (traditional music night on wedding occasions) with emphasis on the *bəjiro gənate* ritual that symbolises the transition from childhood to womanhood and *kaja* rites (male circumcision) of the Kanuri people on the list of endangered intangible cultural heritage requiring urgent attention through the Nigerian state party.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the effects of displacement on the cultural practices of the IDPs of Borno State, Northeast Nigeria, threaten the sustainability of Kanuri culture and points to the fact that a vibrant and updated cultural policy will go a long way in safeguarding threatened aspects of culture. In the same vein, the inclusion of *dəla bowota* and *kaja* rites on the list of intangible cultural heritage requiring urgent safeguarding based on the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003 will also contribute greatly to the sustainability of threatened Kanuri cultural practices. The study strongly advocates for the preservation of cultural practices. It buttresses the point that there is a need to put mechanisms in place to ensure cultures are protected especially in displacement, as can be seen in the recommendations above. It is pertinent to mention that some of the changes have positive attributes. The change in gender roles, for instance, has revealed the hidden potential of Kanuri women to contribute to family and community development and situations such as this, if carefully managed, may mark the beginning of gender justice in traditional Kanuri societies as well as provide the necessary conditions for development to thrive.

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PART 2

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8

CULTURAL POLICY EVALUATION TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE ARTS AND CULTURAL SECTOR IN GHANA

Amos Darkwa Asare

Abstract

Within both national and international discourses, cultural policy is increasingly becoming an important aspect of government policy. The realisation of cultural goals and plans demands cultural policy development involving consultations and dialogue with stakeholders. Culture is viewed as an enabling force towards sustainability, yet in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is a marginal consideration for culture. Arts and culture have received little recognition from public policy analysts which has affected general cultural policy evaluation. This chapter defines evaluation within the context of this study as the juxtaposition and assessment of inputs and outputs alongside goals and aims of cultural policy. This chapter looks at cultural policy evaluation towards a sustainable arts and cultural sector in Ghana. Using qualitative policy analysis it examines the cultural policy document of Ghana on one hand and analyses interviews of stakeholders within the arts and cultural sector in Ghana on the other hand. The study largely focuses on the methodology of the evaluation of cultural policies proposed by Nylöf (1997). The findings reveal that cultural policy in Ghana is inadequately funded thereby impeding its implementation and making any form of evaluation almost impossible. Moreover, in sustaining cultural policy through effective evaluation procedures, the aims and objectives of the political, administrative and cultural actors are paramount in influencing activities in the cultural sector. In conclusion, cultural policy evaluation cannot be done in isolation but rather it should be seen as a holistic process involving all aspects of the policy cycle.

Introduction

Cultural policy has been an interdisciplinary field involving disciplines such as cultural studies, cultural economics, cultural sociology and public policy studies. In recent years, academics in the areas of the creative industries and creative economy have been engaging policymakers. Since the 1960s, there has been significant influence of government on issues on arts and culture (DiMaggio, 1983; McGuigan, 2004). According to Paquette and Redaelli (2015, p. 27), "DiMaggio claimed that a careful consideration of the relationship between government interventions and culture was important to evaluate the validity of government programmes and assess the common problems facing cultural policymakers". Mandel writes that "cultural and creative industries have started to be recognized even by official cultural policy as a valuable "player" of cultural life" (Mandel, 2016, p. 7). Arts and culture can be a powerful tool, if catered for in cultural policy, for both social and economic development (Francois, 2012).

It becomes important therefore to evaluate the cultural policy of Ghana and to find out the strategies highlighted to support the arts and cultural sector. In doing so, the current cultural policy document (National Commission on Culture, 2004) shall be analysed against enacted policies for the arts and cultural sector in Ghana.

There has been the need to develop public policy that supports cultural development. Public policy highlights what resources are available for governments to distribute to various sectors of the economy, who receives such resources, when it is distributed and how it is distributed and received (Asare, 2020). For this reason, there is always competition and negotiations for interventions from the government within the policy space (Dror, 2006). This suggests that ignoring the needs and demands of a particular group and/or field within the society is important for analysis (Paquette and Redaelli, 2015). Public policy analysis, therefore, seeks to assess the actions and inactions of governments and the success or failure of government policies and plans (Dye, 2001). The creation of a national cultural policy became imperative and was seen as a public policy, particularly from a political science perspective.

It is argued that cultural policy demands a greater level of operational resources from the state and this involves government actions and inactions (Torgerson, 2007). According to Gray, cultural policy is simply a "range of activities that governments undertake – or do not undertake – in the arena of culture" (2010, p. 222). This definition also highlights the role of government decisions and inputs in the cultural policy discourse. For some scholars, cultural policy goes beyond policies for the arts and

> encompasses a much broader array of activities … public support for museums, the visual arts (painting, sculpture, and pottery), performing arts (symphonic, chamber and choral music: jazz, modern dance, opera

and musical theatre, and "serious" theatre), historical preservation, and humanities programme (such as creative writing and poetry).

(Mulcahy, 2006, p. 321)

This definition calls for cultural policy support for all the activities mentioned above and a host of others including dance, festivals and other folklore activities. Cultural policies are diverse and present a different "set of individuals and organizations engaged in the creation, production, presentation, distribution, and preservation and education about aesthetic heritage and entertainment activities, products and artifacts" (Wyszomirski, 2002, p. 186). This chapter defines cultural policy in line with Wyszomirski's perspective as the mechanisms put in place to promote cultural values, ensure the growth and development of cultural institutions relevant to human development and to enhance cultural life. In other words, cultural policy is viewed not only in terms of providing public funding but also as a way of espousing a certain framework of conditions such as laws, taxes and structures to motivate the presentation, preservation, promotion and education in the field of arts and culture (Mundy, 2000).

Throughout the world, governments are increasingly focusing on the formulation and implementation of policies that achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (Le Blanc, 2015). For arts and culture to thrive and contribute meaningfully to socio-economic development, it needs to adopt sustainable development methodologies. Within the discourse on sustainability, the aspect of culture has been less presented in the literature. That notwithstanding, contemporary research and policy have shown a greater interest in arguing for culture as an important component for sustainable development. There appears to be a dichotomy between the role of culture in sustainable development and policy issues revolving around development that is 'culturally sustainable' (Throsby, 2017). The chapter begins by explaining the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development by identifying key issues presented in the dichotomy between these terms that may facilitate the analysis. The methodology for this chapter will be presented. Furthermore the term evaluation and its applicability in cultural policy analysis will be contextualised.

The Sustainability and Sustainable Development Dichotomy: Some Perspectives

Sustainability, often defined as a set of visions, does not only focus on the future generation but also the current or present use of resources by humanity (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The Brundtland Report in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) highlights the concept of sustainable development. Sustainability is about creating the room for continuity, focusing on the present and the future. Throughout this chapter, I use the term 'sustainability' as a derivative of sustainable development as

championed by Pravdić (2001). According to Pravdić, "the term of sustainable development (SD) was institutionalised at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, as a derivative of the concept of sustainability (SB)" (2001, p. 93). Seghezzo (2009) has also stated that sustainability as a term is synonymous to sustainable development, albeit with some level of distinctions. The understanding of the terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' has centred around three key terms, namely economic, social and environmental (Barrow, 1995). Lee (1993) posits that sustainable development is a goal that aims towards a positive change. However, authors such as Frazier (1997) argue that the term 'sustainable development' operates within an undefined objective and it is "internally contradictory" (Pravdić 2001, p. 95). Sustainability is a derivative term to sustainable development, according to Dovers and Handmer (1993), and they acknowledge the contradictory goals and directions it presents (Connelly, 2007).

Whether sustainable development or sustainability, the debate is centred around anthropocentric and non–anthropocentric worldviews (Pepper, 1996). Anthropocentrism positions human beings as the most important entity in the universe. In other words, the world is interpreted based on human values and experiences. According to Norton (2005), the position of anthropocentrism is to define policies within the precepts of the welfare of mankind. On the other hand, non–anthropocentrism rejects this idea of human interests as the centre stage of development as far as the value for nature is concerned (McShane, 2007). That is to say that non–anthropocentrism argues for the intrinsic value for nature. Within the anthropocentric and non–anthropocentric debates, "the concept of sustainable development is regarded as just another product of the market economy that could never cure the crises that the market economy helps to produce" (Seghezzo, 2009, p. 541). Again, this debate is extended to the concepts of Human Exemptionalism Paradigm (HEP) and New Ecological Paradigm (NEP) and how human influence is played out (Catton & Dunlop, 1979). Whereas the HEP postulates that humans are exempt from nature's influence, the NEP claims that humans are influenced by the forces of nature. It becomes to state that:

> The relationship between nature and society can be perceived in different ways. Awareness of these differences is important to understand the sustainability debate. It can also be a useful tool to assess current development paradigms in terms of their ability to integrate, reconcile, or transcend the anthropocentrism/non–anthropocentrism "dichotomy".
>
> *(Seghezzo, 2009, p. 541)*

Culture is viewed as an enabling force towards sustainability, yet in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there is a marginal consideration for culture. Before the Brundtland Report, the aspect of culture was marginally addressed in the sustainable development discourse. The final goals failed to acknowledge the role and the "impacts of culture-led development projects"

(Duxbury et al., 2017, p. 215) even though culture is viewed as a major booster in socio-economic growth. However, after the UNESCO Decade of Culture and Development, where the discussions centred on culture and development, most international and national policy discourses have focused on the connections between culture and sustainable development (Torggler et al, 2015). Arts and cultural activities have promoted social inclusiveness and social cohesion on one hand, and at the same time fostering economic development on the other hand. For instance, culture is seen as a vehicle for transformation, where it enables creativity (James, 2015). As an agent of social change, culture promotes multi-ethnicity, cultural diversity and identity (Lehmann, 2010; Meuleman, 2013).

On Culture and Sustainability

Soini and Birkeland (2014) posited that culture as a separate dimension has not yet been included in policies revolving around sustainable development. That is not to say that aspects of culture are neglected, but rather they have often been discussed under the social dimension or partially under the economic dimension (Throsby, 2008). The interest in looking into culture as a separate pillar within sustainable development has attracted many scholars (Dessein et al., 2015). This was against the background that culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability was appropriate. Consequently, Jon Hawkes proposed a fourth pillar model of sustainability where he argued for the role of culture as an essential element in public planning (Hawkes, 2001). This model emphasises cultural vitality and cultural diversity. Hawkes's argument was linked to the policy discourse which was developed in the 1980s and 1990s in the US and Europe, respectively. His model argued for a community cultural development where arts and cultural activities deserve policy support (Adams & Goldbard, 2001). Hawkes's model suggested that governments must work with "frameworks that evaluate cultural impacts of environmental, economic, and social decisions and plans" and that the cultural dimension of sustainability fosters a partnership between government, business and arts organisations (Duxbury & Gillette, 2007, p. 13).

The United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) with its Agenda 21 for culture also argued for culture as the fourth pillar for sustainable development and not as an instrument for attaining the ecological, social and economic dimensions for development (UCLG, 2004). Therefore, in 2009 UCLG suggested that local policies must consider culture. David Throsby argued from the perspective of the cultural economy as against issues around sustainability (Throsby, 2001). Others argued that the attention on culture and sustainability is due to the "recent acceptance of and openness to the geographical and cultural diversity of the world associated with globalization and localization" (Soini & Birkeland, 2014, p. 214). There is the well-being model purposely for local community sustainability. This model was created by the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage and it involves cultural, environmental, social and economic

dimensions. For this model, the promotion of the "social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities" is the responsibility of local governments (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2006, p. 1). As the fourth pillar model, this model also sees the cultural, social, environmental and economic well-being as interconnected (Duxbury & Gillette, 2007, p. 14).

Over time, the argument has shifted from culture as a fourth pillar but rather as a dimension to sustainable development. This is because the pillarised notion of culture is seen as problematic among several scholars. Even Hawkes who was a major proponent of culture as a pillar later argued that the term is misleading and that dimension, framework or perspective seems to be a better option (Hawkes, 2010, cited from Kagan, 2018, p. 4). According to Soine and Birkeland, "when culture is considered the fourth pillar in sustainability, it obviously must be distinguished from the other three pillars of sustainability" (2014, p. 214). That is not to say that cultural sustainability operates on its own and separated from the other dimensions but rather should be seen as a foundation upon which these other dimensions may operate. This led to the discourses on cultural sustainability interested in looking into aspects of culture that are important for consideration such as institutions as sustaining human societies and cultural fields or landscapes. In effect, cultural sustainability operates through the interaction between policy and society without neglecting the environmental and economic concerns. In other words, culture-led developments that constantly meet the changing needs of society become key in cultural sustainability discourses.

From the literature, seven major key trends have been identified in researches that deal with cultural sustainability. These are cultural heritage, cultural vitality, economic vitality, cultural diversity, locality, eco-cultural resilience and eco-cultural civilisation (Soini & Birkeland, 2014). It must be noted that the cultural sustainability discourse is not exclusive to a specific discipline or scientific community. However, this chapter discusses cultural sustainability within the tenets of the performing arts and argues that policy interventions should consider arts and cultural institutions and artists as actors who transmit, transform and promote artistic and cultural offerings (Brocchi, 2010; Kagan, 2014). Indeed, from the fourth pillar discourse to the discourse on the cultural dimension of sustainability through to the discourses advocating cultural sustainability, artistic expressions have been a major focus area. Such advocacies have focused on the significance of the arts and argued for cultural policy interventions and support for both public and private art institutions and artists. The preservation, promotion and safeguarding of cultural heritage, cultural education including arts such as artistic research or art-based research (Chong, 2002) have all been part of this (inter)relation between culture and sustainable development.

Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative policy analysis (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015) to examine the cultural policy document of Ghana (National Commission on

Culture, 2004) on one hand and analysed interviews of stakeholders within the arts and cultural sector in Ghana on the other hand. In all, fifteen interviews were conducted within a period of one month. Apart from that, the researcher conducted a one-month internship with the National Commission on Culture to observe their activities. It investigates the activities of the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MoTAG), the National Commission on Culture (NCC) and the National Theatre of Ghana and how the cultural policy of Ghana is played out in their respective roles. The NCC is a public cultural agency that is mandated by law to implement activities of arts and culture in Ghana. They operate with regional centres known as the Centres for National Culture (CNC). The Centre for National Culture, as a government organisation, was established in 1990 and managed by the National Commission on Culture. The CNCs exist in all the then ten administrative regions. Recently, six additional regions have been created and efforts are put in place by the government to provide them regional centres. The National Theatre is also a public arts institution whose activities include the promotion, preservation and education of the Ghanaian citizenry through the creative arts. The study largely focused on the methodology for the evaluation of cultural policies proposed by Nylöf (1997). Nylöf's methodology for the evaluation of cultural policies operates within three main perspectives, namely, the political, administrative and actor's perspectives. I argue, therefore, that, "political decisions influence administrative plans for activities and decisions that, in turn, influence the direction of individual activities and actions" (Nylöf, 1997, p. 364).

Perspectives of Cultural Policy in Ghana

In this session, the cultural policy of Ghana with a particular focus on the strategic goals of the cultural policy document that was officially published in 2004 will be investigated. Cultural policy in Ghana is developed through the interconnectedness of social, political, religious, economic, psychological and aesthetic practices (National Commission on Culture, 2004). The cultural policy of Ghana is based on three main strategic goals or objectives.

The first objective is towards the documentation and promotion of traditional cultural values such as humanity dignity, unity and peace, family, community and national solidarity. According to Ralston et al. (1993), culture is considered as values and beliefs commonly shared by a society. Cultural policy in Ghana seeks to display outwardly cultural values, ideals and ideologies. To achieve these, the cultural policy recognises the power of traditional authorities and chieftaincy structures. Therefore, the role of chiefs is of paramount importance. Chiefs are significant stakeholders as far as the execution of Ghana's cultural policy is concerned. The constitution of Ghana, under Article 272, gives powers to the National House of Chiefs in discharging customary laws. Consequently,

> The functions of the National House of Chiefs thus clearly affirm that in the diversity of ethnic cultural traditions, Ghanaians recognize overarching

> cultural values, common historical bonds and similar cultural institutions
> and practices. The House of Chiefs has thus become a forum for projecting
> inter-ethnic understanding and national unity.
>
> *(National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 7)*

The National House of Chiefs was established in the year 1969 under the 1969
constitution of Ghana. It was maintained under the 1979 and 1992 constitutions
of the Republic, respectively. They operate in every region with regional offices.
However, the headquarters of the National House of Chiefs is located in Kumasi,
the Ashanti region of Ghana. The National House of Chiefs perform numerous
cultural roles. They "undertake an evaluation of traditional customs and sages
with a view to eliminating those customs that are outmoded and socially harm-
ful" (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 6). Due to the inter-ethnic
nature of Ghanaian culture, the National House of Chiefs serve as a forum
that promotes understanding and unity among these diverse ethnic groups. As
a body, they have championed the identification, preservation and promotion
of Ghanaian cultural expression. The National House of Chiefs, over the years,
have been partnering with the National Commission on Culture towards the
"prosecution of Ghana's Cultural Policy" (National Commission on Culture,
2004, p. 7). The institution of chieftaincy has been resilient in maintaining and
promoting cultural values, norms and beliefs. Traditional authorities have pro-
moted traditional arts and crafts, folklore and languages and the performing arts.
These art forms are highly showcased during traditional festivals as they depict
the customs, values and beliefs of the people (Asihene, 1978; Assimeng, 1979;
Bame, 1991; Chantler, 1973). For Derrett (2003), festivals are cultural events for
the promotion of community cultural values that build a society.

   The second objective is to build and develop cultural institutions for human
development and democratic governance (National Commission on Culture,
2004). The cultural policy document recognises the NCC as the apex body for
cultural activities in Ghana, yet they partner with other pro-cultural institutions
to make the cultural policy work. These implementing agencies are the Regional
and District Centres for National Culture, the National Theatre of Ghana,
the National Dance Company, the National Symphony Orchestra, the Ghana
Museums and Monuments Board, the Bureau of Ghana Languages, the National
Folkloric Board, the W, E. B. DuBois Memorial Centre for Pan African Culture,
the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park, the Office of the Copyright Administrator
and the Pan African Writers Association. According to the policy document,

> the National Commission on Culture in collaboration with relevant insti-
> tutions, agencies and individuals shall initiate research into various tra-
> ditional and customary rules and laws of Ghana with the view to their
> codification and dissemination.
>
> *(National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 9)*

To achieve national development various sectors of the economy need to come up with collaborative strategies. Therefore, "the National Commission on Culture shall establish appropriate linkages with other sectors of the economy for the attainment of national cultural goals" (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 11).

The third objective centres around the development of cultural programmes particularly, both traditional and modern arts and crafts as a source of wealth creation. The cultural policy creates an environment that supports people's creativity with the aim of creating wealth with such creative endeavours. A former Executive Director of the NCC asserted:

> The cultural policy of Ghana is such that it broadens people's creativity. Creativity is of importance in everything and the arts are the basics of creativity. That is why policy gives the artist the freedom and liberty to create their music, dance pieces and enact drama without interference. This is to help artists develop their creative talents to help address societal issues and also help them make a living out of their creativity.
>
> *(Attipoe, personal communication, March, 2019)*

In the cultural policy document, preference is given to special education towards the development of creative artists. In the document, the authors stated that

> Education of individuals with artistic talents, such as dancers, painters, sculptors, craftsmen, musicians, writers, actors, weavers and others, shall be promoted through;
>
> i.   special art schools and conservatories
> ii. the Regional and District Centres for National Culture and private workshops and art schools
> iii. workshops, seminars, exhibitions and exchange programmes between institutions and other countries to expose artists/artistes and craftsmen to new ideas and skills.
>
> *(National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 15)*

Due to this, the NCC is mandated to support arts-related programmes, especially, in secondary and tertiary schools. In order to further develop artistic skills nurtured through the schools, the NCC is supposed to provide support to foster sustainability and continuity of traditional arts and Ghanaian arts in general. Through this, greater exposure is given to creative individuals so that the entire society can benefit from their creative works. These are all strategies to promote culture and the arts by "making artistic products contribute to wealth creation both for creative individuals and the nation as a whole" (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 5).

    The mode of implementing the cultural policy is categorised into six dimen-
sions. These dimensions are towards:

a. preservation and conservation of culture
b. development and promotion of culture
c. presentation of culture
d. the establishment of appropriate administrative structures
e. establishment of linkages with various sectors of national development
f. provision of funds for their implementation (National Commission on
    Culture, 2004, p. 8).

In preserving and conserving the Ghanaian culture, there is much focus on safe-
guarding traditional sacred groves, monuments and artistic treasures. According
to the policy document, the preservation is a conscious effort to protect the
Ghanaian heritage. Again to develop and promote culture is to give a "cultural
dimension to all aspects of national development" (National Commission on
Culture, 2004, p. 10). Traditionally, ethnic groups in Ghana have been pre-
senting culture during festivals, funerals and other state durbars. During these
events, various cultural forms are displayed. As much as these traditional forms
of cultural presentation still exist, there are other modern forms such as artistic
competitions, floats and exhibitions that present culture.
    To be able to implement cultural policy, there need to be strategic financing
procedures. In Ghana, the main source of funding for the implementation of cul-
tural policy is from the government. However, to supplement the government's
effort, the NCC is mandated to establish a Culture Trust Fund. The Culture
Trust Fund, established in the year 2004, is an initiation entrusted in the hands of
the NCC to liaise with stakeholders in the arts and cultural sector to raise funds
in support of the activities of the sector. The source from this fund comes from
diverse areas including some contributions from the government, contributions
from cultural lottery and national lottery, grants from international agencies and
other donations. There are other sources of funding such as government subven-
tions and sponsorship and donations from private individuals, business organisa-
tions and other commercial groups. In Table 8.1., the budget of the MoTAC for
2018 and 2019 is highlighted.

The Policy Analysis Framework

Paquette and Redaelli postulate that in today's world, where the understanding
derived from government initiatives and decisions is seen as having shortfalls by
many, researchers seek to find clearer, deeper and more appealing explanations to
policy issues. This led to the development of the concept of "policy science" to
champion the course of "scientific knowledge about public policies" (Paquette &
Redaelli, 2015, p. 62). Policy science sought to address public policy issues and
to propose solutions or recommendations to address such issues. Through policy

TABLE 8.1   Budget of the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MoTAC) 2018 and 2019

Department	2018 Allocation	2019 Allocation
Headquarters (Finance and Admin)	18,455,593	16,665,059
Ghana Tourist Board (Gen. Admin)	13,789,265	16,781,886
HOTCATT (Headquarters)	2,146,258	2,519,692
National Commission on Culture (Gen. Admin)	2,864,934	1,689,743
CNC (Accra)	1,489,774	1,695,241
CNC (Ho)	1,259,589	1,376,290
CNC (New Juaben)	1,094,644	901,209
CNC (Cape Coast)	1,326,806	1,794,619
CNC (Sekondi–Takoradi)	1,228,174	1,328,282
CNC (Kumasi)	1,965,588	2,685,235
CNC (Sunyani)	1,627,146	1,541,543
CNC (Tamale)	1,675,638	1,774,814
CNC (Bolgatanga)	1,205,450	1,233,981
CNC (Wa)	1,038,357	959,007
Bureau of Ghana Language (Headquarters)	3,565,721	1,718,469
Department of Creative Arts (Gen. Admin)	2,434,105	1,326,364
Ghana Museums and Monuments Board	7,363,267	9,119,435
National Theatre of Ghana	4,273,818	3,587,486
Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park	1,188,001	1,002,169
W.E.B Dubois Memorial Centre	1,555,310	1,125,911
National Symphony Orchestra	1,236,857	1,323,308
Ghana Dance Ensemble	1,129,433	1,172,505
Abibigromma Theatre Company	795,307	741,778
National Folklore Board	432,065	742,611
Pan African Writers Association	138,019	216,536
Total	75,279,119	75,023,173

Source: Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, 2022 (own elaboration by author).

science, the policy cycle emerged as a unifying term for researchers mostly in the area of government policies. It is argued that the policy cycle has "served as a basic template that is used to systematize and compare the diverse debates, approaches and models in the field and to assess the individual contribution" (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, p. 42). In spite of the different approaches, the policy cycle has been the most widely used framework in public policy research. The policy cycle is developed to encapsulate such a concept as the study of cultural policies and government actions and inactions. This means that cultural policy is rooted in the policy cycle discourse. The policy cycle model proposes four inter-related stages, namely: emergence, formulation, implementation and evaluation.

The emergence stage of the policy cycle model is also known as the agenda–setting which demands "structuring the policy issue regarding potential strategies

and instruments that shape the development of a policy in the subsequent stages of a policy cycle" (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, p. 46). It deals with the processes a policy issue goes through before it gets to official decision-makers or policymakers (Kingdon, 1995). The formulation stage is where policy objectives are highlighted. In this sense, "policy formulation implies defining cultural policy and determining the best alternatives to accomplish its goals" (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015, p.64). Indeed, policy formulation is one of the most studied areas of cultural policy. Paquette and Redaelli (2015) argue that policy formulation deals with ascertaining cultural issues and making the proper options in the policy formulation process. For this reason,

> actors in the field – whether they are politicians or the actors who brought the issue to their attention – clarify their positions on culture, redefine the issue collectively through their deliberations, and social and political influences that define their initial positions and objectives … Cultural policy researchers try to make sense of how the actors who were involved in the policy construction defined (or redefined) the issue through their positioning on culture.
>
> *(Paquette & Redaelli, 2015, p. 65)*

Ahearne and Bennett (2007) argue that policy formulation occurs at various stages. In as much as governments may assume the leading role in the formulation process, there are other contexts where experts are appointed by governments to see to the formulation of policies. In other situations, stakeholders or active citizen participation is employed in the policy formulation process.

The implementation stage deals with the mechanisms put in place to make policies workable. At this stage different organisations and institutions as well as different actors come together to work towards the implementation. Policy implementation is "what happens between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of the government to do something or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action" (O'Toole, 2000, p. 266). In the implementation of policy, the agencies and institutions responsible for the implementation are important. Again, the resources needed to implement the target become key, particularly budget allocations that will be assigned to various programmes. Decisions regarding how various programmes will be carried out successfully is also part of the implementation strategies and demands that various actors come together for effective implementation (Jenkins, 1978). Therefore, collaborations between government, private individuals and organisations, and professional and non-professional practitioners are highly needed.

Evaluation stage deals with ascertaining whether the objectives, impacts and targets of the policy were achieved or otherwise. It is argued that "cultural policy is often associated with abstract objectives and made difficult to evaluate" (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015, p. 68). Cultural policy evaluation is mostly based on the assessment of input and output. Evaluation is emplacing what was done

against what happened within the context of the goals or objectives set. Policy evaluation could be formal or informal; however, in either way there should be a plethora of analysis and appreciation of different stakeholders within the cultural community (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015). Evaluation examines performance by asking questions about how and why programmes are delivered in certain ways. The merits and effectiveness of a particular policy becomes important. Effective policy evaluation should "serve the needs of its intended users", be "realistic, prudent and cost-effective", be "conducted legally, ethically and with due regard to stakeholder welfare" and finally accuracy of the policy should be "technically adequate" (Policy Division, Australian Capital Territory Chief Minister's Department, 2010, p. 13).

In the following, the discussion of the evaluation of cultural policy in Ghana will be implemented by dwelling on Nylöf's (1997) three perspectives. Firstly, the political evaluation takes place around political goals that influence political decisions. It is mostly taken care of by ministries of culture at both national and local government levels (Nylöf, 1997). Even though the NCC is still in existence, it is no longer the autonomous body for cultural affairs in Ghana. In recent years, there is a culture ministry, namely the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MoTAC), which oversees the cultural sector in Ghana. The MoTAC is to provide a stable policy environment towards the mainstreaming of Ghanaian culture into all aspects of national life and to ensure the strong emergence of a vibrant creative economy to improve and advance the tourism industry. The MoTAC is in charge of the formulation of policies, planning and programming for the development and promotion of tourism, arts and culture. The MoTAC is to promulgate and regulate legislation on tourism, arts and culture, particularly in investment policies and incentives. The MoTAC is to conduct research into both the local and international trends in tourism, arts and culture. The ministry is also to develop efficient human resources with the private and public sectors towards the promotion of tourism, arts and culture.

> In 1989 when the NCC was established and we were on our own [until 2006], we had the power to do anything because we had access to the money for our own budget. But now when the money comes, it does not come to the commission directly. It goes to the ministry for them to readjust and make a lot of cuts. We used to be autonomous but it was in the year 2006 when we came under the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture. We went through other ministries and now under the MoTAC.
>
> *(Boateng, personal communication, February, 2019)*

The political perspective is not void of partisanship. There is, currently, a ministry in charge of arts and culture. With this development, the NCC is no longer functioning as an autonomous body of arts and culture in Ghana but rather as one of the agencies under the MoTAC. This has limited the operational powers of the NCC and has affected arts and cultural activities, particularly, the

production and consumption of culture in Ghana. This is because arts and culture have become "the business of the Ministry of Culture and is fully integrated within the established systems for parliamentary accountability" (Matarasso & Landry, 1999, p. 23). As suggested by most of the interviewees, the shift of power from the NCC to the MoTAC meant partisan interferences in arts and cultural activities and programmes. A participant remarked that

> the MoTAC sometimes dictates to us the kind of programmes they want to fund because of political gains. Such programmes might make the government of the day look good so they approve those but the most important ones that will benefit the society at large are mostly neglected in order to satisfy partisan agenda and to score political points.
>
> *(Director, NCC, Accra, 2019)*

Concerning the political engagements with arts and cultural affairs in Ghana, the research concludes to propose the facilitator model suggested by Craik (2007) to be employed in Ghana. This model suggests that "governments can opt for a 'hands off' approach in which the aim is to create the conditions that favour cultural production" (Craik, 2007, p. 1). One of the ways to do this is through the subsidisation of arts and cultural activities. This will ensure their survival in the market. Another way is to extend tax reliefs for other companies that support arts and cultural programmes. This is not to suggest that these are the only possible options to employ to make cultural activities thrive but to tease out that there are possibilities to be employed where the government plays a facilitator role.

Secondly, the administrative perspective deals with the administrative goals and how they are translated into efforts in achieving such goals (Nylöf, 1997). The cultural policy document entrusts the administrative powers of the cultural sector in the hands of the NCC. However, the MoTAC has taken over. In Ghana resource distribution, budget allocations and the implementation of certain arts and cultural programmes are administratively taken care of by the MoTAC. The NCC and, indeed, all the other agencies submit their programmes and budget to the MoTAC for approval and funding. Data on such programmes, how the budget is used and other vital data are not made explicit for public scrutiny. However, when it comes to the implementation process different actors come together through collaborative efforts. These actors and stakeholders are from public and private cultural institutions who see to it that arts and cultural activities are carried out. This suggests that cultural policy in Ghana seeks to support the idea of public and private partnerships and collaborations in discharging cultural duties.

The MoTAC coordinates and facilitates the interface between government, implementing bodies in tourism, culture and the creative industries as well as international civil society partners. The mission of the MoTAC is to create a workable environment for sustainable growth and development of the sector to enable it to contribute immensely to the GDP. The ministry seeks to achieve this

through effective and efficient use of appropriate policies, plans, programmes and projects. In view of this, the MoTAC has outlined specific functions to help in their operations. The MoTAC is in charge of the formulation of policies, planning and programming for the development and promotion of tourism, arts and culture. The MoTAC is to promulgate and regulate legislation on tourism, arts and culture, particularly in investment policies and incentives. The MoTAC is to conduct research into both the local and international trends in tourism, arts and culture. The ministry is also to develop efficient human resources with the private and public sectors towards the promotion of tourism, arts and culture. The ministry is to coordinate and collaborate with other government agencies, development partners, the private sector and non-governmental organisations on issues related to tourism, arts and culture. The MoTAC is to monitor and evaluate the sector's performance.

The MoTAC has outlined six policy objectives:

1. Create awareness on the importance of tourism, culture and the arts
2. Develop capacity for the tourism, arts and culture industry
3. Preserve Ghanaian cultural heritage
4. Develop policies to support private sector participation in tourism, arts and culture
5. Increase contributions to the global cultural economy
6. Mobilise resources for the development of tourism, culture and the arts

At the local or regional levels, the Centres for National Culture take charge of the administrative issues and report directly to the NCC at the national level. However, budget allocations and other important administrative decisions are communicated to the NCC for the MoTAC to act on them or otherwise. The MoTAC is backed by an Executive Instrument to provide a stable policy environment towards the mainstreaming of Ghanaian culture into all aspects of national life and to ensure the strong emergence of a vibrant creative economy to improve and advance the tourism industry. An Executive Instrument simply means a statutory instrument other than a judicial or legislative instrument by a government. The Provisional National Defense Council Law 238 that established the NCC gave the commission a supervisory role of the Centres for National Culture and all the other agencies listed above. The law also made it possible for the Regional Centres of National Culture to establish and supervise District Centres for National Culture. For the NCC to be successful, they are to operate with the Centres for National Culture that were supposed to be established in all the then ten administrative regions in Ghana. According to Schauert (2015), the Centres for National Culture replaced the Regional Art Centres that were established in 1958. The Regional Arts Councils largely promoted traditional drumming, dancing and drama. However, the newly established Centres for National Culture were to "encourage and support artistic and cultural activities and associations" at the regional level (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005, pp. 127–128). The

cultural policy document stipulated that "the National Commission on Culture shall collaborate with the District Assemblies and community theatres to serve as venues for the promotion of the performing arts" (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 21). These community theatres are found at the Centres for National Culture. The Centres for National Culture function in diverse ways to support the NCC in implementing the cultural policy of Ghana. In a study, Commey Fio outlines five major functions of the Centres for National Culture. First, at the regional level, the centres are to implement cultural policies of the government by developing, promoting and preserving arts and cultural activities. Secondly, the Centres for National Culture are to identify and organise artistic resources within the various regions and commodify them to benefit the region. Thirdly, the regional centres are to present arts and cultural programmes that project the various regions. Fourthly, the Centres for National Culture are also to promote cultural and artistic programmes of national interest. Lastly, the Centres for National Culture are to play a supervisory role in terms of activities involving the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Centres for National Culture (Commey Fio, 2017). Figure 8.1 presents a hierarchical structure8.1 of the cultural sector in Ghana.

The third perspective looks at how the aims of cultural actors influence their activities and decisions. Nylöf (1997) identifies "cultural institutions,
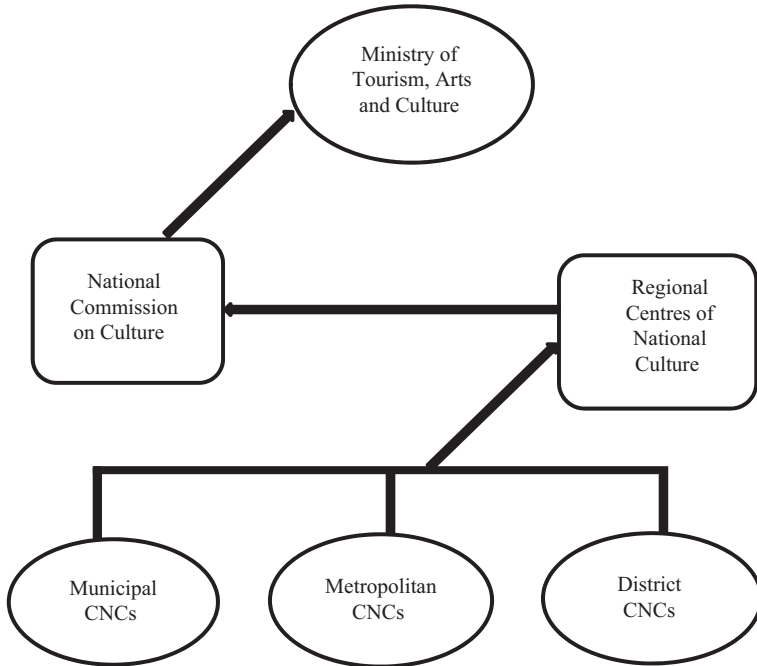

FIGURE 8.1 The hierarchical structure of the cultural sector in Ghana (Asare, 2022).

organizations and groups, and artists or other individuals who are active in the cultural life, e.g. theatre managers, concert producers" as actors within the cultural sector. In Ghana, such institutions include the National Theatre, the Musicians Union of Ghana (MUSIGA), the Actors' Guild and numerous individual artists. In the late 1950s, the Arts Council of Ghana saw the need for the construction of a National Theatre building in Ghana for performing arts groups that had sprung up at the time and for individual artistes. The National Theatre of Ghana was established in 1991 under the Ghana National Theatre Act (PNDCL 259). The main objective and mandate of the National Theatre is to promote and develop the performing arts in Ghana. For the Theatre to function effectively, the National Theatre board is expected to

1. Formulate criteria and conditions to regulate performance by Ghanaian and international artistes and troupes
2. Establish theatres in parts of the country as determined by the Board
3. Develop and promote a strongly integrated national culture through the performing arts
4. Assist in formulating an effective export promotion programme of works in the performing arts produced in Ghana
5. Engage in any other functions as the president of Ghana may assign

The Executive Director of the National Theatre of Ghana explained that

> Currently, through performances we support emerging groups and individuals. So we offer the space [referring to the National Theatre building] to people, maybe, recent graduates from the performing arts schools in the country who want to put up productions. When you get to perform at the National Theatre, it should be a big deal, you sweat, you long for it to be on that stage. We want to build that direction so that any performing artist when you finally get to perform on the National Theatre stage for a National Theatre event, it is a big deal. It tells people that the quality of your work has reached a certain level.
>
> *(A. Frimpong, personal communication, March, 2019)*

Furthermore, a number of programmes are rolled out by the Theatre in order to achieve its core mandates. Such programmes include Funworld and Kidderfest for children, and a form of traditional drama and comics known as 'Concert Party'. These programmes were meant to develop and broaden the audience base for the performing arts. The National Theatre in its quest to promote the performing arts in Ghana has come up with a policy instrument which it calls 'We draw the box'. It is a five-year strategic plan, from 2019 to 2023, described as an "emphatic open-door policy" (National Theatre of Ghana, 2019, p. 4). It is highlighted in this policy document that the National Theatre seeks to project Ghanaian culture through the performing arts. In this regard, the National

Theatre seeks to reorient itself to be the leading performing arts institution in Ghana. The document stated that the National Theatre is to "offer direction, develop resources – human and material – and be the primary promoter of all that is important to, and will enhance the performing arts for Ghana" (National Theatre of Ghana, 2019, p. 3).

Conclusions

Policy evaluation is one of the key areas of the policy cycle as it assesses and monitors the impact of government policies. It looks at various levels such as the objectives of policy and how they have been achieved. Most importantly, policy evaluation looks at how the policy still fits into government agenda or programmes and the distribution of resources towards the implementation of the policy. Therefore, evaluation is considered to be an important process of "conceiving, developing, implementing and modifying public policies" (Policy Division, Australian Capital Territory Chief Minister's Department, 2010, p. 3). From the analysis it was clear that there is no specific model for cultural policy evaluation in Ghana. This is not new in the international cultural policy discourse because "sometimes, there exist no requirements for a formal evaluation" (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015, p. 68). This is the situation in Ghana as far as cultural policy evaluation is concerned; there are no formal evaluation procedures. While some believe that the cultural policy document cannot be evaluated, others hold the view that it is evaluated at the individual's discretion focusing on programme evaluation. For those who hold the view that the cultural policy document cannot be evaluated, they argue that even though the document is well-drafted, it has not been resourced or funded for it to function.

This view appeared strongly with the underlying factor being that since the policy is not funded, its implementation is impeded, thereby making any form of evaluation almost impossible. However, I argue that this is where evaluation is needed. The fact that the cultural policy is not resourced is enough grounds to raise questions so that it can be evaluated. According to Paquette and Redaelli, "cultural policy is often associated with abstract objectives and made difficult to evaluate" (2015, p. 68). In this case, the government of Ghana through the MoTAC should make policy evaluation and assessment a priority and a key component of cultural funding. As established by the Australian Capital Territory Evaluation framework, policy evaluation does not happen in a vacuum but rather looks at the various stages of the policy cycle. Policy implementation becomes key in the evaluation process. According to the Australian Capital Training Evaluation framework, "evaluation helps determine the success of earlier steps in the policy development cycle, whether the program had the intended impacts and met its objectives" (Policy division, Australian Capital Training Chief Minister's Department, 2010, p. 3). This means that resources towards the implementation of the cultural policy should be available. In this way, evaluation becomes

necessary and determines whether there should be modifications in particular areas of the policy.

The discourse on cultural sustainability focuses on the significance of the arts and argues for cultural policy interventions and support for public and private arts institutions. This implies policy evaluation becomes an important ingredient in shaping and making activities within the cultural sector sustainable. Culture is seen as a driver or an enabler of sustainable development. It, therefore, becomes important to evaluate cultural policy as the cultural sector in Ghana promotes sustainable social, environmental and economic growth.

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9

CONNECTING KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

A Case of School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana

Madinatu Bello

Abstract

Collaborating to find creative solutions to global challenges related to environment, education and social cohesion is central to the agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals. However, scholarship on academia and industry connections in the performing arts sector in Ghana and their importance for the SDGs has not received due recognition and attention. The study used a qualitative case study approach to interrogate the nature, challenges and opportunities for feedback interactions between the higher educational institutions (HEIs) and the cultural and creative arts institutions (CCIs) in Ghana. Key data collected included interviews, documents and desktop archives. Findings from the analysis illustrated highly informal, individual-initiated collaborations in the form of internships, consultancies, writing forums, workshops and community development projects. These transcended the CCIs to encapsulate other social institutions like the church, embassies, schools and security services. Despite the bottle-neck challenges, actors maximised collaborations for sustainable quality education, economic growth, sustainable cities and communities. The rippling effects of existing challenges on these sustainable practices call for the creation and operation of functional third spaces where actors can explore embodied knowledge for collective good and reduce issues of power play created by differences and diversity.

Introduction

In most developed countries, academics and practitioners in the field of the arts have, for some decades, explored collaborative avenues that enhance their capabilities to contributing to the achievement of sustainable development – be it economic, social, environmental or cultural (Cuccia & Rizzo, 2014; Loach et al.,

2017; Nocca, 2017; Opoku, 2015). This has become necessary because barriers such as lack of systemic thinking (Duarte, 2015), bureaucracy, institutional cultural barriers and funds (Nejati et al., 2011), epistemic cultures, professional practices, political interests, social backgrounds and sustainability challenges (Hackett, 2020) hinder individuals' or institutions' capacity to achieving sustainable development, hence the demand for partnership or collaboration among all stakeholders (Keeys & Huemann, 2017). The narrative appears different in developing countries where the notion of connection between the cultural and creative arts institutions (CCIs) and higher educational institutions (HEIs) is downplayed and is therefore weak. This may be attributed to the provincial focus by the latter on collaborative activities mainly for academic purposes aside the many divergent views regarding the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the concept of partnership or collaboration in current discourse as to what form the collaboration should take. The most affected among the two are the CCIs which still remain in a knowledge desert where innovation and creativity dwindle or become obsolete. This is particularly the case in Ghana where, despite the clarion calls for activities in the universities to become increasingly relevant to industry and development, the connection between HEIs and the creative arts sector has not been given due recognition, practice and research attention.

Given the enormous potential of the creative arts sector to contributing to the achievement of sustainable development in relation to environment, education, health and social cohesion, this chapter intends to contribute to the existing paucity of literature on the phenomenon in Ghana by exploring the diverse ways in which universities connect particularly with the CCIs as cultural change agents for the achievement of sustainable development. It further looks at the opportunities and challenges these synergies pose using the case of the School of Performing Arts (SPA) of the University of Ghana. The chapter is structured as follows. First, it reflects on scholarship on roles and responsibilities of HEIs and CCIs to the achievement of sustainable development while examining literature on the forms and importance of academia and industry connections. It then discusses the methods and the case study which is the School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana. Next, it articulates the findings under three headings: the nature of collaborations, importance for SDGs and challenges for feedback interactions. Finally, the conclusion reflects on mechanisms for creating and operating a functional third space between collaborators if necessary.

The Concept of Sustainable Development

Notwithstanding its pervasiveness, the concept of sustainable development has received extensive attention in development discourse (Klarin, 2018; Mensah, 2019). As a development paradigm, sustainable development calls for the improvement in living conditions without endangering the environment (United Nations, 2013). It is understood by many as a process or a means to achieving sustainability which is "the overall strategic aspiration, shared purpose or mission of the transformation"

(Purcell et al., 2019). Sustainable development, here operationalised as the pathways to achieving sustainability, does not target the SDGs on an individual level but as a "collective world strategy" (Purcell et al., 2019) necessary for keeping a robust and healthy society. It is not just about the environment; it is about satisfying the various needs and aspirations of people of different communities, creating social cohesion and equal opportunity that ensure a strong and healthy society.

Until recently, sustainable development was purposed to ensure a balance among economic, social and environmental dimensions of development. A recent addition of culture as a fourth dimension was premised on the fact that "placing culture at the heart of development policies is the only way to ensure a human-centred, inclusive and equitable development" (Hosagrahar, 2017), since cultures condition people's behaviours and frame people's relationship to others in their society and the world around them, including the natural environment (UNESCO, 2013). Hosagrahar (2017) aptly captures this when she writes:

> The safeguarding and promotion of culture is an end in itself, and at the same time it contributes directly to many of the SDGs — safe and sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reduced inequalities, the environment, promoting gender equality and peaceful and inclusive societies. The indirect benefits of culture are accrued through the culturally-informed and effective implementations of the development goals.

This inclusion, thus, provides an avenue for pro-cultural public and private institutions like universities and the CCIs to join existing multiple stakeholders such as governments, non-governmental organisations, business and industry, scientific and technology communities, who continue to demonstrate a high level of commitment to the achievement of sustainable development. Universities are leaders in education, research and innovation – likewise the CCIs – and therefore have a key role in the social change and development of societies and economies (Findler et al., 2019; Purcell et al., 2019).

HEIs, Creative and Cultural Sector as Drivers of Sustainable Development

Recent scholarships project higher education institutions as proactive drivers of sustainable development (Adams et al., 2018; Agudo et al., 2018; Purcell et al., 2019) whose main objective is to cause "real-world changes in ecological sustainability, policies, and people's well-being" (Koehn & Uitto, 2017), shape new ways for the world by educating global concerns and deliver knowledge and innovation into the society (Purcell et al., 2019). Being at the vanguard of scientific and technological advances for global research and education (Purcell et al., 2019) and given their primary function as the incubators of knowledge and their roles as research leaders and partners to the social and business world that surrounds them (Dzimińska et al., 2020), HEIs (used interchangeably with

"universities" in this chapter) continue to transform into a more equitable society and a better world, linking higher education with business, industry, healthcare, community partners and entrepreneurs to implement the SDGs at a strategic level (Findler et al., 2019). There is no doubt that their primary target is in the achievement of Goal 4 (quality education) but "we must acknowledge the fact that universities are in a distinctive position in leading the implementation of each and every one of the goals; they can encompass and address all goals from different areas of work and action" (Agudo et al., 2018).

Primarily, universities design frameworks that influence the economy, contest societal challenges and ecosystem endangerment, drive and improve policies, advance cultural and intellectual well-being of communities (Findler et al., 2019; Purcell et al., 2019). They drive sustainable development through their teaching, research and outreach activities. For example, basic and applied research activities from universities, besides their primary role in career advancement for academics, facilitate sustainable practices such as social cohesion and resilience, creativity and innovation vital for cultural, environmental and intellectual well-being of communities (Findler et al., 2019; Purcell et al., 2019). Teaching activities provide avenues for the development of the personality of the individual whose everyday operations and practices need to be consistent with a sustainable future and integrate sustainability in his daily tasks (Finnveden et al., 2019); who is preconditioned to make informed decisions, exhibit responsible behaviour and consumer choices that could catalyse sustainable development (Sharma, 2015). From the universities, qualified workforce and high-level professionals are churned out for the job market; knowledge and skills that meet the demands of the SDGs are also generated. They also play an important role in the creation of the culture of a society, "peoples' core assumptions, values, beliefs and artefacts that translate into actions which lead to particular effects and may positively or negatively relate to the creation of sustainable development" (Dzimińska et al., 2020).

As cultural institutions, universities are beacons of cultural production and preservation, producing creative human capital (Comunian et al., 2016; Comunian & Faggian, 2014) who shape new ways for the evolution and sustenance of vibrant creative economies which provide fertile ground for job opportunities and wealth creation. Cultural activities within the universities also serve as media for interrogating issues related to climate change and resilience, health, poverty, inequality and social cohesion (Soini & Dessein, 2016). Besides these, cultural actions in universities integrate, coordinate and guide all aspects of sustainable action where goals of sustainability are embedded in culture and lead to eco-cultural civilisation (Soini & Dessein, 2016). Sustainable development then becomes a cultural process which is holistic and transformative and cultural activities no doubt create an essential foundation and structure for the achievement of the goals. It is in this light that the chapter offers insights into approaches that universities adopt in pursuance of their contribution towards the achievement of the SDGs given that their position in societies gives them the chance to promote dialogues and spaces for collaboration among stakeholders.

Similar to the HEIs are the CCIs which have gained recognition for their contributions to finding creative solutions to global challenges related to environment, education, health, social cohesion and ultimately sustainable development. The CCIs are important components in the acceleration of human development due to their prowess of physical and emotional demonstration of innate creativity in humans and their relationship with society and its values. Activities within the sector become a source of empowerment, inspiring innovation in individuals to enhance sustainable growth of industry apart from contributing to diversity and social inclusion, social and political tolerance (UNDP, 2004). Like any other economic sector, the CCIs can play a catalytic role in socio-economic transformation and sustainable development judging from their ability to remain resilient to the upsurge of global demand and export of culture and creative works. The result is the expansion of the job market which is a major target of SDG 8 (Decent work and economic growth), necessary for rapid economic growth, cultural, political awareness promotion and innovation. It creates a space for respect for unity in diversity which often results in the building of more inclusive societies through policies that recognise cultural differences and multicultural perspectives.

In Ghana, the CCIs appear to employ more youth and women within the informal sector despite the non-existence of statistical data on the number of employees in the sector (Okyere, 2020). Even, the Film Act, Act 935 recognises the sector as important to achieving sociocultural and economic development. Primarily, the CCIs sustain the economy, harness potentials and offer decent means of livelihood. As stated in the initial part of the chapter, the process of sustainable development is complex and intricate. It is not surprising that actors' self-sufficiency is often confronted by financial crisis, economic instability and other systemic challenges (Inkpen, 1996), which threaten their very existence and capacity to deliver on the SDGs. António Guterres, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, said,

> to deliver on the promise of a prosperous and peaceful future, development actors will have to find new ways of working together and leveraging genuine partnerships that make the most of expertise, technology and resources for sustainable and inclusive growth.
>
> *UN Secretary General, 2017, p. 7*

Sustainable development is everybody's responsibility and thus necessitates a broad benefit focus that incorporates multiple and varied participants, whose coordinated, aligned and synergistic efforts influence structures, processes, resources and management of sustainable development actions.

Research Methods and Case Study

The chapter explores the nature of collaboration, its prospects and challenges using the exploratory case study design within the qualitative approach (Creswell, 2014; Neuman, 2014). To this end, a variety of data collection methods were employed

such as semi-structured interviews, document analysis and desktop archival research between 2018 and 2021. The case study approach used on the School of Performing Arts (SPA) of the University of Ghana (UG) was as a result of some reflections. The researcher is an alumna of the School where she studied from 2009 to 2011 obtaining an MPhil degree in Theatre Arts with a major in Theatre for Development. Before then and through excursions, she had several opportunities to interact with lecturers, students and the infrastructures of the School when she was an undergraduate student and teaching assistant of the then Department of Music and Theatre Studies of the University of Cape Coast. The researcher also had the opportunity to also interact with most of the lecturers who embarked on part-time teaching at the Theatre and Film Studies Department of the University of Cape Coast (UCC) where she currently lectures. Conversations with past students from UCC who had completed School of Performing Arts for the second degree and who were still reading the second degree also had much influence on this choice. This case also provided an interesting dimension of academia–industry collaboration within the performing arts context in Ghana apart from a similar inquiry she had conducted in UCC. The researcher used interviews to solicit views of participants on the nature, prospects and challenges of their collaborations with institutions at the periphery of the university. In all, 13 qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with staff, students and graduates of Theatre and Dance Departments in the School of Performing Arts. Desktop research on documents such as Vice Chancellor's annual reports, staff profiles and course descriptions was conducted in order to validate whatever linkages there were between works of staff (research papers, projects, seminars and workshops), teaching and learning activities of students and activities of players in the industry to best mirror collaborative arrangements, their significances and challenges.

School of Performing Arts at the University of Ghana as a Case Study

The School of Performing Arts at the University of Ghana, which used to be known as the School of Music and Drama, was established in October 1962, as a section in the Institute of African Studies and advanced into the Department of Drama and Theatre Studies in 1972. In the year 1977, the School changed its name to SPA but was still under African Studies till October 1978, when it became autonomous. Its core mission is to be a centre of excellence in the teaching and learning of all the aspects of the performing arts through innovative research and performance practice; engender creativity and critical analytical skills in our students; produce high-calibre graduates to meet the nation's human resource needs in the growing cultural industry; and provide the university community, surrounding communities and the country at large with world-class artistic cultural products. SPA has three academic departments: Music, Dance and Theatre Arts. The focus of this chapter is on the Theatre and Dance Departments and the synergies they create with institutions within and beyond the academic domain

for its teaching activities. The Theatre Department claims itself as the forerunner of theatre arts institutions in the country. It upholds its supervisory role of the industry by extending its programmes to the many theatre companies and emerging arts departments at sister universities such as University of Cape Coast and University of Education, Winneba. It remains resolute in churning out graduates and postgraduates to increase the human resource needs of the country in numerous sectors, especially the CCIs. Its creative productions, seminars, conferences, workshops and scholarly works have created platforms for sharing ideas between practitioners, trainers and academics. This is a clear indication of the extent to which the Department shares in the idea of partnership within and at the periphery of the teaching environment. The Department runs two undergraduate programmes – Bachelor of Arts (BA) and Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA). At the graduate level, it offers a Master of Fine Arts (MFA) or a Master of Philosophy (MPhil) option in either Theatre Arts or Dance Studies. The latter option is in partnership with the Department of Dance Studies. Areas of concentration are: Playwriting, Theatre for Development, Directing, Drama in Education, Stage Design, Theatre Criticism, Costume Construction, Choreography, Dance in Education and Dance Ethnology. The Department of Dance Studies continues to offer programmes in African dance and related fields. Programmes lead to a four-year Bachelor of Arts degree, four-year Bachelor of Fine Arts degree and a two-year Diploma in Dance Studies. Master of Fine Arts and Master of Philosophy are available under the postgraduate programme of the Department of Theatre Arts for the benefit of students interested in combined studies of dance and drama. The Department's teaching and research programmes are developed from the four central concepts of appreciation, choreography, performance and documentation (Aryeetey, 2011; University of Ghana, 2019).

Research Findings: Form, Prospects and Challenges of Partnerships to Sustainable Development

The following sections elucidate the nature of partnerships operating within the School of Performing Arts and the categories of sustainable development practices that such partnerships targeted, their prospects and challenges. From the data gathered, the researcher began to comprehend the variety of linkages created by the two departments within the School and the purpose and targets of these linkages. Interestingly, partnerships were more of individual initiatives, more informal and were not created with CCIs only but other sectors of the bigger society.

Nature of Collaborations: Theatre and Dance Departments of the School of Performing Arts (University of Ghana) in Perspective

At the periphery of the School of Performing Arts, a number of networks and partnerships had been created. While some of these linkages were between

the Departments and CCIs, others were established between the Departments and other social and pro-cultural institutions like the pre-tertiary schools and churches. Primarily, the Theatre and Dance Departments had formal partnerships with the National Theatre of Ghana, National Commission on Culture, cultural centres, professional and amateur performance groups and the audio-visual media institutions. These forms of collaboration were forged to enhance teaching and learning, knowledge creation and sharing, boost human resource capital of both the academic sector and the industry, apart from improving on space and infrastructure deficits of especially the departments in the university (Aryeetey, 2011). Regrettably, most of these connections, according to some participants, on a departmental level, had collapsed since 1993 due to power play, government intrusion and conflict of interest. A participant, for example, indicated that the Departments in the School of Performing Arts, through their resident research theatre company, "Abibigoromma", initially connected with the National Theatre of Ghana to co-create a model repertory troupe which was to facilitate teaching, research and experimentation. The research group of the School sought to create and present scripted and unscripted theatre, unique sociocultural music, plays and dance pieces inspired by the oral and written literature of Ghana and Africa, drawn from history, culture, folklore and traditions of Ghana, into beautiful artistic expressions on stage (School of Performing Arts, 1983). Such partnerships stimulated creativity and critical analytical skills in students who come out as high-calibre graduates who meet the nation's human resource needs in the growing cultural and creative industry (The University of Ghana Student Handbook, 2017). Regrettably, this partnership, according to a participant, was terminated when Departments within SPA realised that the National Theatre of Ghana had poached some members of their resident groups to join what one of the academics termed "illegal" resident groups at the National Theatre (Obeng, 2014).

> Previously [between 1983 and 1993], National Theatre and SPA had theatre seasons where several African and Ghanaian plays were showcased. This was because the structure of the Efua Sutherland studio [a drama studio on the campus of the SPA] was an extension of the National Theatre of Ghana. But this is no more because those people [Staff of the National Theatre of Ghana] picked our performers away to the National Theatre which nearly collapsed our resident groups. Now, some people organise programmes with the groups in there but on a personal level. You know that most of the artistic directors there are our own students.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre lecturer, 2018)*

This notwithstanding, most of the participants shared that they continued to create collaborations with colleagues at the National Theatre but on an individual level. Where Departments from SPA had to present the performances at

the National Theatre, they had to pay for the venue but at a reduced cost. Other forms of collaborations established were with Senior High Schools, churches and other ministries in government.

> Apart from the National Theatre and the others, there are other collaborations with secondary schools, churches and other institutions in government. We turn to visit the schools in order to present plays to the students.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre lecturer, 2018)*

Another interview participant added:

> Some churches also invite us to help them in choreographing dance pieces and at times rehearse dance-drama. Once, I remember we were invited to perform Appiagyei's *Tears of Lucifer* at the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC). I had to costume the performers and it was quite interesting.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre graduate student, 2021)*

These addressed part of the basic laws and mission of the School of Performing Arts which is to foster relationships with outside persons and bodies; provide not only the university community but surrounding communities and the country at large with world-class artistic cultural products (University of Ghana, 2012; University of Ghana, 2017).

Collaborations of these forms were more of individual initiatives and very informal, falling within what Ankrah and Al-Tabbaa (2015) categorised as personal informal relationships. These take the form of individual consultancy (free or paid), information exchange forums, guest lectures or personal contacts with academics or industry staff. From most of the participants, academics and students alike created collaborations with practitioners in the industry and other social institutions based on mutual friendship and referrals. In most cases, lecturers liaised with colleagues who are in the industry for the exhibition of artistic offerings, workshops and presentations. Others also connected with cultural groups owned by their relatives, friends or acquaintances of friends and relatives.

> My colleague whom I completed my Masters with … the father owned a dance company … Noyam. … We used to join that when we were on campus. He usually calls us for performances either in Accra or outside. When we also need him or the group for any programme, we also call on him.
>
> *(Interview, Dance lecturer, 2018)*

There were situations where practitioners from the industry came in, looking for individuals to partner them on projects. Though they come to the departments,

they dealt with individual lecturers and students. They commonly cited the bureaucratic nature of dealings in the departments as reasons for not engaging the departments.

> When I was there, what was happening was, let's say someone can just come because he knows it is the School of Performing Arts. When he comes, definitely he is looking for something regarding, maybe, production. He will get people who can assist him in his production. … So, when he comes like that then he speaks to whoever is available (whoever they meet) or some of them they already know some people in the department. … Some were once students in the department so they will just come and look for maybe some people or some students to work on specific projects. Let's say in the case of costume for instance because I had a couple of referrals. … So they will come and they will tell you … they want someone to work on their costume for them so you will just go and then work on it but not necessarily they are coming to the department where things may keep long.
>
> *(Interview, Past graduate student, 2021)*

Students were never left out of these partnership agenda. Most of them created informal links with graduates, friends, colleagues and other acquaintances in the industry for projects and performances. They saw these links as extensions to their studies at SPA, media for securing jobs after graduation and making some little income. To them, going on industry attachments and internships, whether by their own initiative or as a requisite for the completion of the programme, was worth the time and energy.

> In some instances, we join groups which are owned by family members of our colleagues or friends of our colleagues for "gigs". This happens quite often especially when we have to work out jingles or something for media houses and it gives us much exposure to the field. As for the money … it is necessary. This even makes it easier to land a job when you complete.
>
> *(Interview, Dance student, 2018)*

The findings further highlighted that some specific courses sent students out to the CCIs for interactions. Courses such as Dance and Tourism, Dance and the Creative Industry, Community Project, The Arts of the Theatre, Educational Drama, Event Production and Theatre, and African Cultural Heritage allowed students to connect with institutions outside of the University. Mostly, students visited theatre halls and media studios, undertook mini projects in the lower-level schools under faculty supervision, engaged with festivals, ritual ceremonies and social events, worked with groups in surrounding communities, teaching

traditional dance forms and visited tourist sites for interactions. One of such courses was Dance and Creative Industry.

> DANS 321: Dance and the Creative Industry
> The course will examine the relationship of dance as a viable profession and commodity to the new and emerging Creative Industry in Ghana. It will address issues of training, product development, packaging and touring etc. The course will be linked to the industry where students will have short periods of internship with relevant institutions during the semester.
> *(University of Ghana, Students Handbook for Humanities, 2017)*

These forms of collaborations fall under the category of personal formal relationships, which could vary from short-term (though renewable) to long-term in the case of specific or focused structures (Ankrah & Al-Tabbaa, 2015) based on needs, reciprocity, interests and goals.

Critically, a high percentage of these partnerships was informal because of the absence of a Memorandum of Agreement between actors of these collaborations as at the time of the study. Lecturers and students collaborated with colleagues, friends and acquaintances based on mutual understanding, trust and deference. They overlook written or contractual agreements but relied on what Delgadillo (2016) termed accountability which could be accomplished without a written agreement but through a strong verbal agreement and good faith for compliance. Accountability denotes the "obligation of an individual to account for his or her actions, to accept responsibility for the actions, and to disclose the results in a transparent manner" (Delgadillo, 2016). Even with the collaborations outlined in the webpage of the School and the students' handbook (the School of Performing Arts is linked to the wider community and establishments and thereby provides professional services to many agencies. These include the Ghana Education Service (the largest beneficiary), The National Commission on Culture, The Musicians Union of Ghana (MUSIGA), National Film and Television Institute (NAFTI), National Theatre of Ghana, GBC (Radio and TV), the numerous FM stations in the country, video film production outfits, professional and amateur performance groups, and creative arts agencies), it was difficult for participants to confirm their formality or the availability of written agreements.

> In fact, if I say I have any idea about whether these spelt-out collaborations are formalised ones, I will not be fair to myself. I am yet to confirm as to whether we have Memorandums of Understanding on these collaborations. As for individual ones, I personally do not sign any documents to that effect. We meet, discuss what we intend doing and continue with the discussions as we embark on whatever project we want to execute. We go to them (field practitioners) when we need them and they also come to us.
> *(Interview, Theatre lecturer, 2018)*

In spite of the fact that collaborations were of individual initiatives and more informal, they were deemed to be the preferred choice as opposed to departmental and formal collaborations which relied on bureaucratic structures and decisions which to many participants had a high tendency of miring the achievement of goals of the collaborations, a contradiction to Monteiro's (2018) position that bureaucracy supports collaboration and helps to solve key challenges associated with work across expertise domains.

Forms of Collaborations

Collaborations within the SPA took different forms. They ranged from internships, industry attachments, staging plays, writing forums to dance tutorials, ads and commercials, to adjudication, community development practices and festival organisation. From some student participants, internships and industry attachments linked them to most of the CCIs and other social institutions. They acknowledged them as compulsory part of their programme, especially the undergraduates, which one needed to pass in order to graduate. Though such collaborations were not underpinned by any contractual agreement, there was an aspect of formality where the course descriptions imply that students picked letters from the departments before they embarked on such interactions.

> THEA 477: Internship: This is a course designed to create opportunities for the student to learn through practice by working in positions in a professional theatre organization/facility that creates and presents, to the public, works in the theatre arts. Students will be required to submit written reports to their faculty supervisors. The department will also receive report from assigned workplace supervisor on the professional conduct of the student.
>
> DANS 326: Internship: This is a supervised course designed to stimulate learning and instructional experience. It provides the student with the opportunity to learn through practice in a professional environment; to observe and sharpen his/her skills and technique. Students will be required to submit written reports to their supervisors. The action-oriented paper should reflect what students have learnt.
>
> *(University of Ghana, Students Handbook for*
> *Humanities, 2017)*

Prior to the 2017/18 academic year, internships for graduate students were not compulsory. A change in the curriculum structure required that graduate students from the 2017/18 academic year needed to go for internship as part of their programme requirements.

> I completed in 2016 but those who came after our batch had to go for compulsory internship. We did not go for anything like that. It was compulsory for the undergraduate students then not for us.
>
> *(Interview, Past graduate theatre student, 2021)*

Ads, commercials and community Theatre for Development also sent students to the CCIs and other surrounding communities. They shared experiences from media institutions like TV3, GTV and other FM stations. These interactions were mostly students' initiatives whether they formed part of their programme structure or not. For example, students reading Theatre for Development (TfD) as their major (undergraduate or graduate level) ought to choose and link with their project sites at the Madina market and surrounding communities. Lecturers made suggestions but the final decisions rest on the student as was highlighted in one course description:

> THEA 368: Community Theatre II
> This is a follow-up course in the principles, theories and techniques in applied theatre where students undertake community-based projects aimed at addressing social issues of interest to the people. Students apply TfD [Theatre for Development] techniques in conceiving and executing their individual projects under faculty supervision. A project report is submitted for assessment.
>
> *(University of Ghana, Students Handbook for*
> *Humanities, 2017)*

One participant who had completed confirmed this when he noted that his practical project took him to Dodowa, a community in the Greater Accra region but his inability to discuss his intention with his supervisor nearly caused him his marks.

> She [name withheld] called me. She was very furious because I didn't discuss anything with her. I had to be tactical and explained everything to her. In fact, I was very hot but she helped me at the end of the day.
>
> *(Interview, Past graduate theatre student, 2021)*

It was evident from the findings that collaboration which took lecturers outside of campus to the CCIs or other institutions took the forms of workshops, writing forums, dance tutorials, stage plays, festival organisation and adjudication of artistic performances. From their profiles, lecturers from the selected departments staged plays and presented dance tutorials in schools, at the National Theatre, Ministry of Interior, Ghana Immigration Service, the US Embassy, the British High Commissioner's residence and churches. While some lecturers, in collaboration with the National Theatre of Ghana and Pan African Writers Association (PAWA), organised writing forums for students and the general public, others served as board members for arts organisations, adjudicators for artistic competitions and shows organised by media institutions in Ghana (Aryeetey, 2011). One participant confirmed lecturers' participation in the Ghana@50 independence celebrations in 2007 where they collaborated with other artistic organisations in presenting theatrical pieces that re-enacted

historical events in Ghana, classical and modern plays, festivals of traditional culture and dance parades.

> During the Ghana@50 celebrations, some of us … I led the group. We joined other institutions to present performances at the National Theatre, here at the SPA and other parts of Accra. In fact, we worked on the cultural displays presented on the Independence Day. I know other lecturers did other things but … I contributed so much.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre lecturer, 2018)*

This was supported by a theatre presentation by a lecturer at the Theatre Department at the National Theatre during the celebrations of the 50th year of independence of Ghana:

> Presentation of Joe De-Graft's Ananse and the Gum Man for Ghana@50 theatre classics at the National Theatre in 2007.
>
> *(Vice Chancellor's Annual Report: Aryeetey, 2011)*

Prospects of Collaboration for Sustainable Development

Partnership offers "new opportunities for universities to reconfigure the way instruction gets funded, developed, marketed, delivered, and supported" (Educause, 2003 as cited in Prigge & Torraco, 2006). It often emphasised inclusiveness and participatory stakeholder participation to add value to the implementation process of sustainable development goals. However, contrary to this view, most participants could hardly identify or figure out the impact or links of their partnership to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Two possible explanations: either they have little knowledge about the targets of the SDGs or their assumption is that the SDGs are focused structures of economic, social and environmental challenges (Wanjiku, 2019). The few who could create the links emphasised the impact of their partnership on quality education – SDG 5 – and cultural education. To some of the participants, the primary goal of their collaborations was to bridge the gap between theory and practice, help students in the acquisition of new skills necessary for the advancement of quality education in the performing arts and other subjects. They accepted the fact that teaching and learning within the confines of the university created deficits for practice, a critical aspect of the learning outcomes of the student. To curb such future occurrences, they encouraged students' interactions with the industry and other spaces outside of the university.

> I mostly encourage my students to go out to interact with the outside world. They turn to learn more and even understand what is taught in here. Some even return with new ideas which benefit some of us. For the undergraduate students, it is compulsory for them to go for [industry]

attachment and internship, that is, from level 200 to 400. The graduate students were made to go on internship until we revamped the curriculum in 2016 to include them.

(Interview, Dance lecturer, 2018)

Such interactions, from my perspective, were avenues for developing better learning spaces and practices for students to exercise their critical thinking prowess within a very competitive job market where workforce competitiveness is determined by various factors like level and quality of education (Damoc, 2017). These determinants are of particular concern because they measure the potential of the human resource capital necessary for career progression while acting as "cornerstone of the controversial 'skills gap', based on a common complaint of corporations regarding a shortage of skilled employees" (Damoc, 2017, p. 1146).

Another interesting highlight was that interactions with schools at the lower level of education were not just to help students create a better understanding of the English Language and Literature-in-English subjects. Interactions surreptitiously served as avenues for projecting and promoting performing arts programmes of SPA. Staged plays and aftermath interactions in schools helped students develop better understanding and appreciation for plays texts used for their final West African Examination assessment, but the primary goal of these presentations was to deal with the stigmas attached to the study and practice of the performing arts within the Ghanaian space and to whip students' interest in the discipline. Mostly, students of performing arts are tagged with the word "dondology" which literally translates to people who play "donno" – an hour-glass shaped drum. This tag connotes that learning the performing arts at a higher level of education was "useless" or worthless and no wonder students and practitioners of the arts are constantly mocked and looked down on. This stigma continued to affect intakes for the performing arts programmes in the university and it was for this challenge that students and faculty constantly interacted with schools and the general public through workshops, tutorials, writing forums and other community development projects as highlighted in the Vice Chancellor's annual report, 2011.

1. *Death on Trial* (A play based on the mythology of how Dwenti, a native of Kumawu Bodomase, fought death and captured Death's Mortal Box: "Owuo Apakan") written and produced with students of Wesley College, Kumasi in 2009
2. Adapted and directed "The Sound of Music" (a musical) by Rodgers and Hammerstein. It was performed by Ghana International School students at the National Theatre in 2010
3. Re-discovering Puppetry – Theatre for development Experiment: Jasikan College of Education Project 2010
4. A workshop on "Dance To Connect" with the US Embassy in Ghana in 2010

Largely, these collaborations, per views from some participants, occasioned increases in the numbers of students' intake or broaden their learner base. As students interacted with performers and academics during lecture-demonstrations and hands-on workshops, they develop interests for the arts and by that pursue arts disciplines at the university to be artists and creative thinkers and professionals.

> I presume some of our collaborations have impacts on our student intakes. We experience an increase in applicants for the programmes day-in-day-out though we could not take all of them. Though I can't tell for a fact, I think more senior high students get to understand our programmes and so apply to them.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre Lecturer, 2018)*

Critically, these forms of collaborations bridged certain gaps in performing arts teaching and learning, especially between pre-tertiary levels of education and the tertiary level. The paradox is that performing arts education, until recently, was not given the needed attention in the curricula for the basic school level which implies Pre-school, Primary classes 1–6 (6–11 years), and Junior High School forms 1–3 (12–15 years). Even at the Senior High School (15/16–17/18 years) level, it is only Music that is studied as an elective subject. Other arts forms such as Theatre and Dance are omitted from the curriculum. To this end, performing arts education continued to defy the pedagogical principle of continuity and progression because their structure appears to be operating in incongruent trajectories (Nii-Dortey & Arhine, 2019). Thus, populating campuses of these schools with performing arts forms, taught informally, somehow creates an imaginary bridge between their learning at the basic level and reading them at the tertiary level or what Sharma (2018) terms "holistic process of education" where there are no breaks or "raptures" in learning.

From the submissions of student participants, though such exposure served as avenues for them to marry what they learnt on campus with practice on the field, it was more of a symbiotic relationship aimed at contributing to the achievement of Goal 8 (decent work and economic growth) and Goal 9 (industry, innovation and infrastructure). On the one hand, such linkages granted students exposure to real-world experiences in the CCIs which they applied once they graduated and entered the industry. It also created enabling conditions for them to access possible job avenues, professional development, social connections and the ability to address community needs (Tumuti et al., 2013) even before they graduated and entered the job market.

> When lecturers engage us students in projects outside of the school, we are able to build on the experiences and the exposure such outings give us. I, for example, I use that to create links in there so that it will not be difficult to get job after completion.
>
> *(Interview, Dance Student, 2018)*

Some student participants were also of the opinion that once they move to the firms, they assess the market for entrepreneurial possibilities. Thus, they explored existing trends in artistic production and promotion; market strength and determinants of firms' competitive advantage, consumer preferences and taste (Porter, 2008) which most often underpinned their creation of physical or virtual start-ups even before they graduated. Consequently, most of the students confirmed that they had formed groups or individual artistic firms which worked as part of their work experience, one of the most-emphasised requirements of most firms during recruitment. On the other hand, participants confirmed that firms in the industry capitalise on the linkage to monitor and mentor students who have the pulse for the emerging markets. They learn, from the students, new ways of doing things or both coded and tacit knowledge which they directly applied to industry practices – be it prototypes or new processes – in order to alter the nature and direction of the entire business world (Tumuti et al., 2013).

Judging from profiles of academics and interactions of students, it could be said that partnerships within SPA turned to conscientise communities at the periphery of the institution on social, political and environmental issues/challenges which might result in the sustenance of communities and cities, which is Goal 11 of the SDGs. For example, lecturers had been using theatrical activities, dance-theatre and puppetry for effecting changes in society – issues pertaining to cultural resilience and financial literacy.

1. Designed, directed and produced skits on proper financial behaviour in three Ghanaian languages, namely Twi, Ewe and Ga: A SPEEDGhana (Support Programme for Enterprise Empowerment and Development)/GTZ (German Technical Cooperation) sponsored Radio and Theatre For Change programme aired on Peace FM, Volta Star Radio and Obonu FM in 2010
2. Designed, directed and produced skits together with Abibigromma (Resident Theatre Group, University of Ghana) and SPEEDGhana/GTZ for a Road Show on Financial Literacy and Popular Theatre, which toured 105 towns and communities within the ten regions of Ghana from 2009 to 2010
3. Orderly Disorderly. A trilogy of exhibition with blaxTARLINES KUMASI in collaboration with Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), 2017

Artistic offerings of these sort produced were largely a blend of music, dance, mime, movement and dialogue with a strong social, spiritual and folkloric base and whose primary objective was cultural education and social change (Collins, n.d.; Obeng, 2014).

Challenges

A number of challenges emerged and among them was the issue of power dynamics or what one interview participant termed "battle of egos". This power

play, according to Comunian (2017), allowed the dominant culture and by this actors from the university to set the "terms and conditions and framework for the collaboration" (p. 236). Submissions from one of the participants validated this assertion that so far as the government did not consult (maybe consult the knowledge holders in academia) on management appointments to most of the pro-cultural government institutions, there was no need for collaboration:

> Why should I collaborate? They sit in high places in government and choose from their cronies. Government has never consulted those of us who know the right human resource for management positions. We are just watching them.
>
> *(Interview, Theatre Lecturer, 2018)*

Further checks indicated that most of government appointees, in recent times, were from the industry and this might have caused such bickering. Such positions affected co-teaching and co-production of knowledge where these very appointees could make significant impact either with the provision of their space or their expertise. From another dimension, actors from the SPA designed and controlled most of the collaborations either for their career progression or for the teaching and learning activities of their students. That was not to say that practitioners in the industry never initiated collaborative projects; their initiatives, compared to those within the university, were intangible. In-house conflict was also a barrier to expanding collaborative activities in the departments. Conflict (covert or overt) among academics created barriers to collaborations. Some of the submissions exhibited issues of cautiousness on the parts of lecturers and students as to how they related to their colleagues. From some student participants, some students faced intimidation and victimisation due to their association with some lecturers. Some lecturers had similar experiences when they associated with fellow colleagues. Lecturers were unwilling to link with those in the industry for fear of being victimised, especially where the lecturer was in the early stage of career progression. All these combined to create this public impression about the absence of collaboration between academia and industry. One lecturer participant even stated that academics were not doing well in collaborating with the CCIs:

> Academics are not doing well at all. We do not collaborate as we should. There are some of my colleagues who have never collaborated. All they do are within the confines of the SPA. We need to expand that aspect of our mandate.
>
> *(Interview, Dance Lecturer, 2018)*

Differences in institutional cultures acted as barriers to effective collaboration. For example, university structures and policies together with policies from National Accreditation Board (NAB) and National Council for Tertiary

Education (NCTE), now merged and called Ghana Tertiary Education Commission (GTEC), defined and regulated teaching and learning activities in the universities. As a result, collaborators from industry who could have made a huge impact on teaching and learning could not break this glass ceiling due to their academic qualification or other requisite demands like expertise from GTEC. This might have resulted in the limited number of departmental collaborations and their level of informality.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Echoing Hendrik Alpen's statement that today's systemic challenges require collaboration and that one company can only go so far alone until it hits a barrier, and then collaboration needs to happen for practical reasons, the researcher was optimistic that collaborations across sectors in Ghana could be considered for their positives (Enright et al., 2018). To some firms, partnerships deliver improved and innovative solutions to economic, social and environmental problems through the combination of resources and capabilities of actors whose goal is the provision of social goods such as clean water, health or education (Tulder et al., 2016). They also allow firms to build and improve on their capabilities to sustain long-term competitive advantage (Dyer & Hatch, 2006) which drives sustainable development.

By examining the case of the School of Performing Arts, the researcher was not seeking to evaluate existing collaborations but explored to understand the varied forms of collaborative practices, their impacts on sustainable development goals and the challenges thereof. That said, the concept of collaboration as assumed by actors within the case studied was expanded to incorporate all forms of relationships – networking, cooperation, partnership and collaboration (Schottle et al., 2014; Stoner, 2013) – despite the seemingly differences among these concepts. The assumption is that all these forms relied on a form of relationship building geared towards the achievement of a goal. In normative literature, collaboration is akin to relationships created between or among two or more people, actors, institutions or entities, a process and not a one-time shot activity and the process encourages a form of relationship that is driven by a common vision based on trust and transparency with the goal to jointly maximise the value for the customer by solving problems mutually through interactive processes, which are planned together, and by sharing responsibilities, risk and rewards among the key participants (Schottle et al., 2014).

The study findings showed that collaborations were more informal and more of individual initiatives. There were no written Memorandum of Agreements whatsoever. Actors relied heavily on verbal agreements based on trust, transparency, need and reciprocity to forge these collaborations. In spite of their informality, they were the preferred choices of actors due to the absence of bureaucratic structures and decisions enshrined in institutional rigid cultures. Thus, collaborations were initiatives of academics and students who created links

with CCIs, schools, churches, embassies, security services and ministries in government. These actors created spaces for the presentation, projection and promotion of dance and theatrical practices either for career progression or as tool for development.

Collaborations took varied forms like internship, industry attachment, consultancy, guest lecture, writing forum, workshops, community development projects, to mention but few. These created avenues for academics and students to interact at the periphery of the university so as to impact the economy, contest social and environmental issues, drive and improve policies, advance cultural and intellectual well-being of communities (Findler et al., 2019; Purcell et al., 2019). Practices of partnership schemes in SPA acted as "stop-gaps" between pre-tertiary education and tertiary education, particularly in the area of performing arts studies. They also helped in shaping students' understanding and appreciation of some subjects at the lower levels of education apart from preparing graduates for the job market prior to their completion of the study programme. Graduates are prepared for the market, bequeathing to them the know-how on how to marry studies in the university and practice in the field. Inadvertently, these interactions had some positives on SPA, CCIs and other institutions. While students used interactions as a springboard for career progression, academics used that to facilitate the three core missions of their work. Industry players also relied on these interactions for coded and tacit knowledge resources to revamp industry practices. In this sense, the researcher conjectured that collaboration among pro-cultural and creative institutions is a vital conduit and nourishment of a creative ecosystem in Ghana which is gradually becoming a "knowledge desert" – depletion in creative knowledge, creativity, innovation. The ecosystem needs strong and formalised collaborations (together with these informal forms) to forge resilience in this increasingly complex world.

Collaboration between SPA and the CCIs proved essential to the achievement of some SDGs. Traditional boundaries between these two "worlds" were gradually becoming blurred, creating new opportunities and new possibilities for each sector. By sharing information, resources, activities and capabilities, collaborators found innovative ways to address challenges related to education, socio-economic growth, environment, health, social cohesion which are core drivers to sustainable cities and communities. A continuous practice of such partnerships agenda could expose collaborators (and novice collaborators) to and equip them with real-life and sustainable innovation practices, sustain industry practices, enhance university profile, reputation and brand image in communities, creating sustainable transformation to challenges related to economic, environmental, physical and social structures.

Concerns with institutional culture barriers, level of informality of collaboration, in-house conflicts, "battle of egos" or power dynamics, challenges with assessment and the short-term nature of the collaborations call for the creation and re-creation of what Ray Oldenburg calls "third space" – a space in the larger community which may be virtual or physical; a space

that embraces social and academic differences or diversity; a space where knowledge and experiences are shared for a collective good (Oldenburg, 1997; Smyth, 2015; Wakholi & Wright, 2013).

In the CCI context in Ghana, examples of physical spaces may be festivals, arts/social centres, churches, theatres, to mention but few, while the virtual form spans all digital and social media forms. From the discussions, collaborative activities in SPA relied mostly on the physical spaces and rarely on the virtual. Most of the collaborations happened in secondary schools, churches, markets, community parks, theatres and a few on campus. Though Wakholi and Wright (2013) posit that physical spaces are the most efficient third spaces, the researcher recommends virtual spaces which could also resolve most of the barriers high-lighted in the discussions. Attention could be given to the creation of third spaces within the curricula for the various departments if academics viewed the curricula as a space and then liberated the curricula and other learning activities from the physical walls of the university by "co-locating" the curriculum to the wider communities. To this end, they could create digital or virtual space for learning and collaboration between and across particular courses and course cohorts; between and across formal and informal learning communities; between and across the university, local community and the wider society (Oldenburg, 1989, as cited in Smyth, 2015).

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10

INPUTS TOWARDS A COHERENT CULTURAL POLICY IN BENIN BASED ON AN ANALYSIS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

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Abstract

The mechanism in policy formulation and policy changes in the Republic of Benin remains the work of a small group of experts and government officials rather than a concrete result of social dialogue, participatory action and the protection of the access to cultural participation. The result of such an exclusive approach faces the same challenges like most African countries' cultural policies documents. These challenges include, but are not limited to, incoherent and inappropriate cultural policy instruments, inadequate policy models, resulting into inoperative policy strategic projects. This chapter aims to extensively document the history of the cultural policies in Benin through the analysis of Benin's different cultural strategies since 1972 till 2021: Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence (1972), Cultural Charter in the Republic of Benin (1991), Benin Government Action Programme 2016–2021 and its Cultural Policy strategic orientation (2016–2021). It will therefore outline the concrete positive and negative impact of the cultural policy implementation and will make some recommendations for a more effective and coherent cultural policy formulation in Benin. This chapter tends to make an original contribution to the research and documentation in the field of cultural policy in Benin and provoke more thoughts on various cultural policy processes and instruments.

Introduction

Cultural policy is an essential field of public planning, administration and governance. It helps to better plan and position culture as a trigger of social, human and economic development for a state, a region and a specific territory. In Benin, the very first policy framework with regard to cultural goods and services was

the 1956 French Statute No. 56-1106, which dealt with the protection of monuments and sites of historic, scientific, artistic or scenic character. When the country adopted a new political system in 1990, it promoted the right for every person to culture and established the obligations for the state to safeguard and promote the national cultural values. The latter pathed the way for the development of Benin's first Cultural Charter in 1991. Considered as the unique cultural policy document, the legal document establishes obligations for different stakeholders in developing and promoting arts and culture in Benin. Nevertheless, the various political authorities from 1996 to 2021 interpret and identify different priorities for cultural development. This chapter intends, firstly, to document the historiography of cultural policy formulation in Benin, and secondly, to outline the concrete impact of its implementation and make some recommendations for a more effective and coherent cultural policy formulation in Benin.

Prolegomena

From the outset, it is necessary to underline that approaching research from this angle amounts to plunging directly into a chasm of semantics, referential and documentary ambiguities. That is why it is quite impossible not to start with a conceptual clarification. It is a question of re-specifying, following numerous debates, the concept of cultural policy, not as a category but as a collective attitude, as a philosophy of governance of a very ambiguous yet universally adopted category: culture. Even more precisely in the context of a small country like Benin with an unclear political status and model, the state of existence of this concept helps to reframe its limits.

Conceptual Clarifications of Cultural Policy

This chapter defines cultural policy as all the legislative or non-legislated provisions, therefore customary, put in place by a territorial entity to guarantee the expression of living together while respecting the individual or community manifestations of identity of its citizens. According to John Hawkes, the aim of cultural policy is to enrich the lives of all citizens in many different ways, to protect and enhance the rights of citizens to freedom of expression and accession to information and resources (Hawkes, 2001). In a discussion with Dr Predrag Cvetičanin[1] from the University of Arts in Belgrade (Serbia), cultural policy is a game of four families where an artist is at the heart of a cultural system with key partners including audience, decision-makers and mediators. Therefore, every citizen is a possible family member.

It thus shades the fragmentary perception of French specialists for whom cultural policies are a French specificity.

> French cultural policy observers and actors have often tended to elevate the hexagonal configuration to the rank of "model". A first reading of the

contributions in this volume invites us to go beyond this Franco-French tropism, and to strongly relativize it, even if the experience spurred by André Malraux, at the dawn of the Fifth Republic, could have been emulated, or not to be ignored, mainly in Europe and in Canada, by the actors of the public policies for culture.

(Poirrier, 2011, translated by author)

At the heuristic level, the approach thus aims to apprehend not practices based on comparisons but exclusive approaches enriched by a globalising temporality. It is crucial to understand in a systemic way the anchor points and the attitudes which determine the relationships of a specific territorial entity to a rather wide and vague field of culture. Vincent Dubois (1999) asserts that:

the genesis of this policy is not limited to the origins of the various forms of support from the public authorities for the arts: it also consists of a specific integration and arrangement of these multiple interventions in a set which is not limited to the sum of the parts which compose it.

(p. 8)

However, by referring "this integration and this arrangement" to "particular historical conditions", Dubois locks himself in a specifically French perspective and perception of cultural policy. He then tries to accommodate a specific experience to a more general attitude both from the historical point of view and the territorial one. He reduces cultural policy to "the intervention of governments for the arts and their treatment by the public administration" (Dubois, 1999, p. 8).

Jean-Michel Djian (2006) shrinks this heuristic vision when he writes that "cultural policy is a French invention" (p. 9). The concern of political authorities and leaders, whether monarchical, religious or republican, is to try to influence creation and monopolise the heritage not only of their own but of other peoples. Needless to focus further on the polemic around the origin of cultural policy. The interest here is to further explore the specific aim and role of the concept. Cultural policy is usually directed towards three basic tasks including (1) the development of contemporary artistic productions, (2) the encouragement of availability of cultural goods and participation of the population in cultural life (cultural participation) and (3) the preservation of cultural heritage and cultural identity.

According to Nancy Duxbury, Anita Kangas and Christiaan De Beukelaer (2017) in the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*,

cultural policy can play four roles towards sustainable development: first, to safeguard and sustain cultural practices and rights; second, to "green" the operations and impacts of cultural organizations and industries; third, to raise awareness and catalyse actions about sustainability and climate change; and fourth, to foster "ecological citizenship". The challenge for

cultural policy is to help forge and guide actions along these co-existing and overlapping strategic paths towards sustainable development.

(p. 214)

It is then to protect and promote cultural diversity.

In the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, cultural diversity is defined as "many ways in which the different cultures of groups and societies find expression. These cultural expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies, and from generation to generation. Cultural diversity, however, is evident not only in the varied ways in which cultural heritage is expressed, augmented and transmitted but also in the different modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies that are used" (UNESCO, 2005, p. 13). Based on this definition, three patterns for cultural policy can be identified: artistic creation, cultural intervention and heritage, all based on facilitating meaningful participation of citizens. In fact, biodiversity can also be linked to cultural diversity. It can be even deduced that this is as vital for humanity as the equational reduction of cultures to the globalisation of the same mode of domination can be fatal to it.

Such an approach is not only anthropological but it is also pragmatic and globalising as it constantly confronts the local and the global and situates the problem both in present forms and in history, both in creation and in heritage, both in a collective approach and in individual expressions. The concept of cultural democracy in such an approach to cultural policies takes into account the definition of cultural democracy which "is the right and the need for citizen to participate in determining the directions that cultural development takes" (Adams & Goldbard, 2002, p. 128). For Dr Sacha Kagan the concept of cultural democracy comprises a set of related commitments:

- Protecting and promoting cultural diversity, and the right to culture for everyone in our society and around the world
- Encouraging active participation in community cultural life
- Enabling people to participate in policy decisions that affect the quality of our cultural lives
- Assuring fair and equitable access to cultural resources and support (Kagan, 2011)

This chapter will analyse how the public authorities in Benin integrate these patterns and commitments into their cultural governance objectives.

Peoples in the State of Benin

This question cannot be answered without the reminder that the notion of the state as a territorial entity endowed with a people and a government is relatively

artificial here insofar as this artificially divided territorial entity is made up of several peoples with diverse and even divergent ways of life, political attitudes and customs.

The south of this territory has always been occupied by two peoples: the Gbè and the K'áǎrɔ̀ better known by the synecdotal exonyms of Yorùbá or Nago. Although these two peoples are differentiable by their languages and sociopolitical organisations, they have shared the same territory since at least the 15th century, so much that the first Western explorers, depending on whether they were Portuguese or English, attributed to each the entire territory from Accra to Lagos for the former, and from Benin to Accra for the latter. The meetings and connivances allowed for the expansion of isoglosses, the exchange of technologies and the extension of religious forms. Thus, on the one hand, we have the various Gbè speakers and their communities who claim to originate from àjǎtádó. They practise *vodun*, and have had a political organisation based on patriarchal succession since the 16th century. On the other, the K'áǎrɔ̀ speakers with their communities claim to be Ilé Ifɛ̀, worship the Orisha and have a social organisation based on the election of a ɔba (patriarch) and a government consisting of a number of societies. These two peoples share Ifá or Fa, an oral book of all knowledge, abusively stamped as traditional geomancy.

In the northwest, peoples of Gur origin are scattered on either side of the Atakora mountain range: Gurmance, Otamari, Natemba and Wama. They have a social organisation based on matriarchy and ancestor worship. Some of them, such as the Otamari, have an acephalous political structure in keeping with the layout of the territory. The latter is composed of hamlets. Each hamlet consists of a space dedicated to the spirits and inaccessible to humans, a religious sanctuary and scattered 'tatas'. The Gur people today cover a country that extends to the north of Togo and Ghana and the south of Burkina Faso.

The northeast is the territory of the Batombu. This is the Borgu, which extends from the edge of the Atakora to the edge of the Xawusa country in present-day Nigeria. This is a feudal people since at least the 15th century.

To this territorial distribution, we must add the nomadic Fulani people, who are present throughout West Africa, and therefore throughout Benin. It should also be noted that there were colonies of K'áǎrɔ̀ in the north and, above all, the presence of the Dendi from the end of the Sonrai Empire in the entire North. But we should note that Dendi is, in a good part, a colonial language there. In Djougou, for instance, where it is spoken by the strict majority of the population, this majority is not Dendi. Ditto for Parakou. The real Dendi are found towards the Niger River where they represent the south of Sonrai.

In total, the linguistic sub-families of the South and those of the North cover historically and geographically different peoples: the whole Gulf of Guinea for some, the Mandingue, Songhai and Hausa territories for others. It is also interesting to note that historians do not report pre-colonial conflicts between these two universes, but rather within each of them.

Following the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), all these peoples were frag-mented and then distributed over territories now belonging to France, Great Britain and Germany. The current territory of Benin belonged to France. Thus, the Republic of Benin represents the territory known on maps before 1976 as Dahomey. According to French chroniclers of the colonial period, it is a country of paradoxes. The densest of French West Africa, Afrique-Occidentale française (AOF), but rich only in its population. It is a transit corridor between Nigeria, the most populous, densest and economically richest country in West Africa, Niger, the largest, Burkina Faso, Togo, a small corridor of about 50 kilometres to the south that separates Benin from Ghana, and the Atlantic Ocean. Benin's surface area varies in time, according to sources, but also actually on the ground, according to the activities of neighbouring countries. It is about 114,763 km². Its population is estimated today at more than 12 million inhabitants, of which more than one million live in the economic capital, Cotonou. Two-fifths of the population live in rural areas. The rural exodus has accelerated over the last 20 years, stripping the countryside of its young, able-bodied people in favour of an activity that pollutes but provides an immediate income: 'zemijan' motorbike taxi.

Linguistic Status

The official language in Benin is French. The language of the coloniser. It has the specificity of not corresponding to the mother tongue of any sociocultural group, but sadly gathers the largest number of speakers compared to the local lan-guages. It should be noted that the vast majority of these speakers are in a diglos-sic situation: apart from French, they speak at least one other Beninese language. Benin has more than 40 national languages. Unfortunately, nowadays, more and more parents are educating their children not with their mother tongue as they themselves have been accustomed to but with French. Linguists in Benin have been advocating for the promotion of national languages for years as it is recog-nised that losing language is losing an identity.

Cultural Diversity

Despite its small size, Benin is a territory of diversity: diversity of the cultures of men and women who inhabit it, diversity of nature and diversity of communica-tion possibilities with the world. If cultural diversity is used by politicians as an electoral argument, most Beninese agree on the need to make cultural and natu-ral diversities more fruitful for a more rational construction of their 'nation'. But not many people invest a serious and consequent reflection on the question. In sum, cultural diversity is a valuable asset for Benin's cultural policies. However, it is compromised by the absence of appropriate reflection on the development of policies based on what exists, due to a foreignness complex.

Public Policies in Benin

This description of the Beninese State helps to understand the relevance or irrelevance of any public policy on this territory, whether in the ambiguous field of culture or in any other field. The expression public policy is relatively recent in the French and francophone tradition. In her course on the public cultural policies, Sylvia Girel notes about 40 definitions on the basis of the analysis of the public policies realised by Thoenig in 1980 She recalls some of them:

> A public policy is what governments choose to do or not to do.
>   A public policy is the product of the activity of an authority invested with public power and governmental legitimacy.
>   A public policy is a program of actions by one or more public or governmental authorities in a given sector of society or in a given space.
>   A public policy is made up of activities oriented towards the solution of public problems in the environment, and this by political actors whose relations are structured, all of which evolve over time.
>   A public policy exists when a local or national political authority attempts, by means of a coordinated program of action, to modify the cultural, social or economic environment of social actors generally understood in a sectoral logic.
>
> *(Girel, 2010, p. 5)*

Basically, all these definitions are far from being contradictory. They contain the whole idea of a public good, of a political will to develop it, of strategies and sectoral actions aimed at specific objectives for this development.

In the Beninese context, public policies conceived in this way have taken the form of a document available to all citizens, structured in sectoral analysis and projects to be carried out by the government from 1972 onwards with the Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence. This programme itself was declined in triennial state plans when the Revolutionary Military Government (RGM) was metamorphosed into a unique party: the Parti de la Révolution Populaire du Benin (PRPB). Following the National Conference of the Vital Forces, which put an end to this regime, successive governments since 1991 have called the public policy document the Government Action Program (PAG), with titles evocative of the general ambition: The White Book, Building the Benin of the Future, Benin Alafia, Emerging Benin, Refoundation, and Revealed Benin.

One might think that public policies appeared in Benin at the same time as in France, because of a fashionable effect. This is not the case. A short chronological reminder of the country's political instability explains this situation better.

Cultural Policies in Benin: Process and Effectiveness

This chapter discusses cultural policy in Benin from 1972 because the period before does not allow the country to have one. Through the chronology below, we will observe that the economic situation remained dependent on the goodwill of the French metropolis. The many different governments had more to do with fighting to maintain themselves in power than with initiating the country's development through public policies.

Chronology 1872–1972

France invaded and placed Dahomey, today known as Republic of Benin, under its protectorate in 1872. In 1904 Benin officially became part of francophone West Africa (AOF). It obtained its independence on 1 August 1960 and Hubert Maga became the first President of the Republic of Dahomey. On 5 November 1960, Dahomey's constitution was adopted and legislative elections were held on 11 December 1960, which resulted in the victory of the Dahomean Unity Party (PDU), a union of Sourou Migan Apithy's Dahomean Nationalists Party (PND) and Hubert Maga's Dahomean Democratic Rally (RDD). In October 1963, the country experienced strikes and demonstrations of popular discontent. On 28 October 1963, General Soglo took over power by a coup d'état. In December 1963, Sourou Migan Apithy became President of the Republic and Justin Ahomadégbé became Prime Minister and Vice President. On 5 January 1964, a new constitution was adopted. The President of the National Assembly, Tahirou Congacou formed the new government on 29 November 1965 and was deposed on 22 December 1965 by a coup d'état led by General Christophe Soglo who returned to power. He was overthrown by a coup d'état led by Commander Kouandété on 17 December 1967. Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Alley formed a government. On 26 June 1968, Emile Derlin Zinsou also took power by coup d'état. On 10 December 1969, Lieutenant Colonel Kouandété organised another coup d'état and President Emile Derlin Zinsou was removed from power. On 13 December 1969 the country experienced another coup and Paul Emile de Souza took power. On 7May, 1970, a Presidential Council composed of Sourou Migan Apithy, Hubert Maga and Justin Ahomadebgé was installed. On 26 October 1972, the country experienced yet another coup d'Etat by a group of young soldiers led by the battalion chief Mathieu Kérékou. The Revolutionary Military Government (GMR) was formed. Therefore from 1960 to 1972, in twelve years of its existence, the country has not experienced any political stability. At the sectoral level, actions were similarly dictated by a French official to all the former colonies grouped in pan-African francophone structures: Conference of African and Malagasy ministers using French as official language, Regional Centers, African and Malagasy Councils. The country shared 1956 the French Statute No. 56-1106 which dealt with the protection of monuments and sites of historic, scientific, artistic or scenic character with all other French colonies. It was only in June 1968 that the former Republic of Dahomey developed and

adopted the decree No. 35/PR/MENJS concerning the protection of cultural property (1 June 1968), which followed exactly the pattern of general French legislation in providing for a classification system of monuments and sites and forbids exporting cultural property. This first attempt has never been used before a coup d'Etat happened. The first president of the Republic, Hubert Maga, explicitly recognised this when he stated:

> But time has passed, things have followed their inexorable course, and everything seems to have passed in such a way and so quickly that it is difficult to keep something concrete, something positive.

The 1972 coup d'état thus upset the situation in so far as the Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence, just by its title, completely challenges this mode of operation. From the first lines, it specifies the awareness of this bias:

> The fundamental characteristic, and the first source of the backwardness of our country, is the foreign domination. The history of this domination is one of political oppression, economic exploitation, cultural alienation, and the blossoming of intertribal and interregional contradictions.
>
> *(République du Bénin, 1972)*

Thus, although the first president, Hubert Maga, was previously Secretary of State for Culture in the government that came out of the Loi Cadre, one can only envisage real public policies, cultural policy in particular, from the Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence.

Context of the First Public Policy Process in Benin

As soon as the 1972 coup d'état took place, a government made up solely of young officers entrusted the left-wing cadres (youth movements and unions) with the mission of elaborating a public policy to meet the aspirations of the masses that the said movements were supposed to represent within their respective organisations. The leaguers, young left-wing cadres organised in Trotskyist structure and having infiltrated most of the invited organisations, put in minority the other tendencies by making allegiance to the military and asked to co-govern with the latter. In 1972, they proposed to the Revolutionary Military Government (RGM) a programme called 'New Policy of National Independence'.

This programme of New Policy of National Independence advocates a vast revolutionary movement of national liberation to: "Liquidate definitively the old policy through the men, the structures and the ideology that carry it" (République du Bénin, 1972). For this, it decides to: "Rely first on our own forces, on our own resources and on the creative initiative of the broad working masses of our cities and countryside" (République du Bénin, 1972).

The military government appropriates the programme, presents it and asso-ciates the leaguers to the management of the country. The National League of Patriotic Youth could only gain access to leadership by associating itself with other youth organisations and unions. The political programme enjoyed unprec-edented stability, even if the internal contradictions of power gave it a leading or supporting role depending on the period. In 1974, to counter the growing adversity of France, which had not anticipated the ability of the new rulers to succeed in getting rid of French authority, they had adopted Marxism-Leninism and carved out a shield for themselves in the socialist bloc. The New Policy of National Independence was organised in four main stages:

- The great revolutionary movement of national liberation where they were still when the regime changed
- The people's revolution, where the people should take all the power and manage it according to democratic centralism and the mass line
- The scientific socialist inspired by Marxism-Leninism, where life would be good for everyone and for all because everyone would have the minimum necessary for a decent life
- The communism, society of abundance

France was more upset and launched a merciless war against these young leaders. But the youth kept repeating and sensitising citizens with:

> There is money in your country. I am not asking you to give it to me for personal use. I earn fifteen francs a month. That is my pay and it is enough for me. I simply want you to know that there have been three men in this country, three politicians, who each earned twenty-five francs a month unnecessarily. From now on, the seventy-five francs will remain in the state's coffers. That is the truth. And it is a revolution.
>
> *(Popular say in Benin from collective memory, translated by author)*

In 1975, Dahomey became Benin. The government opened up to civilian cad-res through the Party of the Popular Revolution of Benin (PRPB) but closed the door of legality to any opposition, in particular, the only emerging one: The Union of Communists of Dahomey (UCD). In 1976, due to the fact that a provision of 15 April 1974 had dissolved youth organisations and movements "whose multiplicity and divergence in political orientation meant dispensa-tions of energies and negation of the popular base that the application of the Discourse Program of New Policy of National Independence required" (La Rédaction, 1980, p. 13). The single party was installed. Paradoxically and to the surprise of institutions such as the World Bank, which dedicated a report to it, and UNESCO, which decided to support the New School as a pilot experi-ment, the socio-economic situation has never been so good. Growth, almost no

unemployment and the reduction of all deficits were combined with a semblance of social justice. Corruption was severely punished, regardless of its extent. The schooling rate has been doubled in ten years. The fall in the mortality rate has been helped by the multiplication of health structures.

However, it cannot be said that the people as a whole have fully embraced the new situation. Their involvement is limited to local elections, which, whatever one may think, have been acts of direct democracy. But since the localities had little power, democratic centralism and the mass line were ironised; 'In the central committee, not everyone is in the center' became a popular saying.

All in all, this so-called revolutionary period saw the emergence of left-wing politics with a single party, the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin, whose active and known clandestine opposition was communist. Thanks to political stability, the support of the army, and the adhesion of most youth movements, this regime succeeded in solving fundamental social and economic problems, which allowed it to lay the foundations of a relatively sovereign state. We can recognise that the notion of nation was born with the feeling of belonging to the same cultural, political and geographical entity, of having a common destiny. And given the backlash observed in the social and economic situation, it can be said that this is finally the only definitive achievement of this regime, without which the elections that followed its fall would not have taken place as peacefully, as differently as before.

However, while the Program Discourse on a New Policy of National Independence envisages first of all the building of this nationalist spirit among the citizens, the struggle soon shifted focus on ideological questions that are relatively external to the present situation of the population.

The Process and Effectiveness of Cultural Policies in Benin

We must first recognise that the Ministry of Culture in its present form was created in France under the Loi Cadre. After the French Revolution, attempts were made to regulate culture through, among other things, what was then called the Ministry of Fine Arts.

By assimilating the French model, French-speaking African executives were trained at the Regional Center for Cultural Action (CRAC) in Lomé, Togo, to serve in the ministries in charge of culture that were in the making and which, for lack of a framework and allocated budget, were coupled with other fields (e.g., national education, youth, sports and communication). In fact, these government officials could not make the link with the general history of Africa in which, for example, in the Gulf of Benin, artistic creation, cultural intervention and heritage occupied such a privileged place in the governance of the former states that they were directly related to the prerogatives of the chief and, by delegation, to constituted societies represented in the government. This is because the stakes of a cultural policy are at once highly political, economic and social. The strategic recommendations of this policy imbricate these sectors in such a

way as to represent an ideology. These sectors, in fact, consciously or not, imply the activity of the totality of the citizens. From this point of view, the energy, the work and the speech of the artist become priority since, in direct contact with the population which is their only censor, they can carry this ideology or denounce it. François Mitterrand had understood it. So did Jerry Rawlings and Thomas Sankara. This is the main reason for the place of artists in the strategy. They are the tip of the iceberg.

In the case of Benin, there were three contradictory attitudes:

- A rational policy based on a clear and well-defined strategic objective, which led to concrete actions despite the absence of a sectoral strategic document (revolutionary period)
- A participatory policy based on a consultation of the actors and recorded in ad hoc documents (Cultural Policy of Benin, Cultural Charter of Benin and so on), but without a strategic objective directly linked to the philosophical orientations of the government
- An adjective mention of culture in the government's action programme in the form of a list of tasks without any strategic elaboration

The New National Independence Policy Speech

The New National Independence Policy Speech in 1972 places culture among its four public policy priorities, along with political independence, economic autonomy and the achievement of national unity. Its analysis sees the existing system as serving foreign domination and exploitation. Its strategic recommendation targets the youth and the peasantry as beneficiaries of the actions to be carried out in order to reverse the situation in the interest of the working masses. Hence a synergy of actions between knowledge, mass culture and leisure in the cultural intervention:

- To valorise national languages.
- To open our university to all forms of knowledge and to all contemporary trends of scientific thought. It must have an African vocation as well as a universal one and reserve a privileged place for the mixing of experiences accumulated by sister universities.
- To ensure the development of popular culture by organising mass literacy in national languages, an essential factor in our development.
- To create an Institute of Linguistics, in charge of developing the means to remove the obstacles to the use of national languages as a vehicle of knowledge.
- Promote the real exercise of responsibilities by young people through dialogue, confrontation and consultation.
- Seek to compensate in all sectors of social life the handicaps that weigh more particularly on young people.

- To fight against juvenile delinquency through education.
- To develop an adequate policy of entertainment, sports and recreation to promote the mental and physical health of the working people through the creation of a National Council of Entertainment and Recreation that gives greater importance to popular entertainment initiatives (Strandsbjerg, 2005, p. 71–94).

This intervention programme has been fully implemented between 1976 and 1987 with the exception of the university component, which has faced great resistance to change. However, even there, the other aspects of the programme were carried out in particular with the students associations. In its organisational autonomy, they created, among other things, the artistic and cultural ensemble of the students, an intellectual review (Conscience) and later a radio. In spite of the effective creation of the National Center of Applied Linguistics and the sub-commissions of linguistics, the objective of mass literacy was only partially achieved.

All in all, no popularised sectoral policy document has come to support the commitments of the New National Independence Policy Discourse Program, with regard to the objectives set, a noticeable modification of the Beninese cultural landscape cannot be identified. It should be mentioned, however, that cultural engineering practices were not yet common in the francophone space in general, which perhaps explains why of the three general forms previously outlined, only the cultural intervention component was taken into account in the framework of this public policy document. However, concrete actions were also carried out in the other two forms through the encouragement of local artistic creation and protection and promotion of cultural heritage.

Cultural Policies and the Cultural Charter in the Republic of Benin

If culture and its impact cannot be quantified in a concrete way, if it is challenging to define culture, cultural action, as implied in all official documents (e.g., Cultural Charter, attribution and functioning of the Ministry of Culture, decentralisation, protection of heritage) corresponds to a French scheme of which implications on the ground can be evaluated. Cultural actions are determined by cultural policies, which are sectoral strategies of the public policy of an authority on a determined territory. A strategy of culture supposes a clear apprehension of the notion and of its components to be addressed by the cultural action. This is why the different governments often give little attention to the debate and reproduce strategies proved to be inappropriate because they are simply inspired by the French model, rather in form than in substance.

In 1991, perhaps because of what is considered to be an identical cohabitation between Mathieu Kérékou, head of state from the previous regime, and Nicéphore Soglo, prime minister and head of government designated by the

national conference, some officials and artists in favour of the latter initiated and organised a meeting in anticipation. This meeting generated the Cultural Charter in the Republic of Benin (République du Bénin, 1991). In this document, cultural heritage, artistic creation and cultural intervention are directed towards local, regional or national targets. In this model, cultural actors are the men and women responsible for conceiving, carrying out or evaluating cultural action, with regard to cultural policy.

Furthermore, the expression 'cultural actors' is only used twice in Law 91–006 of 25 February 1991 on the Cultural Charter in the Republic of Benin, where it has never been defined:

- Article 45: the Beninese State facilitates access for all cultural actors to the mass media, vectors of cultural values. (République du Bénin, 1991, p. 5)
- Article 52: the State institutes the National Order of Cultural Merit in order to encourage men of culture, artists, cultural development actors, individuals, private organizations and cultural officials. (République du Bénin, 1991, p. 6)

In the absence of a prior definition, the list in Article 52 is interpreted as being distributive, and therefore excludes cultural officials as well as artists, men of culture and professional cultural agents, whose only occurrence is in Article 26: "the Beninese State shall encourage the training, improvement and technical supervision of artists and professional cultural agents in national or foreign structures" (République du Bénin, 1991, p. 4).

When one considers that this Cultural Charter is the fundamental law in matters of culture to date in Benin, to which all the respective governments refer, there is reason to examine its relevance and, indeed, to analyse the interpretations that each citizen, especially the cultural actors, can make of each of its provisions. This Charter is a law that indicates the prerogatives and duties of the state on something that seems not to be clearly determined. Thus, the government can never fail and citizens are not able to claim something concrete and be taken seriously. As a cultural policy document, the Charter lacks clarity and consistency that can produce concrete results.

It is under these circumstances that some artists organised themselves in association to advocate their interests. The Articles 29 and 34 of the cultural charter respectively dispose the state to create a fund to support arts, culture and leisure with the possibility for the public authorities to consult cultural associations for certain decisions. The advocacy and lobby activities from the artists enabled the creationof the fund in 1993 with an annual budget of about 1,000,000,000.00 XOF. In 1998, the fund budget was increased to one billion Francs XOF, an equivalence of approximately Euro 1,500,000.00. The fund was then called 'The cultural billion'. It will be squandered because the strategic orientations are not clearly identified. The gradual increase from one billion francs XOF in 1998 to four billion francs XOF until the last government of Yayi Boni in 2016 is considered an achievement in the Benin cultural policy.

In comparing the components taken into account in the Charter with previous practices, only two new elements stand out: the clearly assumed allegiance to external powers and the formulation of cultural diplomacy. All the other components including cultural diversity, literacy in national languages, promotion of arts and entertainment, cultural research, youth, preservation and promotion of national cultural heritage, libraries and public readings were already included in the public policies of the previous regime.

In any case, the characteristic ambiguity of this Charter justifies to a large extent the characteristic laxity of successive governments since its promulgation, to conceive and implement a judicious cultural policy. Once the fund was created and practically abandoned to the service of representation of the cultural actors, each government organised one or two impact-less events to mark their presence.

The Stake of the Ministry of Culture

While a Ministry of Culture has been present in all successive governments since 1959, even if it often has to be coupled with another field of activity, the government officials see less and less the need for it. The development of neoliberalism and the capitalistic vision where activities are guided by a profit orientation implies that any sector that is not financially profitable must be discarded. The establishment of a fund to support culture and leisure, in 1993 a few years after the national conference, clears the governments who almost systematically refuse any effort at cultural development. They increase the fund's kitty and commission a consultancy firm to produce a cultural policy document that they attach to their programme. As for the Ministry of Culture, it survives with a minimum budget without any concrete actions other than suggesting laws that place Benin in conformity with contemporary global evolutions and international conventions. For instance, Benin has signed, ratified and documented the following international conventions:

- Order No. 1979-39 of 30 August 1979 for the ratification of the Statutes of the Conference of National Commissions for UNESCO of Central and West Africa adopted at the First Biennial Conference of National Commissions for UNESCO held in Abidjan from 9 to 11 August 1978
- Decree N° 1981-83 of 18 March 1981 for the ratification of the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural Heritage adopted in Paris on 16 November 1972 by the 17th session of the General Conference of the Organisation
- Decree No. 1990-312 of 12 October 1990 on the accession of the Republic of Benin to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- Decree No. 2007-369 of 3 August 2007 ratifying the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, adopted in Paris on 20 October 2005

- Law No. 2010-18 of 16 June 2010 authorising the ratification of the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage adopted in Paris (France) on 2 November 2001 by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree No. 2010-387 of 7 September 2010 for the ratification the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property adopted in Paris, France, on 14 November 1970 by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree No. 2010-388 of 7 September 2010 ratifying the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted in Paris (France) on 17 October 2003 by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree No. 2010-389 of 7 September 2010 for the ratification the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage adopted in Paris (France) on 2 November 2001 by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree N° 2010-384 of 7 September 2010 for the ratification of the Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms against Unauthorized Duplication of their Phonograms, adopted in Geneva (Switzerland), on 29 October 1971, by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree No. 2010-391 of 7 September 2010 ratifying the International Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organizations, adopted in Rome (Italy), on 26 October 1961, by the General Conference of UNESCO
- Decree N° 2010-450 of 25 October 2010 for the ratification of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, with Regulations for its Execution, adopted at The Hague on 14 May 1954, by the General Conference (Netherlands) of UNESCO, supported by two Protocols, namely – the Protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) on 14 May 1954; – the Protocol to the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, adopted at The Hague (Netherlands) on 26 March 1999
- Decree No. 2011-724 of 8 November 2011 ratifying the Charter of the African Cultural Renaissance, adopted in Khartoum, Republic of Sudan on 24 January 2006
- Decree N° 2020-055 of 4 February 2020 for the accession of the Republic of Benin to the Unidroit Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, adopted in Rome on 24 June 1995

Key Projects Initiated

One can observe that literacy has almost disappeared in Benin these days, that the former literate have no manual to maintain their knowledge, that artistic activities have disappeared from schools, that most libraries and public reading centres are closed, that regional and national festivals for secondary schools no

longer exist, that museums are empty of visitors without any suitable means of operation. Instead, three types of ephemeral spectacular events have involved the public authorities: (1) events organised by the government, (2) events regularly subsidised by the government and co-organised by it and (3) events organised by the municipal authorities. An exhaustive, even short, list of all these events can be drawn up as follows.

Festival Ouidah 92

The Ouidah 92 Festival was the first world festival of vodun arts and cultures, organised from 8 to 18 February 1993 in Ouidah, Benin, at the initiative of President Nicéphore Soglo. The stated objectives were to make vodun culture universal and to recompose the North/South and South/South power relations by bringing together the black diaspora around vodun culture and to highlight the country's cultural heritage. More broadly, the aim was to attract cultural tourism and to reunite the Beninese nation around the promotion of its cultural diversity (Kadya, 1995, p. 200). However, Ouidah 92 has to face the reticence of the Catholic Church with regard to voodoo. The date of the festival coincided with the second visit of Pope John Paul II to Benin. The festival was then held only once, the first edition and changed name, objectives with a specific date dedicated to it, every year.

The Vodun International Festival

Since 1995, every 10 January has been declared as public holiday in Benin for the 77 cities of Benin to celebrate the Vodun International Festival. The aim is to valorise Benin cultures and promote cultural diversity. It is part of the Benin strategy to protect and promote intangible cultural heritage and at the same time to attract cultural tourism.

The Slave Route

With support from UNESCO and during Ouidah 92 Festival, the Slave Route has been identified, restored and became part of a unique cultural tourism guide in Benin. The Slave Route is lined with 23 beautiful and colourful statues. Most of them were created by Cyprien Tokoudagba, an internationally renowned painter and sculptor from Benin. Each one represents a part of the history of Ouidah, notably the symbols of the different kings of Dahomey (e.g., the bird, the lion, the hyena, the chameleon, the monkey, the snake, the leg) or of the slave trade. The aim is to promote African arts and culture and, at the same time, commemorate victims of the slave trade. As of today, the route lacks of conservation and maintenance and makes it hard for local communities and tourists to enjoy such memorial and cultural stories. A new project has been initiated by the current government (2021–2026) to rehabilitate it and make it more attractive.

The International Theatre Festival of Benin (FITHEB)

The International Theatre Festival of Benin (FITHEB) is a Beninese festival created in 1991 by the Beninese Ministry of Culture and the cultural mission of the French embassy in Benin. Designed to bring together the peoples and cultures of Africa and the world by making Benin the world capital of theatre, the FITHEB is a biennial event whose fundamental objective is to promote and celebrate Beninese and African theatre in all its forms. Since 2006, the festival has been suffering from a leadership conflict among the Benin artists and cultural operators. In addition, there has been some mismanagement. The French cultural cooperation that provides significant financial supports withdrew its support because of non-transparent financial management. The Benin government is unable to bear alone the budget. The last edition of the festival in 2016 ended with a debt due to different service providers. In April 2020, the government decided to dissolve the festival and to replace it with the National Center for Theatre. The latter has not been operationalised yet.

Gospel and Racines Festival

This festival brought together singers from Africa and the diaspora including United States, and Caribbean islands. The aim is to seal the reconciliation between Africa and its diaspora through gospel music. The festival was initiated in 2000 with financial support from the government of President Mathieu Kérékou. He ended his presidential term in 2006 and since then the festival does not take place anymore.

Danxomὲ International Festival

The International Festival of Cultures of Danxomὲ was initiated in 2003 by the communal council of the city of Abomey and is included in the communal development plan. Its objective is to celebrate the glorious stories of the kings of Danxomὲ and to promote cultural identity and tourism in Abomey. The festival was soon invaded by politicians with propaganda discourses. Also, the constant change through municipal elections did not help to perpetuate and sustain this initiative. The last edition of the festival took place in December 2018.

International Festival of Porto-Novo

The International Festival of Porto-Novo (FIP) was initiated in 2017 by the third mandate of the Municipal Council of the city of Porto-Novo. It aims to promote the image of the capital city through its cultural, artistic, historical and tourism. The last edition was held in January 2022.

This is quite thin on the scale of an entire state for three decades. Furthermore, among these projects, only the Vodun Festival transformed later into a festival

of endogenous religions is the only inspiration and initiation of the government. The Danxomɛ̀ International Festival is the only one directly wanted and initiated by a city and its local authorities. Certainly, the number cannot justify the effectiveness but of all these events, only the Vodun Festival and the International Festival of Porto-Novo are still going on.

One can imagine the great regression suffered by cultural action in Benin since the democratic system was implemented in 1990. Paradoxically the regression happens at the moment when more financial means were made available. Cultural policy is a holistic and coherent approach involving the legal framework, the institutional and financial instruments. The three pillars need to go hand in hand in order to produce effect and result. Nevertheless, one can recognise a notorious exception of the current government which has made heritage and cultural tourism its priority since 2016.

Benin Cultural Policy Orientations 2016-2021

Since 2016, the national government has developed a new action plan where heritage and tourism become key priorities for the country's cultural strategy. Most of the projects, budgets and cultural institutions are devoted to the restitution of Benin's cultural heritage with clear institutional, legal and financial instruments. In addition to the Ministry of Culture, a special agency for heritage and tourism is established. This allows the government to intervene directly in the formulation and implementation of this cultural strategy. Craik (2007) describes this approach as "interventionist" (p.17) as the government adopts the model of the architect. The government provides full financial support to the protection and promotion of cultural heritage and links more and more its cultural strategies to the attractiveness of the country as a tourism destination. The government has set clear priorities, strategies and goals for the sector but its model and approach are against the principle of cultural democracy. In summary, the country does not have a representative and effective cultural policy following the patterns of community cultural participation. The lack of citizen participation and buy-in to any public policymaking process is the first step into a potential failure. Furthermore, in order to strengthen the attractiveness of a country as a tourist destination, it is especially important to combine creation with heritage. That is to say creativity produces and promotes heritage. There is no heritage without creativity. The current Benin cultural policy lacks coherence and appropriate strategies.

Recommendations for a Coherent Cultural Policy in Benin

Considering the specificity in the definition of culture, this chapter does not recommend specific policy models, measures or interventions. Cultural policy is a specific instrument for a specific territory. That is to say that one cannot define a cultural policy on the basis of elements composing another from a different

territory. Staying within the principle of cultural democracy, cultural policy formulation should be a concrete result of social dialogue, participatory action and the protection of the access to cultural participation. Therefore, this chapter recommends only processes.

In order to develop a cultural policy that reflects the community, it would be good to know the cultural history of the community by gathering relevant information. This information gathering may include the following elements:

- Political status of the country
- History and key cultural assets and values
- Mapping of the key stakeholders
- A list of measures taken by the countries and other cultural stakeholders to promote arts and culture that have had a direct or indirect effect on the country's cultural and heritage sectors
- A reminder of the events, initiatives and the people who have marked the cultural development of the country
- A description of the cultural services in place in the country

It is also important to draw up a cultural balance sheet or a portrait of the current situation of the local arts and culture scene. This assessment is essential to establish a diagnosis and to facilitate decision-making in relation to the cultural file. In order to evaluate the current situation, various means can be used, such as a survey carried out with different sources (organisations and interest groups working in the field of culture), consultation meetings targeted at sectoral groups, local communities and extended to the whole population, etc. The information collected can complete the list of the main issues to be addressed by the government authorities. The information gathered can be used to complete the list of parties interested in the development of arts and culture in the area. The very first steps in the process of formulating a cultural policy should aim to stimulate the global reflection on culture as a universal public good, notably in view of challenges pertaining to the protection of cultural heritage and cultural diversity, social inclusion and fundamental rights.

Once the diagnostic analysis stage is complete, a working committee may develop the major themes that have emerged for the future cultural policy. There is no single, uniform way to develop a cultural policy. The form that a cultural policy project may take can vary, depending on the realities of each environment and the country's cultural diversity.

Nevertheless, this chapter concludes with the development of the SHARP model to advocate for a coherent and effective cultural policy formulation. SHARP stands for: Sustainable, Holistic, Appropriate, Readable and Participative. In future research this model will be developed further and be applied to the formulation of cultural heritage policy for the historic city of Abomey in Benin.

Conclusion

It is important to note that cultural policies are in most cases ineffective in Benin simply because there is often a lack of coherence between the policy measures and policy instruments. On the other hand, most cultural strategies are developed based on the feelings of the governments and the knowledge of the experts and government officials. Sometimes, there is a remarkable discrepancy between policy models and the country's political system. The country might want to confront all the laws currently in force in Benin in the field of culture in order to rid them of contradictory provisions. Perhaps in this way it would be possible to produce a real law binding on the government and emphasis on cultural decentralisation. A law whose primary argument would be cultural diversity and the need for each community to safeguard its culture.

For a country like Benin with a rich cultural diversity, cultural sustainability is based on cultural democracy theory as culture is a public service. The state ensures the protection of architectural and artistic heritage that belongs to all Benin people. It should be made accessible to as many people as possible under the best conditions and ensure an effective cultural participation by encouraging creation in all its forms and preserving cultural diversity. Creation is the privileged place for the expression of freedom and cultural democracy.

Note

1 https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Predrag-Cveticanin

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11

REPATRIATION AND RECIRCULATION

A Case for a Sustainable Practice in Administering Nigerian Antiquities

Abba Isa Tijani

Abstract

There has been constant rancour surrounding ownership and possessory rights between source nations including Nigeria on one side and, on the other side, institutions, even government bodies in nations mostly of the West over looted artefacts. The looting of artefacts from such source nations to enrich the museums of Western nations and private collections which commenced during the pre-colonial period subsists till date. The international conventions made to curb this have not been effective. Litigations in foreign law courts to repossess these artefacts will prove too costly for most source nations many of which are African nations.

Nigeria has been very ardent in seeking for repatriation of its looted artefacts and, in recent time, Nigeria has been recording success in its efforts. This research suggests opportunity of sustainable, mutually beneficial deployment of Nigerian artefacts in manners that will confer pecuniary rewards on Nigeria through leasing and exhibitions.

The research expounds the possibility of shared rights in returned artefacts whereby Nigeria receives legal transfer of the artefacts but shares physical possession with others. This is in light of the argument that African nations do not have adequate facilities to house the deluge of artefacts that may soon arrive if the return efforts of Nigeria are sustained and influence other source nations.

Introduction

Nigeria through the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM), the body established to protect and manage Nigerian antiquities, has been recording success in its various efforts at repatriation of stolen antiquities leading to Nigeria now being regarded to be in the forefront globally on

the issue of restitution. Part of Nigeria's repatriation efforts are the return by the Netherlands in October 2020 of a 600-year-old Ife Terracotta. In April 2021, the Federal Republic of Germany agreed to return 1,300 Benin bronze antiquities in German museums; in April 2021, Nigeria received a bronze piece from Mexico. In October 2021, the University of Cambridge and the University of Aberdeen, both in the United Kingdom, returned Benin bronzes in their holdings. Nigeria also secured in November 2021 three antiquities from the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Moreover, Nigeria is expected soon to take possession of 17 Benin objects from Glasgow City Council and several others from the National Gallery of Arts in the United States, Pitts William Museum of the Oxford University, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge University and the Great North Museum of Newcastle University and Rhode Island School.

The National Commission for Museums and Monuments is not just taking efforts to sustain this repatriation drive, it is equally expected to take efforts at establishing a sustainable protection and management mechanism whereby these antiquities will be able to generate income and goodwill for Nigeria. Previously, this was not the case as Nigerian antiquities suffered an almost irredeemable displacement and efforts to correct this were rebuffed by the nations in possession.

Looting of National Patrimony

Nigerian cultural heritage resources as represented by ancient antiquities are subject of heavy looting (Akinade, 1999). In Nigeria, cultural bandits loot archaeological sites, historical monuments and places of worship, stealing artworks from museums, ethnological objects and objects of religious significance, endangering the nation's heritage (ibid.).

Darling (2000) describes instances of illegal stealing of Nok terracotta objects in this manner:

> it is estimated that on average, ten terracottas were being discovered in each day of digging, which would have yielded about 3000 terracottas every year. Of these, a few hundred were very good pieces commanding a high market price: they were rapidly removed by key traders to Lome and Cotonou, from where they were sent to Europe.
>
> *(p. 16)*

Prior to this, Nigerian antiquities were forcefully taken away in their thousands in pre-colonial Nigeria and auctioned to museums and private collectors in a manner that will be described as "reprehensible" 124 years later (BBC News, 2021). Examples of these are the highly prized Benin bronzes.

Between 1904 and 1935, Leo Frobenius, a German, led 12 expeditions to Africa and brought back masterpieces that awed the world (Adebiyi, 2013).

Frobenius thereby achieved great acclaim principally derived from the Ife bronze heads he brought back home (ibid.). In the colonial days, other Nigerian antiquities were freely taken back home as curios and gifted out by the colonial masters to family and friends (Adewumi, 2013). Afterwards, in post-colonial Nigeria, many antiquities were stolen in mostly sponsored break-ins to museums and kings' palaces and thence illicitly exported. The illicit export to satisfy demands abroad is continuing and most Nigerian museums have become empty (Greenfield, 1989). Alain Godonou, the previous Director of the Porto Novo School of African Heritage in Benin.said that:

Indeed, the position of the African countries and, in particular, those south of the Sahara, obviously excluding Egypt, is very different. We have sustained massive losses in quantitative and qualitative terms. I think, statistically speaking, on the basis of the inventories of the collections of all African museums, which amount, for the larger collections, to about 3,000 to 5,000 items, it is fair to say that 90 per cent to 95 per cent of the African heritage is to be found outside the continent in the major world museums.

These highly cherished antiquities that belong to Nigeria are now winning tourists to foreign museums in droves, constituting veritable money spinners to other museums in the world. Some are being traded at auction houses and now even more rapidly with the advent of the internet they are sold online (Adebiyi, 2009). A considerable number are in private collections of the very rich people and many are with dealers of all shades. Antiquities, of which Nigeria is profoundly blessed, can provide guaranteed means of promoting tourism development in Nigeria. Nigeria's mineral resources are finite. But culture and tourism if properly tapped can provide substantial income for the nation.

The Intransigence of the Looters

Though, the countries where these removed artefacts are presently lodged are not very enthusiastic about effecting the repatriation of the artefacts to Nigeria or that of other nations who suffer the same fate as Nigeria to those nations (Prince, 2010). They weave a web of some unusual but intriguing claims to these antiquities. For example, the directors of the world's major museums in 2002 made the *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museum* in which they announced their long-held objections to returning antiquities taken away from other nations claiming the antiquities are retained by them in order to keep them safe for mankind in their museums, museums which they term "Universal Museums" (Hermitage Museum, 2004).

Source nations like Nigeria believe, and justly so, that they have legal and moral claims to these artefacts (M'Bow, 1978). This affirmative stance is propelling the ongoing agitations around the world for the return of these antiquities to their nations of origin (Woldeyes, 2019). The agitations have started yielding successful results. Antiquities of Nigerian origin are gradually being returned by the nations in possession. There is a need to sustain the returns and also a need to

sustain the use to which the returned antiquities are put which is the generation of constant income to Nigeria in perpetuity.

Presently, there are not enough disbursements from the various strata of government to sustain this sector. Therefore, the Nigerian heritage sector, despite its potential, remains poor. The study observed that there is a need for an arrangement to be put in place to increase financial inflow to the sector. It can be seen that the reasons Nigerian cultural heritage practice is poor are:

1. There is inadequate funding to maintain this sector. The budgetary provisions of the various tiers of government to this sector are frugal and becoming even more so each passing year.
2. The most famous Nigerian antiquities, for example, the ancient Benin bronzes, the Ife bronzes and other heritage materials that should attract scholars and foreign visitors to Nigerian museums have been stolen and carted away to foreign countries and are now in the museums of these nations or in the private collections of their rich people.
3. The administration, management and financing practices in this sector are rooted in a law that needs to be reviewed to meet international requirements and also provide statutory means of generating funds.

The review of the law will enhance better management, create other sources of generating revenue outside of government budgetary provisions and further aid in repatriating many of the antiquities abroad so that they can enrich Nigerian museums and attract both local and foreign tourists. The review will also support the recirculation of Nigerian antiquities on international leasing and travelling exhibitions to generate funds for Nigeria. It is such measures that can maintain sustainability in Nigerian heritage practice.

The looting and displacement of Nigeria's antiquities have been written about by several commentators (Akinade, 1999; Darling, 2000; Adewumi, 2013). The intransigence of the possessors of these antiquities to return them has been less written on and when the issue is addressed, it is addressed from the point of view of the possessors who offer reasons for holding on to these antiquities. The chapter will discuss how to sustain the cultural heritage sector by bringing these antiquities back and turning them to sources of generating income for Nigeria and how to manage Nigeria's cultural heritage sector to forestall future re-looting of the antiquities and provide a better administrative and financial structure for the sector in Nigeria in order to sustain this sector.

Concept of Leasing and International Travelling Exhibition

This chapter thus introduces the concept of leasing and international travelling exhibition as a means of creating a sustainable avenue of funding cultural heritage practices in Nigeria. This concept will therefore involve antiquities still in Nigeria and those outside Nigeria either in private hands and public collections

(Adebiyi, 2020). This view finds support in the opinion expressed by Darling (Darling, 2000) and other writers (Kremer & Wilkening, 2015). The concept will afford Nigeria the opportunity of knowing where all the antiquities outside Nigeria are for the purpose of proper registration in a collaborative, mutually beneficial manner (Adebiyi, 2020). However, some antiquities which can be repatriated under the international conventions or under bilateral agreements and other considerations shall be repatriated and these shall be hosted in Nigerian museums to enliven the cultural heritage sector and thereby through these great works wrought by our forebears foster the much-needed feeling of national identity and sense of self-worth and pride and also be exhibited for the benefit of visitors to the country (Adebiyi, 2020). For sustaining cultural heritage is not only about raising funds for the government but about building national identity. Upon doing this, the foundation of sustainable administration of Nigerian antiquities in a manner that will yield commercial gains will be laid.

The Commerce in Antiquities

Furthermore, to ensure sustainability, Nigeria needs to create in a bold manner means of commercialising the antiquities to raise funds for the sector. Alexander Bauer (2007) wrote that contrary to the claim by those holding on to antiquities under the guise of keeping them safe for the benefit of the entire mankind, the true reason is economy. This work aligns itself with Bauer and concluded that the antiquities are actually held for economic reasons by the nations of the West. That the antiquities are held for economic reasons can be seen from an instance reported by Celestina Olulode (2020) who wrote that despite vehement opposition and worldwide antagonism, the famous Auction House *Christie's* auctioned Nigerian antiquities in June 2020 but no gain came to Nigeria. Patrick Darling (2000) also wrote that:

> The major cause of economic disequilibrium which underlies the sale of antiquities is capital flight. Over £150 billion have come out of Nigeria into European and US bank accounts in the last few years: … The western economy is propped up partly by Africa – precisely the opposite of what development agencies have been stating.
>
> *(p. 21)*

There is also the need to create a better administrative structure, one suitable for our federal system, for the coordination of activities in this sector in a manner that will ensure sustainability.

The Inadequacies in International Conventions

Certain international conventions were adopted by the comity of nations to stop illicit transfer of antiquities and ensure return of antiquities to their countries of

origin. The most important of them is *The Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*, which was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 16th session in Paris on the 14th of November 1970 (UNESCO, 1970).

William Kuzma (2019), however, wrote of the reluctance of the Western nations to join the UNESCO 1970 Convention despite the many attempts by the entire world at creating broad, multilateral conventions to globally protect cultural antiquities. These nations joined the UNESCO 1970 Convention with reservations opting to reject provisions in the Convention which they considered unfavourable thereby weakening the effect of the Convention on them.

This chapter identified that the UNESCO 1970 Convention cannot fully aid repatriation of antiquities to Nigeria because it has requirements which Nigeria cannot meet since the Nigerian law for heritage protection, the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCMM) Act, does not have provisions to effect the requirements (Adebiyi, 2013). For example, this Convention states that it applies only to objects belonging to the inventory of a nation. But the research identified also that most African nations, including Nigeria, do not have an inventory system as it was not part of the culture or practice of Africans to give tags to objects in kings' palaces and sundry other places as the nations of Europe do. Yet without a stolen object being identified as belonging to an inventory, this Convention will not enforce its repatriation.

This chapter noted that even if a nation is able to prove that the antiquity was illegally exported out of its territory, the requesting state is expected to pay compensation to an innocent purchaser or to a person who has valid title to that property. This chapter thus reasonably deduced that a dealer can illegally bring in a Nigerian antiquity on the basis of a fake export certificate. Paying compensations and expenses incident to recovery are deterring factors to source nations who are mostly developing nations. The imposition of the requirement for inventorying too has proved to be a deterrent as only a few African museums have comprehensive inventories of their collections. The report on the Amsterdam Conference of African museum directors gave the following bleak summary of the situation in Africa:

> At present, even the most basic facilities for adequate registration are lacking in the majority of African museums. Interpol, for instance, requested member States in 1995 to supply the office with data concerning objects stolen in 1994 … of the African countries, only Zimbabwe was able to supply adequate data on stolen objects.
>
> *(Shyllon, 2000, p. 235)*

In the light of the prevailing situation in which some of the holders are not willing to return the antiquities, this chapter then submits that it would be right if Nigeria should find a means of receiving part of the gains and still at a point in the not distant future secure the return of the antiquities thereby establishing

sustainable activities around Nigerian cultural heritage. This brings about the concept of international leasing and travelling exhibitions as a means of deriving income and bringing sustainability to heritage practice.

International Leasing and Travelling Exhibitions Arrangement

Kremer and Wilkening (2015) suggested the leasing by source nations of the antiquities to those in possession. By so doing, the original owners will derive gains from the antiquities. This chapter agrees with the concept of leasing but proposes that those in possession must first be made to acknowledge source nation's ownership of the antiquities. The chapter further argues that without first establishing ownership, in the absence of possession, it would be illusory for Nigeria or any source nation to propose leases. The international leasing and travelling exhibitions arrangement is thus an arrangement to facilitate long-term leases of antiquities by Nigeria to the current possessors coupled with joint international commercial travelling exhibitions whereby the antiquities will be exhibited for short durations for a fee in different parts of the world by the current holders in conjunction with the NCMM (Adebiyi, 2020). Upon the holders of Nigerian antiquities acknowledging Nigerian ownership rights over the antiquities, they will be permitted to retain them for a number of years, 25 years for example, on long-term reversionary interest bases during which period the antiquities will go on international joint exhibitions to earn money. The chapter postulates that by so doing, many hidden antiquities will come to the fore. They will be registered under the imprimatur of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments thereby conferring legitimacy on them. Upon the expiration of the lease term, the antiquities will return to Nigeria.

This novel arrangement as propounded by this chapter finds support in the opinion expressed by Darling (2000) who stated that an amnesty will induce many of the unprovenanced antiquities to be brought out from their hidden places.

> A temporary amnesty on all Nigerian antiquities in Europe would allow art collectors and art dealers to register all major items and to provide good photographs and TL [Thermoluminescence] dates of the finest pieces. Nigeria would then know much more about its early past cultures; major items could be traced back to their original sites and their archaeological provenances reconstructed. A key incentive of such an amnesty would be that registered items could then be sold at public auction. This would encourage collectors to register their items and also provide an opportunity for the Nigerian government to buy back particularly fine pieces at nominal or market rates. It is envisaged that the amnesty would operate for only a limited period of about 6–12 months – after which time any unregistered objects would be declared stolen

> property. The primary objective would be the recording of what has
> otherwise been lost.
>
> *(Darling, 2000, p. 19–20)*

This chapter's point of departure from Darling's opinion expressed above is
his suggestion that the registered antiquities could be sold at public auctions
providing Nigeria the opportunity to buy back fine pieces at nominal prices.
This approach is not inclined towards the idea of the National Commission for
Museums and Monuments or the Nigeria nation auctioning their cultural objects
or buying them back at any price whatsoever.

   Kremer and Wilkening (2015) in agreeing with the concept of leasing assert
that the existence of legally leasable antiquities should reduce the price of ille-
gally traded antiquities. This chapter, however, does not agree with the assertion
of these writers. The chapter expresses the considered view that the contrary
will be the case. It argues that there would be order in this field if the concept of
leasing is adopted, coupled with the proposition of introducing a moratorium as
suggested above, because lovers of arts, who are choosy about transactions they
involve themselves in, who do not want their collections to be tainted in any
form, would start coming out to acquire antiquities the more in a transparent
atmosphere.

   The chapter further opines that this arrangement will result in museums
changing their exhibitions more frequently and there would be more exchanges
and circulation among the museums and this would bring about more income.
Also, antiquities, hitherto hidden particularly in the hands of private collectors,
would start surfacing leading to more interests in museum activities and exhibi-
tions. The opinion of Kremer and Wilkening (2015) aligns in this regard with
the view expressed in this chapter.

> Granting the privately informed individuals a lease is equivalent to a partial
> amnesty program in which those revealing antiquities are granted tempo-
> rary use rights. Illegally moved antiquities typically are not in the hands of
> the highest value collector and the need to keep them secret reduces their
> value relative to a legal antiquity. By allowing individuals with antiquities
> of murky provenance to lease their antiquities in exchange for repatriation
> rights, collectors can be induced to identify antiquities and repatriate them
> in the future.
>
> *(Kremer & Wilkening, 2015, p. 37)*

The authors (Kremer & Wilkening, 2015, p. 38) argue that if amnesties are to be
provided, leases offer a good way to structure the transactions, because according
to them, leases offer a way to divide surplus without cash.

> Lease-based partial-amnesty programs avoid issues of repayment and thus
> may be more politically feasible than programs in which the government

is paid to leave things abroad. A program in which foreign owners pay for amnesty must assign a price to the antiquity which may be seen as "commodifying" the antiquity.

(Kremer & Wilkening, 2015, p. 38)

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter asserts that the introduction of international leasing and travelling exhibitions jointly by Nigeria and the nations and institutions in possession of Nigeria's antiquities portends an assured means of generating funds to sustain the field of cultural heritage practices in Nigeria.

The chapter therefore proposes the introduction of international leasing and travelling exhibitions as a means of financing cultural heritage practice. Further, in order to ensure sustainability in the heritage sector, the chapter also postulates creating a working relationship among the various administrative strata in Nigeria's federal system and creating means of aiding the repatriation of Nigeria's antiquities and introducing means of preventing further illicit export by imputing the requirements of the relevant international conventions.

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