Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence: Lessons From Tunde Kelani's Saworo Ide and Sembene Ousmane's Xala

Olubunmi O. Ashaolu, Ph.D*

Abstract
This article argues for a deeper examination of how, in Saworo Ide, (1999) and Xala (1974), the rejection of African culture leading to poor leadership in Africa becomes translated into violence (against commoners) that causes dwindled infrastructures, muffling of masses' voice, leaders' insensitivity to the improved life styles of the ruled etc. In Okurowummu's (2010) view about just leaders in Africa "[t]hat breed of men of "unquestionable integrity" is becoming a fast disappearing one" (p. 15). This observation indicates a trend that makes injustice thrive, for in most cases neither the leaders nor the led care about integrity any more. The lapse in forthright leadership constitutes what scholars often debate as a form of violence. More often than not, leadership qualities in Africa attract the attention of critics only when the leaders at the top demonstrate wanton tyranny and excesses. Few critics place their debate of failure in leadership as that which encompasses the ultimate leader and/or their cabinets, who due to self serving needs jeopardise the masses' interest. Through a detailed study of the above films, this work proposes an all-round perspective on the problematic of leadership in Anglophone and Francophone Africa. Specifically, the essay focuses on representation of leadership and violence related to cultural, political and economic aspects of African leadership.

Introduction
The present article sets out to explore representations of bad leadership as seen in a Nollywood and a Senegalese film, e.g. Saworo Ide (Tunde Kelani, 1999) and Xala (Sembene Ousmane, 1974). The article demonstrates the link between African cinema as a tool of national critique and thus a subtle voice of the people (Onookome: 28). African countries present two oppositions in endowments and lack; they are rich in human and material resources but inept in managerial and leadership patterns. Prior to the present times, the mantle of leadership in Africa was wrestled from the hands of colonisers who, for almost a century, steered the affairs of the continent to their advantage. Thus, African nationalists strove for self-governance with a lot of fervor.
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence    115

which yielded questionable freedom. In less than a decade after the much sought after independence of African countries, the populace lost the euphoria of independence to despair as the elite on whose shoulders fell the responsibility of African leadership were found to be ill-prepared for the task they had eagerly sought for. In few cases where leadership displays potentials, e.g. Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, more often than not, subversive associates have ensured the downfall of such leadership. Typically the leaders, most of who are mere or worse replacements of ex-colonisers, abuse power, they are insensitive to the suffering of the populace, and suppress any voice that calls for change. The postcolonial African leadership features violence ranging from exclusive governance, corruption, accelerated crime wave with impunity, war, ethnic cleansing, wanton discrimination, etc. Public officers of these nations appropriate government revenue in a care-free manner, causing the economy to fall into disrepair. Complications set in with drastic fall in the standard of living, health care and education system of commoners. People's welfare is generally called into question as insecurity escalates, sending fear and uncertainty into the hearts of ordinary citizens. In fact, one of the reasons for the prevalent underdevelopment in Africa can be traced to violent leadership pattern of her rulers.

Theoretical Premise

African Culture

Culture within any context consists of the ideals, mores, and customs that shape a group of people within the same geographical location. Culture includes the totality of a group's behaviour, values and beliefs as well as its art, language, tools, world view, and symbols. In fact, it is a blueprint for all human behaviour which one generation teaches the next (Eckermann, et al: 2). Because of the multiethnic nature of Africans, the continent can be described as a multicultural one. African culture spells out certain norms and codes of conduct that dictate people's behaviours, duties, responsibilities, and rights within a community (Gbenga: 89). The component of culture entails normative, mental and functional definitions of culture that gives psychological, political and socio-economic meaning to the existence of the group of people that practises it. For the purpose of this paper, we make reference to the cultures of Yoruba and Wolof - two settings of the primary texts under study.

Although, Africans of the pre-European encounter period had their culture fully practiced and hardly adulterated, it must be admitted that there existed a leadership-followership dichotomy in African society. The traditional African society is set up such that people fall into ranks - there are kings under whom we have the cabinets and the rest of the town - heads of cults and professions, heads of quarter, heads of clan, heads of family units, etc. The pre-colonial African king, (male and mostly chosen from patriarchal lineages) is powerful; he runs a monarchy system and has the final say in most situations concerning governance. For instance, in the Yoruba setting he is referred to as the king alase ekeji orisa - 'the ultimate powerful one, next to the gods'. Among the Wolof though the
setting was formed by voluntary association, yet there existed the king named Burba Jolof who ruled over other paramount rulers - the Laman or the King of Sine (Ayitey: 239).

The king's power is however not an absolute one for, in spite of the appellations, the king cannot act in isolation from the will of the people. For instance, in the old Oyo empire, a persistently erring king runs the risk of being forced to commit suicide when the cabinets, i.e. the Oyo Mesi ask for the king's divestiture, where they present him with the traditional poisonous calabash which the king must open. Being an indictment for tyranny, the opening of such sacred calabash requires the king to commit suicide (Ayitey: 279). In addition, historical accounts show that in pre-colonial Africa there existed certain aberration where leaders - kings and/or chiefs demonstrate tyranny. While this accentuates the possibility for violence, sanctions can also come in the form of war from within or without the city.

Culture Clash

For the purpose of this article, besides violence, the study of Saworo Ide and Xala will benefit from the perspectives of culture clash. Culture clash happens when people have little regard for the existence of other members of the group in the society. Also, it occurs when people of the same sociological group share different values and beliefs such that the difference has negative impact on the advancement of the society. Culture clash consists of certain acts of expression of divergence of opinion and intolerance. When pushed to the extreme, culture clash can lead to severe intolerance and ultimately, violence. It happens when disparity in values and ideas predominates among different members of the society. Culture clash brings about intolerance and makes people act in dissonance from one another. In the case of political well-being of the society, culture clash will likely cause the mainstream group of people or people in power to be suspicious of others. Within a power medium, the less powerful members of the group tend to go through some form of anxiety that leads to culture shock. The superior who in a way constitute the oppressive members, determine the social realities of the subordinate group. The interface of action and response between the oppressor and the oppressed makes it such that violence is embedded in the dynamics of culture clash (Eckermann et al: 3-4).

Violence

Generally, violence in most human societies constitutes a physical force used in order to injure, or to hurt by violating the rights of others. By violence we mean any action carried out by a leader, a privileged group or an individual, to impede peace, well being and fulfilment of other individual or group considered to be of lesser status to the former. Not only being carried out against human beings, violence can also be inflicted on animals, land or properties. Physical violence manifests itself in postcolonial revolutionary wars that emanate from discord and lack of democratic ideals in which the ruled are subjugated to untold hardship. Violence exists in wide range of ideas as the term covers diverse aspects of domains - whether gender, political, ethical, cultural, physiological, environmental, etc. (Milne, 2007: 24).
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence

Seen from another angle, contemporary orbs of violence in Chantal Kalisa's (2009) orders combine politics with history and natural disaster to showcase omnipresence of violence in Africa. Violence, especially as seen in post-colonial leadership, is almost part of African populace as it exists in the "political and historical violence committed within and outside traditional political discourse" (Kahsa, 2009: 13). Within many forms of violence, literature depicts individual and collective trauma that a populace undergoes usually under autocratic leadership. Such narration of violence allows the author, regardless of gender, to produce knowledge that denounces historical and political violence and at the same time use narrative to counter violence. One cannot separate political and historical narratives (literature and cinema) of the oppressed from the literature of protest which in essence is about narration of individual and collective trauma of the slaves and colonised. Thus, from slave to colonial narratives, even to the present postcolonial account of collective experience, Kalisa affirmed that writers seek to represent the violence that characterise their history. For instance, through their writings, early authors of the Negritude movement employ literature as a tool for condemning historical violence of colonisation (2009: 14). While the Negritudists identify colonialism as the main source of violence in modern day Africa, their successors, e.g. Ferdinand Oyono, Ahmadou Kourouma, Sembene Ousmane establish several ranges of evils attached to political and historical violence perpetrated by colonialism and inherited from colonisers. Within African setting, Salami-Boukan proposes a wider conception of violence which she describes as assault on others as is experienced in the lives of individuals within family and in the larger society. According to her "violence in all its forms, physical or mental, battering, and abuse in all its forms whether economic, emotional or verbal abuse, including sexual assault and rape ... do nothing but traumatis and endanger" the victim causing a direct impact on the stability and life of the society as a whole (Salami-Boukari, 2012: 50).

In The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon (2004) shows that the colonial world is a compartmentalised manichaean and petrified one in which the colonial subject is penned in. The restriction of the colonised by the coloniser builds up aggressiveness in the former. His process of seeking for leadership takes the form of a violent one as

The colonised subject will first train this aggressiveness sedimented in his muscles against his own people ... Confronted with the colonial order the colonised subject is in a permanent state of tension. The colonist world is a hostile world, a world which excludes and yet at the same time incites envy. We have seen how the colonised always dream of taking colonist's place not of becoming a colonist but of replacing him (pp. 15-16).

The coloniser's agents of petrifying and restriction, seen in the military force and instruments, become forces which the colonised subjects reckon with, get used to and work against in order to suppress coloniser's violence (Fanon: 6). At the demise of colonial regime, the new leaders fail to practice a political leadership that considers every stratum of the society in the redistribution of wealth and infrastructures.
What obtains in Fanon's view is the caricature of a society that only extends political and economic privilege to fewer citizens (Fanon: 56) and at the same time gets her economy tied into that of the ex-coloniser. Leaders of such society repress the lessons of the struggle under colonial period only to manifest gross insensitivity to the problem of the general masses who (after independence) feel much the impact of the battered economy and prevalent violence against them. To complicate matters, coloniser’s manner of disengagement is an unwilling one that accords tactical decolonisation which sets the young nation up on the path of failure even before its takes off.2 Hence, the masses witness violence in continuum much after decolonisation.

Within African colonial context, violence was imposed on Africans right from the time of pacification of Africa. The persistent violence during colonisation left Africans with no options than to revert to resistance through violence. It is no gainsaying that Africans suffer outrageous violence imposed by colonisers; history shows that it was a trying period for Africans. Ndlovu-Gatsheni captures vividly the bitter experience of Africans under colonial rule when: "the colonisers used violence to keep the colonised in a subordinated position, forcing them to endure (sic) all forms of exploitation and abuses" (p. 126). The nationalist forms of violence thus become hidden in the colonised only to be used against fellow citizens after independence. This example becomes evident in the prevalent coups d'etat that sweep across substantial parts of sub-Saharan Africa shortly after independence. For example, the newly independent national governments were toppled in Congo, Togo, Nigeria, to mention a few. What becomes puzzling, as it will be seen in the films under study, is that African leaders follow nearly the same pattern of governance criticised during colonisation. Thus the inherent violence that Africans suffer becomes fully entrenched after independence.

Having considered violence in its diverse forms, it is apt at this level to examine structural violence as an underpinning for reading the films. A particular form of violence that can occur in any setting whether colonised or independent, comes forth in structural violence which "is the condition of social injustice and is composed of binary opposition, one inferior and powerless and the other assumed to be superior and powerful . . ." (Kalisa, 2009: 8). In structural violence the authority in place oppresses individuals or groups physically and emotionally in ways such as to hinder the realisation of the goals of the victim. For most parts of the present paper, we study the implication of leadership, culture and structural violence in the economic and socio-political setting of the films.

The scope of this study is within Anglophone and Francophone sub-Saharan Africa. But the work is far from a comparative study of all linguistic zones of Africa. Rather we intend to use Senegal and Nigeria as sample representative of clash between the perverted African pattern of democracy/economic management in place. This is not to say that the abandonment of African culture is peculiar only to Senegalese and Nigerian societies.

**Background Study of Saworo Ide and Xala**

The choice of the films, *Xala* (1974) and
Saworo Ide (1999), twenty-five years apart, is not just at random. Both works came out at two critical periods in the political history of the two nations of origin. Though both films treat issues of leadership/governance, they differ significantly in their methodology of leadership. The separateness of the approach can only be appreciated if one considers the intersections of political and economic changes around the period of productions in the respective countries. Saworo ide was produced just at the inception of the fourth republic democratic system of government in Nigeria. The film presents a complex ideological critique and focuses more on modern day democracy against a backdrop of cultural innuendoes. It addresses the issues of autocracy, wanton abuse and usurpation of power. Xala was produced at the point of economic depression of Senegal when the Western powers recommended tourism as a way out of the impasse (Leslie: 18). In a bid to attract Western tourists, Senegalese government decided to present impeccably clean cities, hence the policy of sweeping beggars out of the streets of Senegal. Xala portrays the outcome of this policy as it affects the elite and beggars/commoners. In reality, this decision leaves no alternate provision for the victims - Senegalese beggars. Not only is the act detrimental to traditional African culture of communalism, it is felt directly by the downtrodden - the beggar whose fate is left in limbo. Since the policy emanated from the West, Xala thus lampoons one of the direct and biting repercussions of neocolonialism in Senegal.

Tunde Kelani
The director of Saworo Ide, Tunde Kelani was born in 1948. He draws largely from the rich traditions and rituals of Yoruba traveling theatre and oral tradition, while commenting on contemporary politics (Stefanson and Petty: 44). Unlike Sembene whose work devolves from writing to filmmaking, Kelani’s numerous collections are strictly in cinema. He has made sixteen full-length films between 1993 and 2010 (Adesokan, 2011: 81). Kelani a producer-director, emerged as a filmmaker in the mid 1990s and has carved his own niche among the frontline Nollywood directors. He is the most sought-after Nollywood producer. It is noteworthy that "Kelani’s deliberative, thoughtful lush and culturally sophisticated streams of images are something of a rarity" (Adesokan, 2011: 81). Kelani’s success is occasioned by the phenomenon of Nollywood which enabled him to change from cinematographer to film producer (Adesokan, 2011: 83). Saworo ide is actually a film that represents the country’s governance right from Independence through the autocratic military regimes back to the beginning of the current democratic rule in 1999. Saworo Ide becomes unique in that it is underpinned by the importance of voice through which it links the masses to governance thus showing that democracy is not new to Africa.

While Saworo Ide's setting is pertinent to Nigerian democratic government, the film reflects also characteristics of military interventions in the governance of most African nations, e.g. Republic of Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, etc. which witnessed coups after independence.

Analytical Study of Saworo Ide
Saworo Ide has its setting in a legendary
Yoruba town, Jogbo. The film features two autocratic leaders, Lapite and Lagata, both traditional and military rulers respectively. Lapite rejects the compulsory ritual which consists of cultural swearing to an oath and having a compulsory incision - a pact that links any Onijogbo (Jogbo's king) with the people. He refuses this symbolic ritual for his self-interest, because observing it will make him serve the people and prevent him from amassing wealth. In his corrupt collaboration with foreign investors, e.g. the loggers, Lapite displays high despotic traits which heighten his high-handedness and aggravate the sufferings of the masses. In the process, the prevalent chaos accelerates via a coup d'etat by Lagata, a military ruler who, earlier on, was only invited to retrieve Ade ide, the brass crown, an icon of royalty and leadership which Jogbo youths seized from Lapite. The latter's excesses are underpinned by his ever corrupt aids - Balogun, Otun, Bada, and Seriki, Jogbo's local chiefs - who also carry out parallel maladministration during Lagata's regime.

Leadership and Violence in Saworo Ide

Saworo Ide combines elements of folk-tale and saga narrative style with the film presenting an alternating portrayal of cultural richness of the Yoruba tradition interlaced with very violent burlesque of socio-political transformation of Nigeria since independence. Saworo Ide, described as Nollywood exemplars of a new genre - 'democracy films' (Adesokan, 2009: 602), is a parody of leadership in Nigeria. In Jogbo, Lapite's ascending the throne derived from his dual character as an erudite and modern candidate, who might steer the boat of the city towards progress. This expectation hints at the trust which the masses repose in African rulers just after independence. By way of contrast, Lapite's agenda in his quest for the throne differs from citizens' hopes. He demonstrates traits of violence by not tolerating any other contender to the throne for fear of being supplanted since he does not follow the due process of observing the cultural mandate of incision and oath taking. Lapite resorts to violence by exterminating the legitimate contender to the throne, Adebomi and his wife, all in quest to stem opposition. Not only that, Lapite strives to kill Ayangalii, the Chief drummer in order to prevent him from beating the sacred drum, Saworo Ide which spells death for any king without incision. Lapite in this example recalls the intolerance that leads to violent roles of some Nigerian leaders during democratic and military regimes. It is in Lapite's roles that Kelani objects to structural violence that is common among postcolonial Nigerian/African leaders who barely tolerate opposition, preferring life-presidency.

Jogbo's Leadership Against Voice

For Jogbo citizens, the dilemma of Lapite's roles lies in his countering a Jogbo sage old Opalaba's, counsel that: Onijogbo ni i sinlu. [It is Jogbo's king who serves the citizens.] His rejection of Opalaba's voice negates the cultural ethos of the Yoruba in which elders assist in shaping the good governance/administration of African settlements. Rather, events in Lapite's reign show the contrast; he disregards any protocol, changes the laws of the town to suit his fraudulent purposes,
appropriates a citizen's wife and the city's revenue. Lapite's reign evokes what Levitsky and Way (as cited in Matti, 2010) characterise as competitive authoritarian regime where:

- incumbents routinely abuse state resources,
- deny the opposition adequate media coverage,
- harass opposition candidates and their supporters, and in some cases manipulate electoral results. Journalists, opposition politicians, and other government critics may be spied on, threatened, harassed, or arrested.
- Members of the opposition may be jailed, exiled, or - less frequently - even assaulted or murdered (p. 45).

It is Lapite's desires that Jogbo's people should bend to his violent rules, causing him to play many roles that also suppress living opponents. However, the director raises a conflict to douse Lapite's excesses. Such checks consist in his having to contend with the city's farmers and youths whose means of livelihood are threatened by Lapite's corrupt allies, i.e. the loggers. One can hardly fail to be struck by the malaise caused by Lapite's threats: "Ewon si n'ileke idi 6bo!" [Prison awaits any insubordinate!] when the youths plead for good governance. In his stubbornness, Lapite entrenches violence by permitting the loggers to import guns to kill any one that stands in their way of exploiting Jogbo's resources, and requesting that: Be ba k dwon ibon ohun de, e b'emi naa wa die nbe. [When the guns arrive, make sure you send some to me.] Lapite's request for guns alludes to the general instability and chaos that persist between his regime and the youths.

To show that leadership in Jogbo and by implication Nigeria is very intolerant of criticism, Kelani lays emphasis on the significance of the link between the leader and the citizens over which the former rules. The link is emblematised from the outset by the cultural pact left by the ancient ruler of Jogbo town in which Ayangalu, the drum and the King are bound through oath taking and incision. The drum known as Saworo Ide, a Yoruba talking drum and Ayangalu, Chief drummer, also a commoner both symbolise the importance of people's voice to the king suggesting that democracy, a people-centred form of governance, is not new in Jogbo - a legendary town. The import of the link between leadership and people's voice is at the origin of leadership in Jogbo. The need for incision as a cultural pact that links the king, the drummer/commoner and the drum together shows the interconnection between leadership and cultural diplomacy in this traditional setting. At Lapite's oath taking ritual, he condemns the pact or string that ties Onijogbo to the people, insisting that he will neither get incised nor swear to any oath. In his words, E ma fi okun kankan so mipo mo awon era eyln. [Do not link me up with backward people.] Suddenly, he declares the incision ceremony closed, threatening the diviners with a pistol and declaring: mo ni a ti setan [I said the ceremony has ended.] By the use of a gun, he illustrates violence against the people's will, smothering their voice in the process. Gun which represents an anti-democratic symbol, is seen via prevalent military coups in post-independent Africa; in Lapite's roles, gun becomes a motif of African despots' means of sustaining violent leadership. Lapite's despotic role underscores his dislike for the people's opinion. As such, his leadership pattern of rejecting the people's voice sows the seed of his clash with the
youths. In one of his fits of muffling characters' voice, he declares, *Kb si ayonuso fun ara llu kankan. Emi b lorb kankan bawon so, inu won n bi emi bayli.* [No citizen of Jogbo dares talk to me. I have nothing to tell them. Right now, I am annoyed with them.] His aides, especially Balogun, complicate leadership dilemma with an advice that exacerbates the relationship between Lapite and the general populace. When Lapite lambasts the youths for asking questions about governance, Balogun advises: *O ye ki Kdbiyesi 6 fi ye won pe kb si ayonuso jdra llu kankan. Kdbiyesi, e gbd won ni gbolohun die.* [It is necessary that his Highness should let Jogbo citizens know that they have no say in the city's affair. Your Majesty, tongue-lash them.]

Checks and balances fail to meet up with decorum in leadership at any point that Lapite feigns all is well with his administration. Such situation comes up at a press conference to commemorate his 15th anniversary on the throne, where a journalist asks him to mention any accomplished development project in Jogbo. The journalist also wants to know why Lapite encourages foreign loggers to deplete Jogbo's economy and environment. This journalist's questions allow the audience to comprehend the extent of the king's disregard for the people and the misappropriation of funds in Jogbo for the benefit of the ruling few. More specifically, his questions seek answers to the mismanagement of mineral resources especially in Nigeria. A close-up shot of Lapite enables the viewers to take in the King's intolerance and venom for the questions. Illuminating his bad leadership, Lapite replies: *leni bi odun meedogiin... olowo ti pb rekereke n ‘llu Jogbo, awon kan nibi ogun He awon kan ni bi ogbbn okb, won si njiowopamos'oke bkun ddadda.* [In the past fifteen years... the number of the wealthy has increased in Jogbo, some have about twenty houses, some have about thirty vehicles and they keep foreign bank accounts.] Through this response, Kelani hints at the fact that Lapite's leadership is not oriented towards the needs of the commoners as he only showcases the privileged chiefs who enrich themselves via corruption. The kind of leadership at work here is no doubt a self-centred one that is far from being a government for the people. It underscores Kelani's critique of the prevalent kleptocracy of Nigerian and indeed, most African countries' leaders. More important, this journalist's curiosity allows viewers to take in the extent of the terror that counters freedom of expression in Jogbo and by literary extension Nigeria, because Jogbo's police boss, assures the irate Lapite of incarcerating the cheeky journalist that same day.

As the King's intolerance aggravates, the youths strike in counter-violence by seizing the sacred crown (*Ade ide*) - Onijogbo's symbolic instrument of office. In the quest to retain leadership by all means, Lapite turns to Lagata, a military character, for help to retrieve *Ade ide* from the warring youths. Here, the leadership clash between democracy and autocracy is expressed in the very icon of contest - *Ade ide* which becomes an object sought after by three strong forces in the city - the king, the youths and the military. *Ade ide* thus becomes a metaphor around which Kelani weaves the dilemma of leadership of Jogbo. It is interesting that the frantic search for *Ade ide* contains and controls violent
expressions that give significance to leadership interpretations of Jogbo's political tetrain. In the clash between Lagata's troupe and the youths, sounds of gunshot play a significant role in the fracas over Ade ide. The exchange of gunshots and the killing of some youths serve as means of terrifying the characters, for viewers it casts doubts as to where leadership will shift as well as foretells instability yet to manifest.

To Lapite's desire, Lagata retrieves the crown. But Lapite's victory is temporal because just before he wears the crown, the director raises another conflict. In a vicious cycle of violence, Lagata kills Lapite and seizes power in a manner similar to bloody coup. Posing a conundrum to Jogbo's leadership, Lagata in his first address to the citizens threatens them: Awa ologun n'da tidi idilekan tiyoo maj'oba n'llii Jogbo. [We, the military, have also become a ruling house in Jogbo.] Lagata as a military despotic leader throws Jogbo citizens back to the beginnings. His reign of fear registers as he menaces the citizenry, tulaasi la ft nferan Sango. [You must accept military leadership by force,] making a corollary between his reign and Sango, a fiery mythical deity in Yorubaland. In the modern era, Lagata's declaration explains more of what Theodros Dagne criticised as the autocratic imposition of the military junta on Nigerians for most years of the country's post-independent leadership (2002: 6).

Lagata's reign depicts violence as an integral part of the socio-political situation that lends itself to uncertainties and tension in Jogbo. When Lapite's chiefs, in their characteristic manner of benefitting from any government of the day consult with Lagata, his response indicates that the citizenry must prepare for torture, trauma and horror of the iron hand of a military ruler and not a leader. To accentuate pervasiveness of violence, many scenes are devoted to short fast-tracked shots of tension and trauma; of arrests, restriction, daylight robbery and massive upheavals that the characters go through such that they register tension in the mind of viewers. The prevalent chaos demands an all warranting solution that makes the youths seek urgent solution to unseat Lagata whose violent rule stifles life out of many.

In a way to suggest usurpation of democracy in favor of despotism, Lagata plans to authenticate his reign at a coronation ceremony where he will don Ade ide. But the youths revert to cultural links by arranging for the beating of saworo ide drum, a deadly taboo for a Jogbo king without incision. The crown barely touches Lagata's head when he twitches and stifles his neck until he drops dead. His role here satirises the sudden death of Sani Abacha, the power drunk Nigerian military ruler who, in the course of metamorphosing into a civilian President, died in 1998. Lagata's demise implies a sanction on anti-democratic leadership more so that the military personnel's task is to defend and not rule the city.

leadership, Culture and Structural Violence

Jogbo's Leadership and Economy

At the inception of his quest for the throne, Lapite makes it clear that he is only interested in making personal gains upon ascending the throne. He states this clearly to foreign loggers who exploit Jogbo forests: Mo femo iye tie n pa, ati iye tiyoo maa kan mi . . Oke bkun ni mo fe, nkbe won 6 tojii bo owo mi. [I
want to know how much you make and my own share . . . I want my money to be deposited in foreign banks, I don't want anyone to trail my bank account.] The degree of greed that characterises his leadership becomes palpable here as it is he, the ruler, who entrenches economic exploitation of Jogbo to his advantage. His leadership pattern correlates with Agbiboa's criticism of "brazen kleptocracies, in which dictators and democrats treat their countries as private possessions, impoverish their subjects, amass huge wealth (secreted abroad), and enmesh everyone in corrupt transactions" (2012, p. 116). The loggers warn Lapite: *Kdbiyesi, e 6 gbdgbe gbogbo awon ofin yin won yen te e bd ferowogidi.* [Your Highness, you have to give up all those laws if you want real money.] Lapite agrees to bend the rule so that there could be free felling of trees and of course, increase in his own gains to the detriment of the city. The implication of foreign loggers dictating the terms of Jogbo's economy becomes lost on Lapite who wants more than 10 percent of personal gain from the loot of exploiting Jogbo's forests. With Lapite's self-centeredness, the director invites viewers to have an insight into one of the reasons of failure of Jogbo and by extension, Nigerian leadership's patterns.

As a leader with no interest in the economic growth of the region he rules, Lapite's roles signify violence against the economic well-being of the city and the people. More importantly, by giving the foreign loggers free hand to exploit Jogbo forests, Lapite as a ruler sets the region up for deforestation, an anti-ecological challenge that suggests contemporary environmental problems in Nigeria. The protracted effects of loggers' activities lead to deforestation in Saworo Ide, it causes tension and hunger among the citizens. The populace manifests its frustration at the battered environment which directly affects their standard of living, very akin to Wall's description of youths' conflicts in Nigeria's Niger Delta area (2008:6). In protest songs, Jogbo's farmers condemn Lapite's anti-ecological pattern: *Tani yo gbd wd kale I'ogun agegedii (2ce). Kb s'igi nigbo ko .s'eranko, ko si kbko mo kb s'awusd, Lapite ko to j'oye o mo obun to -wi.* [Who will save us from the affliction of loggers? They deplete the forest, no trees, no animals, no cash crops, and no food crops. Lapite, remember the promises you made before you ascended the throne.] The youths' song enables viewers to appreciate the interconnections between the environment, the society, economics and government policy. Further, the song underscores the dangers of African leaders' insensitivity to the promotion of peaceful environment. By implication, the songs point to struggles of the common man as they suffer directly the consequence of abused political ecology that ravages most countries in Africa.

Apart from, the fact that deforestation renders the farmers redundant and signifies hunger for the citizens, there are neither industries nor jobs in Jogbo. The bitter irony for the setting is that while the foreign loggers' exploit persistently the forests; their countries benefit from the proceeds, Jogbo farmers lose in land and produce. This challenge to progress provides ample example of the trauma that an average Jogbo citizen suffers, causing the youths to engage in public protest in
condemnation of the malaise that bad leadership engenders in Jogbo. Lapite and of course, Lagata's leadership methods point succinctly to the fact that disreputable and corrupt leadership is the bane of failure in Nigeria and indeed in Africa (Achebe, 1983: 1; Obasanjo, 2008: vi).

In Saworo Ide Kelam's narratives broach dysfunctional national economies as violent crime and unemployment contribute to spate of life-threatening robberies in Jogbo. Just like the situation in Nigeria where, starting from the 1980s after the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme unemployment, crime and armed robbery became serious social problems during which innocent people were injured, raped, maimed and killed, accentuating how despotic leadership encourages violence in the social setting of Nigeria.

Sembene Ousmane's Xala

Before we delve into the critical analysis of the second film, Xala, let us cast a brief look into the director's profile. Sembene Ousmane, the director of Xala, who is regarded as the pioneer of sub-Saharan African cinema, was born in Senegal in 1923, he died in 2007. He was an autodidact, who practiced many careers before he finally settled as a literary writer but gave up novel writing to cinema production. His writing career began in 1957 with his first novel Le docker noir, his first film Borom sarret was realised in 1963. His preference for cinema which he describes as 'night school' is to allow his work reach larger audience of Africans, both literate and illiterates. According to him, "What is interesting for me is exposing the problems my people have to face … I regard the cinema primarily as a political instrument of action. I stand, as I've always said, for Marxism-Leninism . . . the film, more than the book, can crystallise an awakening within the masses" (Busch and Annas: 12). Sembene is a social critique whose works are usually set to criticise the evils of the society as depicted by the masses or leaders, whether colonial or national who enrich themselves by subjecting the masses to hardship.

In Xala Sembene Ousmane narrates the story of El Hadji Kader Beye a polygamist, frontline African nationalist and businessman. On the night of his lavishly financed third marriage to a young bride, El Hadji suffers from impotence, xala in wolof. His search for solution leads him from one healer to another. A scene that cuts across most others in Xala merits our attention at this point. This is where communal understanding of traditional Africans was frustrated at a town scene where a group of people gather to watch an accident. Thieli, a pick-pocket, steals money from Serigne, a villager watching the accident scene. The stolen money belongs to his village farmers who sent him to buy food from the city. Violence inflicted on this villager becomes more painful because the farmers who suffered drought all through the year entrusted Serigne with the only meager savings they made. As if the money is earned in a just manner, Thieli uses it to buy a suit which he dons with a cowboy hat, a toga that gives him the accoutrement of the elite. Serigne, the dispossessed, roams the street not knowing what to do. Thieh's role hints at the violent and fraudulent ways with which city-dweller
characters enrich themselves by dispossessing unsuspecting visitors of their money in the city. Thieli's corrupt leadership role well connected to that of El Hadji will be analysed shortly.

Suppression of Voice in \textit{Xala}

In \textit{Xala} as in \textit{Saworo Ide}, violence unfolds as there is no freedom of expression in El Hadji Beye's family. For instance, Rama, his daughter and university student, receives a slap for making her voice heard against her father's practice of polygamy. In her words to the father's penchant for taking new wives, Rama opines that every polygamous man is a liar. El Hadji resorts to verbal and physical violence to intimidate and menace his daughter. "Rappelle-toi bien ma fille que dans cette maison c'est moi qui commande. Si tu n'es pas contente tu iras faire ta revolution ailleurs." [Remember, my daughter, that in this house I am the head. If you are not happy, take your rebellion elsewhere.] Rama's mother Hadja, also suffers no less marital violence in silence as El Hadji abandons her for other women. Yet for fear of what people will say, Hadja suffers emotional violence in silence. Beyond his home, El Hadji as a leader abhors the voice of the downtrodden. As he and the President of the Chamber of Commerce - El Hadji's business group - discuss, the local music of street beggars pervades the scene. Typical of resenting voices that do not tally with his ideas, the beggars' song irritates El Hadji, making him ill-at-ease. In annoyance, he fumes and asks his colleague: \textit{President, on ne pent pas se debarrasser de ces dechets humains? Ce n'est pas saine notre independence.} [President, can't we get rid of these human debris* This is no independence" (emphasis mine).] In turn, the President phones the local police boss . . . \textit{tu peux m'envoyer le cadre serveur la . . . pour nous debarrasser de ces dechets humains-la; oui les mendians, oui. C'est tres mauvais pour le developpement.} [Can you get me some force men . . . to get rid of this human debris? Yes, the beggars, yes. Their sight is bad for development.] El Hadji and the President's violence against these commoners manifest when the police arrive in a lorry to arrest and drop off the street people in a remote outskirt of the town, just the same way that beggars in Aminata Sow Fall's \textit{La Greve des Battu} (1979) are sent away from the city. Beggars' arrest in African cities is not a new phenomenon for, according to Flinch (2010): "In the early 1970s, Senghor, on the advice of the World Bank, had launched a campaign to attract tourism to Senegal; one result was legal and police action against the beggars of Dakar" (p. 211). It is not unintentional then that both \textit{Xala} and \textit{La Greve des Battu} depict the effect of leadership policies against street people in Senegal.

In \textit{Xala} the victims of arrest include the beggars, Serigne whose money was stolen, and a newspaper vendor. The composition of these victims demands a closer analysis as each of them tells a story of violence from leaders in the society. On the one hand, Serigne the villager suffers robbery from Thieli the city man who is supposed to understand and be more compassionate of the villagers' plight. In spite of persuasion to return to the village Serigne refuses, not knowing what to tell the villagers who gave him all the money they had. The newspaper vendor whose
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence

merchandise symbolises the voice of the oppressed in the city also suffers at the hands of the leaders - President and El Hadji. This vendor, who also collects city news from commoners for publication, becomes jobless in the remote area where the police dropped them off. By sending him out of the city, El Hadji and the President smother directly the voice of commoners who the newspaper vendor represents. Through Serigne and the vendor's experience, Sembene Ousmane underlines the violence of characters representative of African leaders as President, El Hadji and Thieli who entrench violence that constitutes obstacles to the well-being of commoners. On the other hand, the fact that Serigne and the vendor are added to the beggars' group shows that homelessness and unemployment are forms of subtle violence from the leaders to the common man. Considering the vendor and Serigne, Xala is a protest work against leaders' violence of creating unemployment and homelessness, two serious problems facing commoners in African cities.

By the same token, Gorgui, the head of beggars, whose group members finally heal El Hadji by spitting on his naked body, has his misfortune tied to El Hadji's violent leadership much earlier than the storyline. Just before his healing process, Gorgui identifies himself as a co-descendant of Beye lineage and reminds El Hadji about how long ago he falsified names and appropriated their family's heritage, the result of which made him (Gorgui) blind. In Gorgui's case we have another example of how African leaders' roles create the poor. A quick look at the clearing of the beggars might indicate it has little to do with violence; but El Hadji, the protagonist, and his colleagues' disposition and fraudulent manner of amassing wealth reveal structural violence such that subjects commoners to the trauma of becoming handicap, jobless and/or homeless. Serigne, the vendor and Gorgui's transformation to beggars and street people is interesting as it gives clue to class formation, not to the upward mobility but to downward level. Their transformation orchestrated by the leaders/privileged town people enables viewers to perceive the misery of the common man whose socio-economic condition is worsened persistently by the leaders. By far more important is the fact that their transformation explains how the middle-class is being phased-out of African social ladder, widening the gap between the very privileged corrupt few and the massive miserable commoners. Little wonder then that El Hadji's healing process entails a form of humiliation and poetic justice by the beggars, showing how Xala's director "Sembene expresses his contempt for the corrupt shallow [leaders] epitomised by El Hadji" (Arbolina and Llamas, 2008: 722).

Changed Leadership and Economic Violence in Xala

In an earlier scene Xala opens as a group of Africans, among whom is El Hadji, in African outfits storms the city's Chamber of Commerce and drives away the French occupants. Simultaneously, a non-diegetic voice over indicates Africans' readiness to take over from the latter. From the room, the African characters in annoyance throw out historical French sculptures including a bust of Marie-Antoinette. Shortly after, the
camera shows a medium shot of the President placing a picture of him on a pedestal painted with blue, white, and red colors, implying the colors of the French flag. It is noteworthy that the picture of the President replaces the removed bust of Marie Antoinette. The picture of this African leader and its new location - on top of the colors of French flag - all suggest the attachment of francophone African leaders to the apron of the French. As the Africans reemerge, now in European suits, the new African President asserts "Notre independance est complete." [Our independence is complete.] This declaration and the location of a picture of him suggest an irony of a complete independence. First, the personal picture of the President sitting on a high table draws attention to his personality in the picture. The picture becomes a motif that anticipates the formation of a group of self-serving African leaders, foregounding their imminent injustice and of course structural violence, because the picture suggests that the leaders but not commoners will count. Second, as inspiring as this exchange of French sculpture with the picture of the African President may be to an afrocentric viewer, the symbolic un-african location with the colors of French flag hints at a leadership/independence that leaves much to be desired. The picture of an African leader placed on a French flag is paradoxical to and thus implies a mockery of a 'complete independence' that prepares viewers for leadership fraught with incompetence.

In addition, the President's description of their complete independence is antithetical to their roles as shortly later in the same scene, a French member Dupont Durand stays back in the Chamber and stands closely behind the President who addresses the group. That the overshadowing Dupont later becomes the ubiquitous Personal Assistant to the African President throughout the film makes a mockery of a leadership that boasts of a complete independence in the President's speech. Dupont's presence implies uncertainty and dilemma as it challenges true leadership and transformation of governance from the French to Africans. Diawara M. took up this paternalistic relation between France and her former African colonies, categorising it as an oppressive neocolonial practice on the part of France (1992: viii).

In his speech, as the President (African Chambers of Commerce) hammers on socialism, the French ex-members re-enter presenting each Senegalese member with a briefcase loaded with wads of currency notes. While the camera pans left in order to indicate the mutual understanding between the giver and the taker of the briefcase, the focus-through of the camera suggests that the giving and the taking of the briefcase is one of the origins of prevalent economic misappropriation and mismanagement of funds in African national governments.

Little wonder, each recipient opens his briefcase, smiles and nods. When it comes to the turn of the President, the camera focuses on him as he looks back at Dupont who handed him his brief case; they both exchange glances and nod one at the other. Sembene in this scene presents the gift, its bribery connotation and its silent acceptance as a baptism of corruption handed down by the French to the Senegalese leaders which they later exploit as we shall see later.
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence  

Beyond the scene of the Chamber of Commerce, El Hadji Beye is struck with *xala*, a temporary impotence that prevents him from consummating the third marriage he spent so much money on. He becomes engrossed with finding healing and moves from one healer to another. In his manner of inflicting violence on the commoners, El Hadji Beye dupes the only healer who cured him of his *xala*. When the healer cannot cash his fake check, the former launches counter-violence as he re-imposes the impotent - *xala* - thus making El Hadji to come back to zero level. The healer's vengeance evokes the unfulfilled promise of African leaders to voters, but the supremeness of the commoner towers as the healer has the final power of healing and afflicting. As for El Hadji's duping the healer, this scene also implies a protest against the injustice and violence that African leaders impose upon the commoners like the healer.

Besides El Hadji's inclination for fraud, the scene of the healing itself sheds light on battered leadership symbolic in his search for a cure. It is noteworthy that the film - unlike the novel published in anticipation for the funding of *Xala's* scripts - shows preference for culture via traditional treatment because at no point does El Hadji seek westernised medical assistance in spite of his elitist position. As he lies on his back on the floor with the healer sitting behind him, one is able to read interrelations between leadership and culture. Viewing him on the bare floor is the camera's high angle shot that depicts him as the weak leader, it reduces his opulence and power. His condition reveals more. First, in spite of the prevalent European tuxedo that El Hadji always wears after the take-over of the Chamber of Commerce, for the first time he covers his nakedness with a mere wrapper, a local garb that deprives him of the suit and/or trousers typical of men's wear. He is covered with wrapper akin to traditional African women's dress code. In this way, the shot effemimates him, reinforces his loss of virility, deprives him of his phallic power and by implication accentuates him as a weak leader. Second, his position of lying down in front of a local healer hints at his bowing down before African culture exemplified by the healer who sits behind him on a stool maintaining a higher position than El Hadji, the patient who lies on bare floor. Finally the healing, the only one that worked in all of his efforts, goes on in the presence of Modou, his driver (who introduced him to the healer) and the healer both of who are commoners, adherents of culture, lower in social status than El Hadji, but higher in power of making him whole. I contend that the commoners - doyen of African culture - receive better focus and attention to the detriment of El Hadji the ingrate, extravagant and unscrupulous leader.

El Hadji's superfluous lifestyle leads to his economic violence of wastage of money; in part, his lack of economic accountability symbolised by his fake check grounds his business and that of members of his Chamber of Commerce. The city's banks stopped financial loans to members of his group. Before members of the Chamber of Commerce expelled him from their group, Kebe, a member, laments the economic constraints that El Hadji Kader Beye's roles impose on members' business. According to Kebe:
Olubunmi O. Ashaolu

El Hadji Kader Beye abused our privileges. For some weeks now, our members have suffered disgrace, insults, abuse because of him . . . Banks refuse us credit, working capital, over draft... What did he do with a hundred tons of rice? Sold! And the money? He spent it to purchase a third wife.

Kebe's speech conveys the indictment of African leaders' crime of financial mismanagement and the result of immodest living. The implication of Kebe's indictment reveals the fact that African economy suffers not because the resources are lacking but because the leaders are bankrupt.

Furthermore, the violence that African leadership entrenches on African economy emerges as El Hadji himself rubs the failed leadership on the face of members each of who has defrauded in the same way in the past. Challenging members, El Hadji retorts:

De quoi m'accable-t-on? De quoi? Et qui sommes nous? . . . Nous sommes tous des cultes dans le monde des affaires ... Chacun de nous, est un salaud, je dis bien salaud! Pire comme moi. Sinon plus. Nous sommes des crabes dans un meme panier. Et tant que nous sommes, nous avons tous emis des cheques sans provisions, fait des traffiques de quota des riz. Et alors seulement qu'on parle de secheresse, nous avons egalement, detourne des releves destinees aux necessiteurs . . .

Members' guilt of violence surfaces as none of them can argue otherwise to El Hadji's challenge. Whatever reasons he gave, members vote to expel him from the Chamber and withdraw his briefcase, an identity of members. Before releasing the briefcase, he retrieves his fetish inside it to the mockery of members. His briefcase now devoid of wads of note, suggests his financial emptiness, but with the fetish inside it reveals El Hadji's encounter with culture. It shows disparity between him and the culturally-unconscious members of the Chamber who still revel in economic misappropriation, suggesting the continuation of bad leadership in the setting. The members' perpetuity in bad leadership evolves because just after El Hadji releases his briefcase, Thieli enters and he is accepted into the group who presents him with the briefcase that was retrieved from El Hadji. In his suit, earned from robbery, Thieli as a new member of the Chamber leaves no hope for improvement in the leadership position he assumes. With a corrupt man expelled and a pickpocket admitted, I contend that the dilemma of African leadership poses an enigma that casts doubt as to finding an end to unjust leadership.
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence  131

Conclusion
A good way to address the dilemma of African leadership is to use the medium of cinema which, due to the prevalence of home videos, is accessible to African commoners more than books. The combination of cinematic images and conversation allows for a vivid condemnation of violence in African leadership. In both films, characters' organisation and the setting provide more insight into the Senegalese and Nigerian social stratification where the society only exhibits two classes - the rich and the poor. For instance, in Xala's opening; commoners who gather gleefully in front of the Chamber of Commerce make a move to join the African elite. The police push them away from the scene. Such scene at the opening indicates a society that is highly stratified where the rich and the poor have no point of meeting. Also, in Saworo Ide commoners and the leaders have no point of meeting as Lapite forms the habit of standing on elevated pedestal to speak harshly to the masses as the film advances. First, the presence of just the elite and the commoners in both films suggests a society with palpable inequality, more so that the poor undergo severe violence from the elite both in Saworo Ide and Xala. Second, an average viewer is quickly invited to inquire about the absence of the middle class, which apparently has been wiped out in most African countries. Kelani and Sembene's skill at showing the absence of the middle class in the setting hints at a society with a threatened democracy due to faulty leadership.

Leadership presented in Saworo Ide and Xala suggests that Africa has a long way to go in attaining a just society. The two directors denounce African leaders' insensitivity to commoners' plight, a trait that is antithetical to African communal tradition. Such lack of cultural awareness causes violence that leads to retrogress in the settings. Through the characters, it becomes evident that proper democracy and economic accountability are yet to take roots in Africa. In this manner, the films become a request for financial transparency, freedom of speech and genuine service to commoners which is what democracy is all about. Leadership in the films addresses the leaders' responsibility towards the led; it calls for their determination in making Nigeria and Senegal better political and economic milieu. While culture becomes an innuendo in the two regions, the two films manifest different forms of violent leadership. The example of Nigerian leadership displays more aggression especially on the part of the youths; similar study in the Senegalese film has a lesser impact. Kelani's film calls on the youths to press for change though in an aggressive manner as well as quest for individual rights within the Nigerian socio-political setting. Sembene Ousmane's Xala is no less critical of bad leadership, but with subtle violence from the commoners - precisely the beggars who had suffered long from leaders' violence. Xala prioritises commoners' well-being in African society. Xala echoes worries of the postcolonial presence in Africa; it includes a critic of francophone African leadership with its frail independence which is still under coloniser's apron strings.

What makes the two films resonant are the lessons learnt from bad African leadership. Sembene and Kelani do not merely critique autocracy, democracy failure or condemn
military interventions as seen in most African countries; the directors also call on the masses to take their destiny in their own hands. The youths and beggars' agency suggests the commoners' call to finding solution to African leadership issues. In this way, the films appear to invest power in the ordinary people. Even though bad leadership and violence may be rampant in present-day Africa, cinema as presented in Sa-woro Ide and Xala offers an opportunity for the transformation of bad leadership in Africa.

Endnotes
1. The experience of most African nations displays nominal independence which laments the inability of nationalists to follow the ideals that they had preached before independence. Indeed "the expectations created by the promises of militant nationalists gave way to disappointment, disillusionment, and - by 1990 in much of Africa- despair, state based nationalism had a hollow ring" (see Young, p. 69).
2. This example is seen in the dependent economy and politics of most independent sub-Saharan Francophone African countries. The control of the French is evident in the fact that the former's monetary value, CFA was and is still a diminutive sub category of the French franc, no longer in circulation in France, the French having adopted euro as their new monetary value. Also, the constant intervention of France in the political struggles of her ex-colonies in Africa, e.g. Gabon, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, even Rwanda and Burundi-Belgian's ex-colonies - to cite a few examples, lays bare the nominal independence of the ex-colonies and the fact that France as an ex-coloniser is active in these nations after independence.
3. Pan of African ideology consists of "rituals, sacrifices, and other religious acts; and process of treatment [used]... to invoke and appease gods and witches . . . In this process one identifies the importance of potions which among other methods are... 'injected' through incisions of superficial razor cuts" (see Selin, 1997:268).
5. When a 'talking drum' is beaten, it emits tonal sounds of Yoruba words. The drum mimics words such that beating it can send messages for greeting, or information among people who are accustomed to its language.
6. This character's name is not to be confounded with that of Papa Gorgui Diop, an old beggar in Aminata Sow Fall's La Guerre des Battus (1979). Papa Gorgui in spite of his amiability suffers violence, he got killed during one of the raids on beggars initiated by Keba-Dabo, a Senegalese Minister. Xala's Gorgui became blind due to El Hadji's violence. Just as Gorgui's revelation of El Hadji's violence highlights a climax in Xala, Papa Gorgui's death via Keba-Dabo's law against beggars also culminates into a climax that makes the beggars go on strike in La Guerre des Battus.
7. While in Ousmane Sembene: Interviews, the director claims that the removal of such icon is not to offend the French (75), I read the removal of the sculpture beyond mere emotional interrelation between the French and Africans. Marie-Antoinette, the extravagant eighteenth century queen of France, is a strong historical icon of leadership between Louis XVI her husband and the oppressed French masses, between the coloniser (in the context of Xala) and the colonised. In Xala, the removal of the bust echoes a relative non-violent removal of the oppressive French colonisers in African decolonisation process suggestive of Africans storming the Chamber of Commerce to send out the White occupants in Xala.
8. In Sembene Ousmane's novel Xala (1973), one of the healing places El Hadji visited is the city's main hospital (Sembene, p. 81-82).
Leadership, Culture and Structural Violence 133

References


Eckermann, A., Dowd, T., Chong, E., Nixon, L.,


134 Olubunmi O. Ashaolu


_____ Xala (1974). Film Domireew. 2hr OSmins.

