



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

POLITICAL SATIRE IN ACHEBE'S "A MAN OF THE PEOPLE"

BY
HAYELOM HAILE

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND
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APPROVED BY: BOARD OF EXAMINERS

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Abstract

The novel 'A Man of the People' by Chinua Achebe is a satire of the political era of the first republic of Nigeria's history. It portrays the problem of corruption in Nigeria among the political class. 'A Man of the People' is a Realistic fiction. Its story reconciles with the Post-independence Nigeria's history that reveals corruption and political power as the two sides of a coin. Leaders come to power with the sole purpose of filling their own coffers or benefiting friends, followers or clans etc., at the expense of the poor masses. But the major focus of the thesis is to explore how Achebe satirizes corruption, the major forms of corruption committed by the officials, the consequences of corruption and how he satirically attacked the corrupt politicians and the possible solutions the author suggested to curb corruption. The findings vividly show that the major causes of corruption in Nigeria are poverty, attitudinal problem/tribalism and greediness. But attitudinal problem of both the politicians and the society at large could be taken as the major one. The sad aspect is, in Nigeria, corruption has become cultural. The majority are involved in committing every type/form of corruption. However, electoral corruption is the dominant one. It has paralyzed democracy and has a deleterious effect on social and economic spheres. Achebe tried to condemn the corrupt politicians using the literary mediums of irony and exaggeration and in the end suggested coup as the only solution to minimize corruption and/or deter the politicians from abusing their power. But the key solutions in fighting corruption lie on supporting and recognizing the authors who fight against corruption through their pens to induce society to change its attitude and to strengthen civil society institutions including media and design a mechanism by which those who practice corruptors will be punished.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Background of the Study

1.1. Corruption in African Literature

Every literature be it European, Ethiopian, African etc., springs from the oral traditions, cultures, habits, and history of a given country. But African literature is a little bit different from that of other continents because unlike other nations Africa was under the yoke of colonialism.

During the colonial period the crucial role played by different institutions like the Christian missions, the colonial schools, and the university, to the emergence, nature and function of African Literature could not be underestimated (Gunner et.al, 2004). But this doesn't mean that Africans had no literature or culture before their contact with the Western Civilization, considering the existence of vibrant oral traditions in Africa (Olatunji, 2009).

During the colonial era the major issues raised by many African writers were issues related to culture, tradition, and religion. "European conquerors confronted societies with the difficult choice 'to adapt or perish' (cited by Boahen 1985a:3). What was at stake in the colonial encounter was the question of African autonomy, a major subject in early writing from the continent. Europeans came to Africa with their own culture, tradition and religion which they thought as modern. They considered Africans as backward, uncivilized societies who have no culture and history. "When Livingston spoke about the evils of African society, his concerns were more secular than ecclesiastical: African society was evil because it had not yet awakened to the virtue of European civilization that were, in his hand, the values associated with the bourgeoisie *Weltranschauung*, namely, utilitarian individualism, private property, and enlightened self-interest" (Comaroff and Comaroff,1992 p.187). A.J.Temu (1972), added on his part the missionaries saw nothing good in African dances, music or in such important African traditions as circumstances and intuition ceremonies. They lumped them together as heathen and immoral without trying to understand them, what they were for and what significance they had in the life of the people to whom they had come to teach Christianity. As exemplified in works such as *Achebe's Arrow of God* (1965), Nigugi WaThiong'o's *The River*

Between (1965), and Mongo Beti's *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba* (1956) (*The Poor Christian Bomba*), missionaries and their new African Protégés sought to uproot such customs and traditions ruthlessly and relentlessly.

The authors during the pre-independence period were devoting their time on shaping a cultural nationalistic fiction as a means to assert indigenous identity. Such literature was written when there was a hope that after independence Africa will prosper. Such fiction therefore, “tended to be dominated by a forward looking optimism” (Pandurang, 17). As a result, novels like *Things Fall Apart* (1958) by Chinua Achebe and *The River Between* (1965) by Ngugi Wa Thiang'o were written.

Such a hope however, gave place to despair soon after Africa got independence. The change of guard did not help in bringing about a change that Africa had longed for a long time. The new indigenous ruling African class involved itself in practices that were not different from earlier colonizers. Corruption, snobbery, manipulation of media, politics of lies, politics of deception and self-aggrandizement, ethicization, politics naturalization of election violence etc. and other evil practices disappointed the people. Sensing this authors like Ngugi Wa Thiang'o, Chinua Achebe and Ayi Kwei Armah had to relook at their roles as authors. They soon turned towards a mode of writing whereby they could express their anger and disillusionment. This anger and disappointment replaced the earlier promises of nationhood and self-assertion in their novels. The novels present a world in the fictional rendering that resembles Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana. For instance, '*A Man of the People*' is associated with a new phase of writing by an author, “in which Achebe takes a hard look at what we in Africa are making of our independence-but using Nigeria which I knew best” (Lindfors 1997,p.23). Similarly in a *Wizard of The Crow*, ruling class of Kenya, “in nakedly treacherous alliance with imperialist foreigners... in total cynical disregard of the wishes of over fourteen-Million Kenyans” (Thiang'o. *Detained* 10) is criticized. In addition, Soyinka's ritual drama “*The Road*” also portrays the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria with the theme of political, social and religious corruption in the state. Realizing the deplorable state in which roads in Nigeria were and the frequent loss of human lives on these roads, Soyinka decided to use a play to lampoon the then government for being so foolishly recalcitrant in its refusal to provide good motor able roads, even when many people were dying by road accidents. Soyinka satirizes those authorities,

politicians and the religious alike for using their positions to perpetuate corruption, instead of developing the country.

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), in worldwide terms, all criminal proceeds excluding tax evasion account for some USD 2.1 trillion in 2009, as such as Great Britain's GDP (UNODC, 2011). Even gloomier estimates state that global bribery contributes to over \$ 1 trillion in costs. However, this number neither entails embezzlement nor misapplication of public funds, which add some \$ 1.5 trillion (Transparency International, 2011a).

Corruption is a great enemy of development. According to Amartya Sen (1999a), development can be perceived as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Nevertheless, corruption doesn't allow this freedom to flourish. "Corruption in one way or the other infringes upon the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals...it adversely affects all categories of rights" (Action Professional Association for the People 2001:31). Corruption increases transactional costs and uncertainty in an economy while lowering efficiency. It leads to misallocation of scarce natural and man-made resources to rent seeking activities while distorting investment priorities and technology choice.

Since the poor are highly dependent on public services and least capable of paying extra costs associated with bribery, fraud and misappropriation of economic privileges, corruption affects the poor aggressively. Corruption also affects poverty alleviation programs negatively by distorting developmental decision-making. This widens the gap between the poor and the rich, which manifests the adverse relationship of corruption and development. Therefore, corruption is double jeopardy for the poor and the powerless. In general, it is widely recognized that corruption is a serious problem and threat to economic, political and social development, social stability, democracy, human rights morality and poverty reduction (Robert Williams 1987).

Corruption also undermines good governance, a country's competitiveness and revenue base. According to Dreher and Herzfeld (2005) as cited in Nduku and Tenamwanye (2014), the effect of corruption on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth is so huge such that ' an increase of corruption by about one index point reduces GDP growth by 0.13 percent points and GDP per capita by US \$ 425' (p.21-22). Nduku added that in Africa, the African

Development Bank estimates that the continent loses US\$ 300 Billion annually through corruption an amount that is 25% of its GDP and higher than donor and aid inflows. Indeed, the effects of corruption in Africa have been so monumental that was why Anton Du Plessis executive director of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), during the Economic Forum Africa meeting in Kigali, compared corruption with the deadly disease called HIV/AIDS and concluded that the major threat of Africa's peace and development nowadays is not terrorism, drought, HIV/AIDS or malaria. But the biggest threat is corruption.

1.2. An Overview of the Socio-Political Situation of Nigeria in 1960's

Africa in general and Nigeria in particular fought a bitter fight to eradicate invaders hoping that their freedom and economic development will be realized. It is a paradox that Nigeria richly endowed by providence with human and material resources but still its population is poor. As a result of corruption and poor leadership 70% of Nigeria's population live below poverty line (Ogbeidi, 2012). Ogbegi added, Nigeria, "Stuck in the league of very poor, corrupt, underdeveloped, infrastructural decaying, crises riven, morally bankrupt and leadership deficient" p.1. Political leadership and corruption were two sides of the same coin. According to Igbeidi (2012), though the origin of corruption dates back to the colonial era, it remained a common denominator of all political leaders since independent. Nigeria was not fortunate enough to get a leader who commits himself/herself to the well-being of its society at the expense of his/her personal interest. In line with this Ebegbulem (20095) cited in Ogbeidi argues:

Nigeria had not had the good fortune of being governed well since its political independence in 1960 because 'good and strong leaders' have never been in the saddle.From the first democratic government in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced in the country today, Nigeria has unfortunately been managed by leaders who are narcissistic and corrupt.(p.5)

Achebe (1984) in his book entitled "The Trouble with Nigeria" concluded that the major problem with Nigeria is failure of leadership. For many years Nigeria was not successful to get 'a leader of the people by the people for the people'. Starting from the first leader Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1960-1966), Nigeria has seen a number of leaders who came to power, exploited the nation, and were ousted by other successors through coup'd'e'tat and

assassination. From 1960-1999 for about 39 years the country had seen a number of coups and assassinations took place. For instance, Balewa was ousted from power by a group of young middle-rank army officers on 15th January 1966 through coup d'état on the basis of corruption and replaced by a military government led by General Aguiyi Ironsi. After seven months in office Ironsi was overthrown by Gowon through coup. During this time Nigeria experienced an oil boom of the 1970s (Iraq War). The government used the opportunity for its own interest, then, overthrown in 1975 through coup by General Mohammed Murtala. History praises Murtala more than any other leader for his effort and commitment to eradicate corruption from the country. He began work by declaring his assets and asked the officials to follow suit. But this hope was not long lived. He was assassinated after only six months in office and replaced by his chief of staff General Olusegun Obasanjo. But Obasanjo transferred his power in 1979 to a second republic, under the president of Shehu Shagari considered as a resurgence of corruption. It was claimed that over \$ 16 billion oil revenues were lost between 1979 and 1983 (Ogbeidi, 2012). On 31st December 1983 General Muhammed Buhari led a popular coup with the aim of halting corruption and restoring discipline and integrity and dignity to public life. He tried to arrest and bring to court all corrupt officials, but this light of hope was also blown by General Ibrahim Babangida in a bloodless coup on 27th August 1985. No leader in Nigeria was black listed by history more than Babangida and Abacha who institutionalized corruption and made it systemic. According to Ogbeidi (2012), General Abacha and his family, together with his followers exploited the nation mercilessly. Mentioning International Center for Asset Recovery (2009) as a source, Ogbeidi put the result of the investigation as follows it was estimated embezzlement of public funds and corruption proceeds of general Abacha and his family amounted to USD 4 billion. Fortunately, General Sani Abacha died suddenly from a heart attack in 1998 and replaced by General Abdulsalami Abubakar who was the only leader that transferred power to his successor in 1999 through election after having spent eleven months in power. Though he was condemned for his reluctance in the fight against corruption, he was appreciated for laying down the foundation of democracy. But the political history of Nigeria continued in this way and corruption has been deep-rooted from time to time.

The History of Nigeria reveals that leadership and corruption were interwoven and are positively correlated. This conclusion is based on the fact that virtually the majority of leaders came to power with the sole purpose of enriching themselves and their cronies rather than

offering selfless services to the nation and its people. This costs Nigeria not only money and other material resources but also the hope of ever getting selfless leaders.

1.3.Statement of the Problem

As indicated in the background, corruption is a serious problem that affects many countries. Novelists, playwrights and poets have shown the magnitude of this social problem artistically since the role of writers is to mirror reality and attack the corruptors through their artistic works. The issue of corruption in literary works has attracted the attention of many critics including Achebe. The researcher intended to critically explore how Achebe attacks corruption through satire in '*A Man of the People*'.

Thus, this thesis intends to answer the following major research question:

- How did Achebe artistically ridicule corruption in '*A Man of the People*' through techniques of satire.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to critically examine the issue of corruption and the satirical elements used by Achebe to ridicule social vices and denounce follies. It also has the following specific objectives.

- to identify how the causes of corruption are satirized in '*A Man of the People*'.
- to identify the types/forms of corruption committed by the officials that Achebe ridiculed in the novel ..
- to identify the major techniques of satire used by the author to condemn the corrupt politicians.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This thesis might be used as a springboard for other researchers who are interested to conduct a study on a similar topic. The study tries to provide a deeper understanding of satire as a literary

medium of social and political criticism. The study might also contribute to the understanding and literary appreciation of the writer's use of satire to condemn corruption.

1.6.Scope of the Study

The focus of this thesis is exploring the issue of corruption and how Achebe attacked the follies and vices of the corrupt politicians using different satirical elements. The text under study is '*A Man of the People*' by Chinua Achebe. Achebe satirizes political and social corruption in the selected fiction. Corruption is a dangerous cancer plaguing many under-developed countries. This thesis examines the causes, types and effects of corruption in Achebe's "A Man of the People" and explores how the author condemned the evilness of corruption. The study is not concerned with other aspects of the selected novel such as characterization, style and point of view though reference could be made to such aspects wherever they help to clarify the analysis.

1.7. Methodology of the Study

The issue of corruption and the major satirical elements used to attack the corrupt politicians in the selected novel are analyzed through textual analysis. The relevant passages in the novel are identified through close reading. Aspects of corruption are identified and critically analyzed in relation to the social and political contexts of the novel. Information on the socio-political context of the novel (Nigeria) is drawn from critical texts accessed through internet and the libraries. These sources are also used in writing the relevant literature review and the theoretical framework.

1.8. Organization of the Study

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter one, as the background of the study discusses the political and social situation of Nigeria especially in 1960s. Chapter two reviews empirical literatures related to the topic of the research. Chapter three highlights the theoretical framework Realism and the literary vehicle called Satire. Chapter four as the body of the research devotes with analyzing the issue of corruption and the major satirical elements employed in the selected text, while, chapter five consists of conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter Two

A Review of Related Research Studies

In this chapter, research works that are relevant to the topic are going to be critically reviewed. The more we know the causes of corruption, the better we can decide on how to formulate policy instruments and strategies that are used to combat corruption.

Gaiden (2001) suggested what makes difficult to classify the factors that contributes to corruption is because of its behavior varies. Explanations are offered that it is different to classify corruption in any systematic manner. He listed the following as ‘Sources’ of corruption: psychological, ideological, external economic, political, socio-cultural and technological factors. Factors that contribute to corruption however, are of course not the same as causes of corruption. “In sum, corruption can be attributed to almost anything....But while the opportunities exist everywhere; the degree varies widely among individuals, public agencies, administrative cultures, and geographic regions” (p. 21-26)

Many scholars and experts agree that corruption is not an easier social issue that can be explained by a simple cause-effect model. For instance, poverty is highly correlated with corruption. Yet corruption exacerbates poverty. Now we can be so sure that corruption causes poverty but it is not always true that poverty is the sole cause of corruption because it also exists in the developed nations. The same is true with illiteracy level of a society. So, in this case, the cause-effect relationship is bi-directional. Natural resource endowments like oil, gas, land, minerals, metals, fisheries etc. are considered as a two-sided sword. If properly managed, they are sources of wealth. If not, they will be sources of corruption. Moreover, low salaries of public officials could also be a cause to corruption. Hence, according to Gashaw et.al (2015), poverty and unemployment are also the main causes of corruption in Ethiopia in general and in Ambo town in particular.

Nduku (2014) on his part mentioned some possible causes of corruption in Africa as:

Negative colonial legacy, or leadership, politics of the belly, omnipotent state, greed and selfishness, clienteles and patronage, nepotism, absence of popular participation of the public in government, weak institutions of governance, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of political will, weak ethical values,

centralistic nature of the state and centralization of state power, weak judicial system and consistent insecurity and conflict. (P. 20).

The prevalence of corruption at all levels of society marks a common feature for almost all developing countries. This is due to two factors. First, the societies are not well aware about what corruption is and what is not and even if they do have the awareness, they do not view the potential threat of punishment seriously. The other reason is, the potential benefit outweighs its punishment for a certain corrupt practice. According to Rageer, (2003), there are two factors for corruption to happen. The first factor is negligibility to crimes. The second is, the present value of the loss from a potential penalty itself contingent upon conviction is not significant. The second factor is directly aligned with the *Public Choice Theory* of the Causes of Corruption (Graaf, 2007). The theory goes like:

The causal chain is that of an individual making a (bounded) rational decision that leads to predetermined outcomes. Central to the Public literature is the individual corrupt official who tries to maximize his or her utility. The individual (usually male) is portrayed as a rationally calculating person who decides to become corrupt when its advantages outweigh its expected disadvantages (a combination of possible penalty and the chance of being caught) (P.47).

By gathering secondary data from written documents and primary data through personal interviews with former and present public officials of Armenia (including those in fiscal sector and local government) and private entrepreneurs, Voskanyan (2000), attempted to examine the effects of corruption on economic and political development of Armenia. The researcher concluded as corruption is the oldest and multifaceted phenomenon its causes are also numerous. For instance, cultural factors, psychological factors, and system related factors are considered as the main causes. Besides, according to the researcher, monopoly power, discretionary power, and weak accountability of public official's fuels causes of corruption to happen. The researcher concluded that corruption decreases the efficiency of public spending; decreases the budget revenue; reduces the effectiveness of the use of aid; dissipates political legitimacy and hinders the democratic development of the nation.

Macheka (2012) reviewed a research entitled "An Evaluation of Post-Colonial African Leadership: A study of Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* and Chinua Achebe's "A Man of the People". The paper focuses on how a post-colonial African leader in Armah's '*The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*' and Achebe's '*A Man of the People*' have

shifted from democratic leadership to an autocratic type of governance. The paper denotes a type of corruption that shifts away from cherished values and ideals of post-colonial Africa. The main method employed is textual analysis. According to the researcher, the novels reveal the socioeconomic disillusionment of an independent African society. The leaders abuse their posts to enrich themselves at the nation's expense. Moreover, the paper concluded by indicating how the black people's quest for shared power and freedom has been thwarted by the post-colonial African governments. It also shows how the misuse of power causes the officials of African leaders to be sources of evil and wealth creation for a few selected individuals.

The other research conducted on Achebe's 'A Man of the People' is by Abiodun that examines how Achebe condemns corrupt politicians through 'A Man of the People'. And he said that Achebe has achieved condemning the African politicians in general and the Nigerian's in particular for their negative tendencies and by extension, condemning the ordinary people in the different African societies for their seeming endorsement of corrupt politicians.

Dwivedi. (2008) conducted a research entitled 'Aspects of Realism in Achebe's A Man of the People'. The researcher appreciated Achebe's technique of characterization. He said that the delineation of Nanga as a practical politician, and of Odili as an alienated of young man, is realistic to the core; ...other characters such as Edna, Mrs. Nanga and Josiah are credible and the reader never gets the impression that they are far-fetched. Moreover, the researcher appreciated the power of Achebe's novels to inspiring a revolution, a revolution that aims towards true independence that moves towards the creation of modern states in place of new colonial enclaves... a revolution that is informed with African ideologies.

Abiye(1986) Daniel in his thesis entitled, "Socialist Realism and its Implications for the African Writer" has tried to critically analyze the concepts of Critical Realism and Socialist Realism and concluded that the former form of Realism doesn't give room for the 'optimist rising class-working class' and is unable to give solutions for problems. And he inferred that critical Realism is an inadequate method to deal with reality. On the other hand, according to the researcher, Socialist Realism deals with humans and can point out the causes of problems and can indicate the solutions. Moreover, he attempted to summarize the major

themes of prominent writings of all African Regions (Western, Central, Southern and Northern). And concluded as: “South African Literature is dominant with Apartheid, the resistance movement and culture conflict; North and Central African Literature have strong influence of religion reflecting pre-destination; West African presents pessimism in various degrees” p. 78. And in the end, Abiye recommended African writers to deal with human and become part of the solutions for the problems by saying, “...there can be no nobler task than showing the majority of mankind the exploitation of men by man and helping him to attain his rightful place in society”. (P.80).

Similarly Bayleyegn Ayalewin his thesis entitled, “Realism in Sahle Selassie Berhane Mariam’s *Warrior King and the Afersata*” (2011) show how Sahle Selassie through his notable novels realistically reflected the socio-political situation of Ethiopia during the setting of the selected texts. And the researcher concluded that *Warrior King* highly devotes on the narration of the upbringing, family background, brevity and military talent of the hero, Emperor Tewodros and these are portrayed and indicated as real as in history of Ethiopia. While *Afersata* focuses on the communal and traditional court system called the Afersata. Moreover, the researcher found out how the author revealed different customs and beliefs besides political, social, insecurity and economic woes of Ethiopia at that time.

Sintayehu Genete (2008) examines how Bewketu Siyum using his literary works *Enqilf ena Edime* and *Berary Kiteloch* satirically reflected his social and political criticism. The prominent nature of comedy as well as the purpose of comedy and satire was used as a theoretical framework for his analysis. Furthermore, the analysis of *Enqilf ena Edime* (Sleep and Age) and *Berari Kiteloch* (Winged Leaves) revealed Bewketu’s launch on an elaborate satiric and comic attack on many aspects of human behavior as well as the follies and vices of political leaders and government institutions. Moreover, the finding depicts the writer’s talent in mixing humor and criticism as fundamental literary devices to criticize social and political evils.

The other relevant M.A thesis the researcher found is the one done by Akalu Getaneh. Akalu's research is entitled "Comedy and Social Purpose: Two plays of Mengistu Lemma". This research was written in 1981 focusing on Mengistu Lemma's *Marriage of Unequal's* and

Marriage by Abduction. Akalu's purpose was to demonstrate the way in which Mengistu Lemma utilized satire to defend the oppressed people. He focused on the playwright's use of satire to expose the erroneous practices of the then socialist Ethiopian society. Accordingly, he has attempted to show what satire can do as a constructive criticism of individuals and the society. In this research, Akalu believed that satire is "medicinal because its instruments are wit, humor and irony, weapons that are particularly effective in the hands of a dramatist such as Mengistu Lemma (IV)." Akalu concludes his analysis stating that Mengistu utilizes satire to defend the oppressed people.

Similarly, Mesfin Endrias's (1993), examined satirical elements in nine poems written by nine different poets. The poems he considered in his thesis were: Kul Weyis Tilashet (Abera Lemma, 1975), Imbuwa Belu Sewoch (Dagnachew Worku, 1974), Yebrehan Fikir (Debebe Seifu, 1988), Berekete Mergem(Hailu G/Yohannes, 1974), And Ken (Kifle Abocher, 1975), Basha Ashebir Be America (Mengistu Lemma, 1975), Ingurguro (Mesfin W/Mariam, 1975), Metekezia (Tesfaye Gessesse, 1974) and Isat Wey Abeba (Tsegaye G/Medhin, 1974). Mesfin intended to investigate how the aforementioned nine poets used satire. He tried to show the features and tones of satire in the selected poems. With this purpose in mind, Mesfin found out that the poems focused on social problems such as pretentiousness, abuse of technological discoveries and corruption. He also concluded that the poems were seriously satirical manifesting opposition to pretense, social abuses, hypocrisy, and lack of sympathy and loss of identity.

When we see the theses revised above, there are researches that deal with examining the issue of corruption. What these theses share in common with my study is the issue they raised i.e. corruption but they are different in the methodology they employed. They analyzed data collected from participants through interview and questionnaire. A thesis by Bayleyegn Ayalew "Realism in Sahle Sellasie Berhane Mariam's 'Warrior King and the Afersata'" resembles with mine in terms of the theoretical framework and the methodology used but different when it comes to the texts under study. Even when we see Abiy's thesis 'Social Realism and its Implications for African Writers', of course, he aggressively elaborated Realism, Social Realism and Critical Realism. He explored the socialist outlook of the Major African writers in general and Chinua Achebe in particular. And he summarized the major

themes of Achebe's Novels; *Things Fall Apart*, *Arrow of God*, *No Longer at Ease* and *A Man of the People*. But Abiye doesn't show how Achebe condemned and satirized the social evil called corruption. Hence this thesis, unlike the previous ones, focuses on a) identifying the major causes and types of corruption in Nigeria during the setting of 'A Man of the People' having in mind the fiction is Realistic in nature. b) Examining the possible impacts of corruption on the characters portrayed (Nigerian society) c) analyzing how Achebe ridiculed the evil practice of corruption using different satirical elements.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

3.1. The Concept of Realism and Satire

Literature takes different forms or genres. A literature could be prose narratives: myth, short story, novel. A novel can be categorized as allegory, epistolary, picaresque, gothic, historical, realism, and romance and so on. The realistic novels are based on the truths or realities of ordinary society and their problems.. Literary works are portrayals of the thinking patterns and social norms prevalent in society. They are a depiction of the different facets of common man's life. Furthermore, a novel centrally includes the idea of representing the real world. Novels are seen to address themselves more closely to real life than poetry or drama does Bayleyegn Ayalew (2011).Realism is a word that anyone studying novels cannot avoid using or at least trying to come to terms with. Most of the fictional works we read are realist in orientation (Dennis Walder, 1995).According to Chris Baldick (1990), Realism is a system of conventions producing a lifelike illusion of some "real" world outside the text. It is often identified in terms of the effects on the reader, giving the impression that such characters and events might exist in real life.

Realism is the theory of writing in which the familiar, ordinary aspects of life are depicted in a matter of fact, straightforward manner designed to reflect life as it actually is. Realism often presents a careful description of everyday life, often concerning itself with the lives of the so-called middle or lower classes. Abrams (1971) noted that the term 'realistic novel' "is more usefully applied to works which are realistic both in subject and manner ... throughout the whole rather in parts" (p.141). Additionally, Gray(1992) has noted that Realism "is best used for writers who show explicit concern to convey an authentic impression of actuality, either in their narrative style, or by their serious approach to their subject matter" (p.241). The main tenet of Realism is that writers must not select facts in accord with preconceived aesthetics or ethical ideals but, rather, record their observations impartially and objectively. Realism downplays plot in favor of character and concentrates on ordinary situations.

Realism in literature aimed at describing the horrors of modern civilization as seen in the lives of the poor wretches who labored in mines of factories of prostitutes, degenerates, and criminals

(Ronald N. Stromberg, 1968). Moreover, Henry James proposes that Realism finds its subjects in everyday life. Writers of realistic fiction tend to use simple, direct prose to depict ordinary men and women in everyday situations. They value the individual above plot, creating stories that explore the psychology of their characters. According to Bayleyegn, as a literary term, Realism has two meanings—one general, the other historical. In a general sense, Realism refers to the representation of characters, events, and settings in ways that the spectator will consider plausible, based on consistency and likeness to type. This sort of Realism does not necessarily depend on elaborating factual description or documentation but more on the author's ability to draft plots and characters within a conventional framework of social, economic, and psychological reality. In a historic sense, Realism refers to a movement in nineteenth-century European literature and theater that rejected the idealism, elitism, and romanticism of earlier drama and prose fiction. Realism began in France with Honoré de Balzac, Gustave Flaubert, and Guy de Maupassant and then flourished in many parts of the world. James, as one of the pioneers of literary realism, believed that characters should be created without idealization and settings and situations must be portrayed as faithfully to real life as possible. Physical description underscores a character's essential personality and provides the reader with clues about his or her temperament. The reader can always expect actions and responses that are understandable in terms of that character's unique perspective.

3.2. Definition of Realism

It seems, as Raymond Tallis (1998) argues, almost impossible to formulate an agreed-upon definition of Realism that will steer clear of epistemological, social and political controversy about the nature of "reality" and the "real world". However, Robert Scholes tried to define Realism as 'a mode of fiction that presents a world recognizably bound by the same laws as the world of the author.' (P. 18). Defining realism positively gets one in to all sorts of messes, most centrally that of defining reality. And this leads to what is most useful about Scholes' definition. Realism is bounded by external, non-literary constraints. Realism is a term which like real itself owes most of its meaning to its opposition to other terms. Even though Realism may be defined positively—it would seem, therefore, preferable to indicate its boundaries rather than to try to characterize its content. According to Abrams, M.H. (1988), Realism is used in two ways:

1. to identify a literary movement of the nineteenth century, especially in prose fiction (beginning with Balzac in France, George Eliot in England, and William Dean Howells in America); and

2. to designate a recurrent mode, in this and other eras, of representing life in literature, which was typified by the writers of this historical movement. (p.152)

Unlike the romance fiction that presents life as we would like it to be, more picturesque, more adventurous, and more heroic than the actual, Realism, presents an accurate imitation of life as it is. The typical realist sets out to write fiction which will give the illusion that it reflects life and the social world as it seems to the common reader. To achieve these effects, the author prefers as protagonist an ordinary citizen of Middletown, living on Main Street, perhaps, and engaged in the real estate business. The realist, in other words, is deliberately selective in material and prefers the average, the commonplace, and the everyday over the rarer aspects of the social scene. The characters, therefore, are usually of the middle class or (less frequently) the working class-people without highly exceptional endowments, who live through ordinary experiences of childhood, adolescence, love, marriage, parenthood, infidelity, and death; who find life rather dull and often unhappy, though it may be brightened by touches of beauty and joy; but who may, under special circumstances, display something akin to heroism. Most prominently, thoroughgoing Realism is not only a selection of subject matter but, more importantly, a special literary manner as well: the subject is represented, or "rendered," in such a way as to give the reader the illusion of actual and ordinary experience (Bayleyegn Ayalew, 2011).

According to the definition and examples of literary devices (2017), realism is a movement in art that started in the mid nineteenth century in France with the objective of rooting out what are called fantastic and romantic in literature and substitute them with what is real. Unlike fantastic and romantic writers, Realistic writers explain things as they are, "without decorative languages or sugar-coating". (Ibid) described Realism as follows:

Realism attempts to describe life without romantic subjectivity and idealization. It focuses on actualities of life, and truthfully treats the common place characters of everyday life. The purpose of using realism is to emphasize reality and morality that is relativistic and intrinsic for the people as well as to society. This sort of realism makes the reader face reality as it happens in the world, rather than in the make-believe world of fantasy. (P. 3).

That is why some say Realism coincides with journalistic techniques such as objectivity, truthfulness and fidelity. "The novelists function is simply to report what happens, without comment or judgment" (The Literature Network, 2017, p.1). Rene Wallek quoted by Abiye Daniel (1986) defined Realism as:

....Rejects the fantastic, the fairy tale- likes the allegorical and the symbolic, the highly stylized, the purely abstract, and decorative. It means that we want no myth, maerchen, no world of dreams, it implies also rejection of the improbable, of pure chance, and of extraordinary events, since reality is obviously conceived at that time, in spite of all local impersonal differences, as the ordinary world of nineteenth century science, a world of cause and effect, a world without miracle, without transcendence even if the individual may have preserved a personal religious faith. The term 'Reality' is also a term of incision: the ugly, revolting, the law are legitimate subjects of art. Tabro subjects such as sen and dying (love and death were always allowed) are now admitted into art.(P.10).

Romantic writers were more of escapists and their writings were full of fantasies, myths, allegorical expressions etc. They prioritized nature and beauty than man and their slogan was “Art for art’s sake” While the focus of realistic writers is man and their slogan is “Art for Life’s Sake”. (Ibid.p.10)

3.3. Characteristics of Realism

The two intellectual influences operated to foster the attitudes reflected in Realism: the spread of education through the proliferation of public and private schools in the industrialized western world; the theoretical legacy of the American and French revolutions of the 18th century. These influences continued into the 19th century. In England, the chartists agitated for lowering the financial requirements for the right to vote; in France and the German and Italian states, there were the revolutions of 1848; in the U. S., the democratic ideal acquired new relevance in the civil war and the exploitation of natural resources and the frontier (Bayleyegn Ayalew, 2011)

The cumulative effect of these conditions was the formation of a literate middle class that saw its members as social and political protagonists; wanted a literature that reflected its social structure, manners, and ethical values. In addition, among writers there was a reaction against two exaggerations of 19th-century Romanticism: idealism--the vision of the world as polarized into good and evil, high and low, noble and ignoble; escapism— the desire to escape from the instability, conflicts, and suffering of the real world. In a realistic text, the emphasis is on the way things are for ordinary people, whose behavior and speech mirror their social position and cultural attitudes. In this sense, Realism is opposed to romance, which represents life as it is, or to other anti-realist approaches such as expressionism and impressionism (Ibid, 2011). A key

feature of Realist literature is its emphasis on the author's objectivity. Another characteristic was the notion of determinism, the view that individual free will is, if not completely illusory, radically limited by cultural, environmental, and historical forces. Realism is a 'true-to-life' approach to subject matter; also described as naturalism. More specifically, Realism refers to a movement in mid-19th-century European art and literature that was a reaction against Romantic and Classical Idealization and a rejection of conventional academic themes, such as mythology, history, and sublime landscapes. Realism favored themes of everyday life and carefully observed social settings. Another principal characteristic of Realist fiction includes urban settings—the homes, factories, offices, resort, and other places frequented by both the upper and lower middle class. The plots are based on the practical and ethical problems faced by members of this class, and the decisions that they must make—for example, choice of spouse conditioned by economic and ethical as well as romantic or sentimental factors; choice of profession and the choice between self-interest and integrity in business dealings or personal affairs. The protagonists are typical members of the middle class and reflect the attitudes and values as well as the customs and manners of this class. Occasionally, some characters may belong to other classes and unlike romantic heroes and villains, the characters are neither extremely good nor extremely bad, but have a mixture of both qualities. According to Bayleyegn, the key facets of Realism are firstly, the world exists objectively, independently of the ways we think about it or describe it and secondly, our thoughts and claims are about that world. Wright (1992) offers an essential statement of this way of thinking about Realism. The world that we represent in our thoughts or language is an objective world. Putnam (1978) notes, "Whatever else Realists say, they typically say that they believe in a 'correspondence theory of truth'." (p.18). Any theory that provides objective relations of reference and satisfaction, and builds up a theory of truth from them, would give a form of Realism. A significant point in relation to Realism is that any enterprise towards locating what is 'realistic' or what constitutes 'Realism' sets in motion a machinery of enquiry which seeks to discover an identifiable site of knowledge or perception shared or which could be shared as authentic within a complex geography of human experience. Thus, Gideon Rosen (1999) shares assaying, 'we may epitomize the Realist's stance by saying that to be a realist about a region of discourse is to regard it as describing a genuine domain of objective fact' (p.891). But what, we may ask, really defines this elusive phenomenon called 'objective fact'. Is it temporal, geo-

spatial, racial, cultural, classic or gendered? Is it rather political, religious or individual? Either way the politics of identification extends, any question regarding Realism or the realistic immediately evokes an atmosphere carrying with it a 'righteous' air, challenging the uncritical, complacent and the taken-for-granted, and in other elaborate contexts, foregrounding the subversive. Realism thus becomes a problematic semiotic which may as well convey the 'irreal', claiming a place in the realm of notional reality. Realist novels are characterized by the psychology of the characters in as important as the external action of the plot—the text includes a substantial amount of revelation and analysis of character and the reader is expected to be as interested in how a character deals with his or her reality as in how the story ends. Narrators avoid the overtly emotional language of romanticism: judgments may be expressed or implied; the narrator may remain neutral, leaving the reader to form his or her own judgments. The narrative tone may be neutral, mildly comic, or satiric. Generally, Bayleyegn (2011:P.26-27) put the points that differentiate realistic novels from other forms of novels as follows:

1. Observation and Accurate Description of Reality

This is the basic principle of Realism. The interest in the observation of reality is parallel to the observation methods characteristic of the experimental sciences. The writers come to scoring documented field notes about characters or settings, or consult books, of which extract accurate information.

2. Location Next to the Facts

Against evasion in space and time of Romanticism, the authors write realistically about what they know. It shifts the gaze to the everyday, eliminating subjectivity and fantasy and controlling the excesses of the imagination and sentimentality.

3. Frequent Purpose of Social and Political Criticism

Intention, ideology varies for each writer. The authors describe reality conservatives to show their degradation and demand a return to traditional values. Progressives are also social evils, but these, according to them, due to the persistence of a conservative mentality that impedes progress towards the new world.

4. Simple and Sober Style

Realists reject the romantic rhetoric. There is the ideal stylistic accuracy, as the writer intended to mimic the work of the scientist.

5. Preference for the Novel

The literary genre par excellence was the novel, which, according to the realists, was best suited to reflect reality in its entirety. The typical features of realistic fiction are:

1. **Plausibility:** The stories are like fragments of reality. Disappear from the story improbable events, amazing facts and unusual adventures.
2. **Protagonists individual or collective:** The protagonists of the novels are either individuals or large social groups. In the first case concerned the protagonist's psychological analysis in the second, the description of environments. We distinguish therefore two types of novels: the psychological and the social atmosphere.
3. **Omniscient narrator:** The narrator completely manages the threads of the story: know what will happen, he knows the thoughts of the characters involved in the work with facts and judgments about characters and comments addressed to the reader.

Realism is a new approach to character and subject matter. The overriding concern of all realist fiction is with character. Human mind is composed of a network of motivations, interests, desires and fears and Realism at its highest level attempts to lay these internal struggles bare for all to see.

3.4. The Realist Novel

Bayleyegn (2011:28) put the two principal ways of thinking about the relationship between 'the novel' and 'society'. One of these has to do with the history of the novel as a developing literary genre: to what extent was the novel shaped or produced by a particular set of social conditions? The other is concerned with the critical assessment or evaluation of the novel as a literary form: how effectively or persuasively does the novel 'reflect' or represent' society? In both cases the question of Realism is profoundly important. Literary historians generally agree that the emergence of the novel as a new genre of writing was intricately connected with the emergence of a new kind of society in the eighteenth century. Ian Watt, in *The Rise of the Novel*, argues that the realist conventions of the novel coincided with the needs and interests of a society or a particular social class that was becoming more rational, secular and individualistic in its outlook. In his *Introduction to the English Novel*, Arnold Kettle ventures the opinion that romances give way to Realism at precisely that point when feudalism is becoming supplanted by capitalism. It can be seen, then, that the evolution of the novel does

not take place in isolation from the artistic environment but is deeply affected by the shifts and stresses of the changing social order. In addition, much of the critical commentary that has accompanied the development of the novel has been concerned with the nature of Realism and the extent to which the methods and techniques of Realism can create a sufficiently complex and comprehensive image of society. The idea of imitation or mimesis prevailed on in early theories of Realism, and the model it usually adopts is that of a mirror. The nineteenth-century French novelist Stendhal provides a memorable instance of this when he writes of the novel as ‘a mirror traveling along a highway’. However, not all novelists and critics espouse this kind of confidence in Realism. In 1890, we can find Edmund Gosse writing an essay entitled ‘The Limits of Realism in Fiction’ in which he employs the familiar comparison between the mirror and the novel, only to cast doubt on its validity. Gosse adjoins the inherent disproportion between the small flat surface of a book and the vast arch of life it undertakes to mirror (quoted in Grant, 1970, p. 64-65). It is not startling, therefore, to a new generation of novelists (James Joyce and Virginia Wolf) writing in the early twentieth-century dissent from the conventional methods of Realism and express a preference for a fiction of fleeting sensations and impressions, a preference for psychological intensity rather than social comprehensiveness.

Even so, traditional realist methods continued to be employed and so, too, did the persistent belief that Realism was capable of portraying society in all its complexity. The influential theories of George Lukacs rested on a deep conviction that the realist novel could provide a vivid and immediate image of ‘the totality of a society’ and reveal its pattern of development. While Lukacs conceded that no art could ever present more than an approximate image of that totality, he nevertheless insisted that the value of a novel depended largely on the extent to which it embodied, as accurately and as completely as possible, a particular social structure or historical period. It is here that the work of Raymond Williams *the English Novel: From Dickens to Lawrence* (1970) proves so valuable. He makes a decisive break with the usual formulation of the novel and society, and offers the much more dynamic idea of the novel in society. In Williams’s estimation, the novel is not adjacent to society but deeply implicated within it. It is not a mere product of society but an active constituent, helping to shape the ideas and values by which a society comes to know itself; the value he attaches to each novel is

measured not only in terms of formal structure but in terms of the lived experience that the novel embodies.

3.5. Satire as a Literary Medium

The novel 'A Man of the People' is a satirical fiction. The writer attacked the political corruptors through different techniques of satire. Under this sub-title the definition of satire, purpose of satire, characteristics of satire, and techniques of satire are discussed.

3.5.1. The Nature and Definition of Satire

Satire is a literary vehicle applied to any work of literature or art whose objective is to ridicule. It has significant functions in social and political criticism. Satirical literature exposes follies in all its forms, such as vanity, hypocrisy, sentimentality etc. it also attempts to effect reform through such exposure. Satirists, therefore, design a work of literature focusing on human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or pitfalls. They use satire as literary technique to combat these vices shortcomings and according to New Encyclopedia Britannica (1993) is "to censure by means of ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony or other methods" (p.467)

Satirical works are usually critical. Hawthorn (2005) states, "satire attacks alleged vices and follies either of individuals or of whole communities or groups- or institutions and its tools are ridicule, exaggeration and contempt." (p.197)

Numerous literary critics state that satire is a flexible term that is why it is difficult to put one agreeable definition. In line with this, Feinberg (1967) points out that "satire is such an amorphous genre that no two scholars define it in the same words." (p.18). However, many literary scholars have attempted to give suitable working definitions based on their own perspective. It is therefore, important to state definitions of satire provided by different writers at different times.

A Glossary of literary Terms by Abrams (1981), defines satire as:

The literary art of diminishing a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitudes of amusement, contempt indignation or scorn, it differs from the comic in that comedy evokes laughter mainly as an end in itself, while satire "derides" ; that it uses laughter as a weapon and against a butt existing outside the work itself. That butt may be an individual (in "personal satire") or

a type of person, a class, an institution, a nation or even (as in Rochester's "A satyr against Mankind" and much of Swift's Gulliver's Travels, especially Book IV) the whole race of man.(p.167)

The above definition emphasizes the principal notion of satire as a literary genre in which human vice or folly are attacked through such techniques as irony, derision, or wit.

The best definitions of satire should be formulated from a combination of its corrective motive and its literary method of execution (Robert Harris 2004). Inseparable from any definition of satire is its corrective purpose. Ian Gordon (2002) points out the satirist stands in opposition to the current state of affairs, endeavoring to change things either to what they were in a recalled and often mythologized, past, or to what they might be in a preferred, and frequently Utopian, future. What is drawn from the above definitions is that the corrective purpose of satire is expressed through a critical mode that includes laughter and contempt.

Schools and Sullivan (1986) define satire based on the view of the world presented in a literary text. They noted that, "a work that presents a fictional world worse than the real world is in the mode of anti-romance, or satire." (p.8). They also argued that the world of satire emphasizes ugliness and disorder. These authors' claim reminds us that the theme of satire can be presented through different techniques in order to maintain standards, reaffirm values, and to suggest reforms in the society.

To put it briefly, satire is concerned with the nature of reality. It exaggerates or undermines to criticize human follies and vices for it has a corrective purpose. It reveals the contrast between reality and pretense; yet again, it uses comic devices in order to criticize and give us pleasure. Feinberg (1967) on his part defines satire as an instrument used to criticize man and society in an entertaining and humorous way. Different scholars defined satire differently. The aforementioned definitions commonly share the view that satire is concerned with the criticism of individual and social evils. Moreover, at the heart of every satire, there exists a corrective purpose.

3.5.2. Characteristics of Satire

Satire, in prose or verse, employs critical humor to expose human wickedness and folly. In reflecting the salient characteristics of satire, Mitchell (2003) argues that satire attacks those

institutions or individuals the satirist feels are unethical. In other words, one characteristic feature of satire is that it is concerned with ethical reform. The other characteristics of satire according to Mitchell are:

It works to make vice laughable and/ or reprehensible and thus bring social pressure on those who still engage in wrongdoing. It seeks a reform in public behavior, a shoring up of its avoidance's standards or at the very least a wakeup call in an otherwise corrupt culture. Satire is often implicit and assumes readers who can pick up on its moral clues. It is not a sermon. Satire in general attacks types the fool, the boor, the adulterer, the proud- rather than specific persons. If it does attack some by name, rather than hoping to reform these persons, it seeks to warn the public against approving of them. Satire is witty, ironic, and often exaggerated. It uses extremes to bring its audience to a renewed awareness of its ethical and spiritual danger.(P.43)

According to Ian Johnston (1998) one characteristic feature of satire is inducing an audience with clear language to protest. As a result, the language of the satirist is full of irony, paradox, antithesis, colloquialism, anticlimax, obscenity, violence, vividness, and exaggeration. The satirist uses these techniques to describe painful or absurd situations or foolish or wicked persons or groups, institutions as vividly as possible. Johnston argues, the satirist believes that most people are blind, insensitive, and perhaps anesthetized by custom and resignation and resignation and dullness. The satirist wishes to make them see the truth- at least that part of the truth which they habitually ignore.

Moreover, Johnston considers morality as an important characteristic of satire. To put it in his words:

At the basis of every good traditional satire is a sense of moral outrage or indignation. This conduct is wrong and needs to be exposed. Hence, to adopt a satiric stance requires a sense of what is right, since the target of the satire can only be measured as deficient if one has a sense of what is necessary for a person to be truly moral. (P. 59)

Satire attacks socially unacceptable or condemned behavior. Satire shows old things in a new way to reveal the contrast between reality and pretense through skillful application of language. Feinberg's (1967) states that:

Satires are read because they are aesthetically satisfying as works of art, not because they are (as they may be) morally wholesome or ethically instructive. They are stimulating and refreshing because with commonsense briskness they

brush away illusions and second hand opinions. With spontaneous irreverence, satire rearranges perspectives, scrambles familiar objects into incongruous juxtaposition, and speaks in a personal idiom instead of abstract platitude.(p.16)

3.5.3. The Purpose of Satire

Harris (2004), argues that the goal of a satirist is to expose vice and hypocrisy in order to bring about reformation. The best satire, according to Harris, does not seek to do harms or damage by its ridicule, but rather it seeks to create a shock of recognition and to make vice impulsive so that the vice will be expunged from the person or society under attack or from the person a society intended to benefit by the attack. Thus, satire attempts to effect some changes in the behavior of the target.

Satire is concerned with justice, morality, and virtue. Maynard Mack (cited by Harris) stated that satire asserts the validity and necessity of norms systematic, values, and meanings that are contained by recognizable cods. Accordingly, Harris notes that satire has moral and didactic purpose. He writes:

Satire is inescapably moral and didactic (in the best sense of that unfortunately slandered word) even when no definite, positive values are stunted in the work as alternatives to the gross corruptions depictions by the attack. The satirist does not need to state specific moral alternatives to replace the villainy he attacks because the morality is either already presents in the lip service his target pays to virtue, or it is apparent by implication.(P.35)

Likewise, Feinberg (1963) argues that the primary purpose of the satirist is to bring a change through ridiculing follies and vices. Humbert Wolfe (cited by Feinberg) strengthens this idea considering the satirist's work as "half-way between a preacher and a wit; he has the purpose of the former, uses the weapon of the latter." In other words, what motivates the satirist is the hatred he has for the wrong and injustice as much as his love of the right and the just. The art of satire is, therefore, "the delivering of moral judgment and its objective is not to degrade man but to show him how he has degraded himself (Feinberg, 1967,p.23)."

The purpose of satire, according to Sutherland (1958) is to compel man to what they have tried to ignore, and to destroy their illusions or pretenses. As a social critic, the satirist, therefore, makes us see familiar with a situation in a new way compelling us to notice what we have

ignored. Accordingly, any kind of satirical comment may magnify, diminish or distort to tear off the guise and expose the naked truth, or to bring someone to his senses.

Abrams (1981) comments on the corrective purpose of satire as follows, “satire has usually been justified by those who practiced it as a corrective of human vices and follies.” (p.67) Similarly, Harris (2002) argues that the corrective purpose of satire in exposing individual and human vice and hypocrisy succeeds only to the extent that the audience responds to the attack. Hence, as Sutherland, (1958) puts it, “*Satire is not for the literal-minded. It exists on at least two levels, the overt and the implied; and it can only function properly when the tact, the intelligence, and the imagination of the satirist are met by a corresponding response in the reader*”(p.20).

3.5.4. Techniques of Satire

It has been pointed out earlier that the essence of satire is giving pleasure of criticism by combatting or contrasting ideas. Accordingly, satirists use different strategies to convey their messages. Certain specific literary techniques lend themselves to satire because they can contain a measure both of wit and of humor. According to Harris (2004) among them are exaggeration, distortion, understatement, innuendo, simile, Irony, metaphor, oxymoron, parable, and allegory. Other scholars such as Mathew Hogart, Gilbert Higher and Northrop Frye, add reduction, invective, caricature, burlesque, and reduction, and absurdum to the list. A brief discussion of the prominent techniques is discussed as follows.

3.5.4.1. Exaggeration

Exaggeration is one of the most commonly used techniques in satire. Harris (2002), states that exaggeration is one of the best ways to recognize or admit that a vice exists. The satirist exaggerates in order to make the unseeing see and the seeing -but –complacent oppose and expunge corruption. Hence, exaggeration as a satirical technique plays an important role. Feinberg (1967) states, “*The exaggeration of a satirist is not as purposeless as it tries to appear. What the satirist Exaggerates is the bad, the foolish, the hypocritical; what he minimizes or omits is the good, the sensible, and the honest. The resulting scene is not only exaggerated but heavily biased against the victims of the satirist’s attack.*”(p.108)

In other words, the satirist uses exaggeration to describe painful or absurd situations or foolish or wicked persons as vividly as possible. On top of this, as a “dispassionate observer of humanity, and the irate attacker of particular individuals” (Knight, 2005:20), the satirist employs exaggeration to make his observation and attack effectively.

3.5.4.2. Distortion

The technique of the satirist, as indicated earlier, consists of a playful critical distortion of the familiar. Distortion refers to “changing the perspective of a condition or event by isolation or by stressing some aspects and deemphasizing others (Harris, 2002:43). Hence, the satirist distorts in many ways. For instance, he may minimize the good qualities of the person or institution that he is attacking. For example, in *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726), Swift exposes humanity in all its baseness and cruelty using this technique. Satirists may also magnify the bad ones making isolated instances seem typical.

3.5.4.3. Indirection and Invective

One often used satiric technique is indirection. Many literary critics agree the quality of satiric representation is effective when the attack is indirect. David Worcester (Cited by Feinberg, 1967) remarks that satire is “the engine of anger rather than the direct expression of anger.” (p.930). Similarly, Sutherland (1958) points out that twentieth century satire relies more and more on the indirectness of irony, innuendo and fantasy. Accordingly, the indirectness of satire helps the satirist to make his or her attack tolerable by making it entertaining. As Johnson (1998) suggests satires that are very direct are boring and ineffectual.

Unlike indirection, invective is very abusive. It is an open result used occasionally for shock effect. It usually lacks irony in order to attack a particular target. According to Johnson, it is the least invective of the satirist’s tools. Besides, the danger of pure invective is that one can quickly get tired of it, since it offers limited opportunity for inventive wit.

3.5.4.4. Burlesque

Burlesque refers to ridiculous exaggeration in language, usually one that makes the discrepancy between the words and the situation or the character silly. To use Johnson’s example, to have a king speak like an idiot or an ordinary worker speak as a king is burlesque.

Similarly, a very serious situation can be burlesqued by having the characters in a literary text speak or behave in ridiculously inappropriate ways. In other words, burlesque creates a large gap between the situation or the characters and the style with which they speak or act out the event.

3.5.4.5. Irony

Irony is a systematic use of double meaning where meaning of words is opposite of the literal or expected meaning. It is a stylistic device or figure of speech in which the real meaning of the words is different from the literal meaning. As Muecke (1969) puts it, “irony may be a weapon in satirical attack.”(p.3).

Likewise, Johnson (1998), notes that irony brings two contrasting meanings into play. Consequently, it becomes, satiric when the real meaning appears to contradict the surface meaning.

To put it briefly, satirists use a variety of literary devices. They may use various techniques, such as those described above, in order to say two or more things at one time, and to compare, equate, or contrast for satirical purposes. Moreover, these techniques provide variety, conciseness, and opportunity for employing wit and humor. In explaining the use of satirical techniques, Harris (2004) writes the following about satirical techniques:

The satire must be presented in a manner that will bring action, and in a world of emplacement hypocrites, irony with its various means of presentation is essential; the message cannot be derived without it, if the message is to have any tangible effect. In a two-word abstract, the purpose of satire is the correction or deterrence of vice, and its method is to attack the hypocrisy through the ironic contrast between values and actions. (P. 22)

The aforementioned quotation highlights that the techniques the satirist uses have to serve the purpose the satirist has in mind. It is an indispensable quality of satire to employ appropriate techniques. Hawthorn (2005) remarks that the satirist is concerned with drawing our attention to what he or she is attacking rather than to create characters, situations and events that are believable in and themselves. That is, “a novelist may include satirical elements in works that do not, overall, merit the term ‘satirical novel’ (and indeed most novelist do).” (p.197).

Therefore, literary works that are not usually categorized as satirical may use the major weapons of satire in order to diminish a set of beliefs by making them appear ridiculous.

Chapter Four

A Critical Analysis of Achebe's 'A Man of the People'

4.1. Introduction

Chinua Achebe, according to Fraser (1980), generally subscribes to the notion that independence is a source of disillusionment to most Black Africans because it has failed to deliver on the key objectives that spurred the quest for independence.

Achebe and other African writers like Ayi Kwei Armah introduced a paradigm shift from the culture of blame shifting which characterized most polemics (defending by attacking) against colonialism towards a culture of internal focus. The sad aspect of current African politics is blaming colonial encounter as responsible for misgoverning, yet the blame lies on endogenous factors behind that such as corruption, nepotism, manipulation of media, mass apathy, politics of lies, demonization democratic values, politics of deception, and self-aggrandizement, ethnicisation of politics and naturalization of election violence. In a sense it is not a fulfillment of expectations but a nightmare, an illusion that generated a false sense of arrival (Machaka 2012).

During the colonial era, with the exception of some (who were beneficiaries of the system), the majority of black Africans were oppressed and exploited and were treated as slaves by the colonials. That was why they stood together and fought the colonials and in the end swept them out of the continent. However, when the continent declared its independence and began to be led by its black leaders Africa didn't get what it aspired to get. Instead, it was rewarded with death. The death of Odili's mother in her first child birth to Odili might be an example, *"Whenever my people go to console a woman whose baby has died at birth or soon after, they always tell her to dry her eyes because it is better the water is spilled than the pot broken. The idea being that a sound pot can always return to the stream."* A Man of the People (P.28). But what happened was the reverse. The pot was broken; Odili's mother was dead on her giving birth to Odili. The politicians did not discharge what was expected of them. They filled their belly up to their nose at the expense of the poor masses. *"Poor black mother! Waiting so long for her infant son to come of age and comfort and repay her for the years of shame and neglect. And the son she has pinned so much hope on turning out to be a Chief Nanga"*

(A Man of the people, p.82).After independence the majority of Africans hoped they would get out of poverty and will see a prosperous and peaceful nation. But more than anything else, their dream and hope were stolen by the black leaders (...and believe me, tears welled up of the back of my eyes: tears for the dead, infant hop...p.82 ...No Nanga has taken more than the owner could ignore! But it was not more than a hope.p.110).And the situation became worse. The continent began to undergo politics of lies, corruption and violence. These coupled with revenge were what motivated Odili to fight against Nanga and his followers. Here is what Odili has to say about the situation,

As I stood in one corner of that vast tumult waiting for the arrival of the Minister I felt intense bitterness welling up in my mouth. Here were silly, ignorant villagers dancing themselves lame and waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honor of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation. I wished for a miracle, for a voice of thunder, to hush this ridiculous festival and tell the poor contemptible people one or two truths” (p.2) and he has this to add, “....It was difficult to say; things seemed so mixed up; my revenge, my new political ambition and the girl. And perhaps it was just as well that my motives entangle and enforce one another. (A Man of the People .P. 110).

He decided to fight against the politicians and in the end confronted them officially. The conflict of the two antagonists is between those who own everything (political and economic power) and the dispossessed. The conflict was between the privileged leaders like Nanga, who possesses a luxurious house; ten luxurious buses obtained from the British Amalgamates on never- never agreement as a “dash”; four-story building rewarded as a “dash” by the European Building firm of Antonio; built three blocks of seven-story luxury flats at three hundred thousand pounds each in his wife’s name by doing the same trick as Mr. Wagada did when he was Minister of Foreign Trade and immediately leased by the British Amalgamated at fourteen hundred a month each. (p.101); Nanga’s colleague, the Minister of construction, owns ten houses from unknown resource, ‘That row of ten houses belongs to the Minister of Construction’ (p.55); On top of these, the politicians monopolized the politics; and those who own nothing (neither political position nor money but somehow were literate)Odili said, “...I don’t mean for people like Chief the Honorable M.A Nanga, M.P., or Alhaji Chief Senator Suleiman Wagada, but for the rest of us who thought we had nothing to lose” (Ibid P.101).In general, the struggle was between the exploiters (Nanga and his followers) and the exploited (Odili and the larger society).In the end Odili together with his revolutionary comrades like

Max founded the new party C.P.C (Common People's Convention). When Odili expressed his suspicion that the party excludes the ordinary citizens, Max affirmed as, "...that is not entirely accurate, Odili, what you see here is the vanguard, the planning stage. Once we are ready we shall draw in the worker, the farmer, the blacksmith, and the carpenter..." (A Man of the People, p. 79). But still nothing was known whether these politicians would walk their talks or not.

In order to remain in power for decades and erode the nation's resources for own purposes, the liars/corrupt politicians' coined slogans, declarations and ideological expressions that were instrumental to cloud the mind eyes of the majority of the society. The slogans declared by the officials like, "*Do the right and shame the Devil*", "*Not what I have but what I do is my wisdom*", "This is the government of the people, by the people for the people", "*they have bitten the finger with which their mother fed them*" (A Man of the People, pages 3,5 and 11) are ironical expressions that played a crucial role in blinding and bringing the whole society together and become real supporters of the politicians. When we say the inscriptions and declarations are ironical, for instance, if we see the phrase, '*the government was the government of the people by the people for the people*' literally it could mean the government was elected by the people to serve the people equally and equitably. However, when the truth was uncovered the government was the government of Nanga by Nanga and for Nanga and his followers alone. The politicians were very successful in this regard at least for some years.

The other tactic the politicians applied to blind the society was to connect everything with the involvement of invaders and/ foreigners. At the aftermath of Africans independence, the hatred towards the colonials never faded from the minds of the majority of Africans. And the politicians used the hatred for their political gain. When the leaders wanted to allege Ministers under them who advocate a different thinking and strategy, they accused them of having connection with foreign saboteurs, "...*The Miscreant Gang had been caught red-handed in their nefarious plot to overthrow the government of the people by the people for the people with the help of enemies abroad*" (A Man of the People , P.5). And the society at large accepted and believed the Prime Minister's accusations.

However, according to Johnston (1998) the main aim of a satirist is to expose evil practices and persons and or institutions which are not seen by the mass of the society. The satirist believes that most people are blind, insensitive and perhaps anesthetized by custom and resignation and dullness. So, he/she wishes to make those blinded to see the truth-at least that part of the truth which they habitually ignore.

Achebe through his literary text 'A Man of the People' tried to expose the follies and vices of corrupt politicians that led Nigeria especially in the setting of the fiction. The fiction is the direct reflection of the real life of Nigerians in the 1960s. And Achebe, more than anything else, satirized the evilness of corruption.

4.2. Corruption

There is no a cross-cut and internationally accepted definition of corruption because what may seem to be corrupt in one society may not necessarily be perceived as such in another community. Though there have been different attempts to define, it is difficult to define corruption in such a way that it can be applied to all forms, types and extents of corruption. It is difficult to define corruption without emphasizing its moral aspects. Etymologically, the word corrupt is derived from the Latin word "corruptus also spelled out corruption" which means "moral decay, wicked behavior, putridity or rottenness ". In short it refers to abuse or to destruction (Gashawet.al ,2015: 47).

As reported by David (2012), Ekior (2005) defined corruption as 'the unlawful use of official power or influence by an official of the government either to enrich himself or further his course and/ or any other person at the expense of the public, in contravention of his oath of office and/or contrary to the conventions or laws that are in force'. It is very unfortunate that this threat knows not any time nor period: it happens anytime or period of any nation's history. According to Gould and Kolb (1964) in support of the above opinion that corruption is not a characteristic of one period in political history nor of any one country... it is endemic in both authoritarian and party systems of government. Further the history of corruption is as old as the age of human beings (David 2012). Scott (1972) states that corruption "must be understood as a regular, repetitive and integral part of the operation of most political system". Another view about corruption is that it is intentional. Corruption as a common phenomenon is found not

only in the so called developing countries and societies, but in the developed societies such as Europe, America, Japan, Africa, and Asia and so on, regardless of their structural, cultural and governmental differences. Some Scholars argue that corruption is prevalent only in the third world countries. However, evidence has shown that corruption is also prevalent in the first world countries and each country be it in developed and developing countries, measures should, therefore, be taken to cope with it (David, 2012)

4.3. Forms of Corruption

Corruption is a multifaceted phenomenon. Its form varies from one country to the other and in most cases, it is very difficult to distinguish one form the other and they overlap and interchangeably used with other concepts like gifts, rewards etc. According to UN (1990), these forms include:

Acceptance of money and other rewards for awarding contracts, violation of procedures to advance personal interest, kickbacks from developmental programs or multinational corporations, pay- offs for legislative support, division of public resources for private use, overlooking illegal activities, intervening in the justice process, nepotism, common theft, overpricing, establishing non- existing projects and tax collection and tax assessment frauds(cited in www.ti-bangladesh.org/docs/researchMKhan.htm).

According to Amundsen (1999) the main forms of corruption are bribery, embezzlement, fraud, extortion and favoritism

4.3.1. Bribery

Bribe is payment given to or taken by state officials who have power to decide on certain monopoly of the state in a situation the client has no other choice to access that monopoly. Bribe is given to officials so that they act against the rule, or is extracted by same to act according to the rule:

4.3.2. Embezzlement

Embezzlement is understood as misappropriation of public funds. The culprits are the ones who are supposed to safeguard or administer public property on behalf of the state and the public but steal what is under their custody. Embezzlement, hence, can be defined as theft of public resources by public officials.. Embezzlement can be extended to massive extraction of

public property by power-holders that systematically exploit their political office for their own private business interest and that of the members of the ruling families.

4.3.3. Fraud

This is an economic crime that involves some kind of trickery, swindle or deceit. It is fraud when state agencies and state representatives are engaged in illegal trade networks counterfeit, racketing and other organized economic crimes. Dirty trick politics which means fraud according to Bayart et.al (1997) include “import” of toxic and atomic waste from Western countries. This involves Printing of large amount of national bank notes to pay civil servants and military men and state or parastatal institutions that have persuaded private firms to give them loans, assistance and services that will never be paid back (p.11).

4.3.4. Favoritism

This is a form of corruption in which state resources are distributed in a highly biased manner. It is a way through which state officials grant offices or some kind of benefits to their friends, relatives, and in most societies to family clan, bribe, ethic, religious, or regional group regardless of merit by abusing their public power.

4.3.5. Journalism Corruption

The role of the media is critical in promoting good governance and controlling corruption. It not only raises public awareness about corruption, its causes, consequences and possible remedies but also investigates and reports incidences of corruption. Though this is their major role, some media are involved in corrupt practices which are against their code of conduct and which contribute to oppressing the freedom of speech of the society at large. Some ethical conducts of journalism prohibit a journalist from taking any gift in kind or money for instance; Kenya’s Media Act (2007) which incorporates a ‘code of conduct for the practice of journalism’; Article 3 of the code stipulates that journalists must not ‘accept gifts, favors or compensation from those who might seek to influence coverage’. (African Communication Research, 2010, p.373). There are at least 17 codes of ethics for journalists that warn against journalistic bribes, ‘Codes of Benin, Botswana, Ethiopia, Cameroon, and Nigeria ...etc.’

(Ibid ,389) But still journalists accept incentives starting from the invitation of lunch to taking over big cashes and plots of land in some countries.

In general, journalistic corruption manifests when a journalist is induced to write a story either in favor of or against individuals, institutions, officials and/or businesses through material, financial or other means of enticements. (Brihanu Olana, cited in African Communication research, 2010).

4.3.6. Electoral Corruption/Rigging

According to Wikipedia, electoral fraud/vote or election manipulations concerned with the illegal interference of election process that brings about artificial vote counts of an election result, whether by increasing the vote share of the favored candidate, decreasing the vote share of rival candidate, or both. Though what electoral fraud constitutes differs from country to country according to Ibid, it includes such as electorate manipulation, manipulation of demography, disfranchisement, misleading or confusing ballot papers, ballot stuffing, etc Moreover, according to (Etzioni, 1988 quoted by Mathew and Idowu ,2012), electoral corruption includes “illegal funding of campaigns, illegal campaign contributions, bribes, buying of votes for cash or inducements (I.e. paying voters to vote, thereby influencing their choices), promise of contracts or other favors, taking coercive forces , such as paying thugs to intimidate or threaten supporters of a candidate and /or stop them from voting entirely”(p.13).

Electoral corruption more than anything else, undermines democracy and rule of law. Thus, the input of the society in deciding who has to rule them will be scuttled; popular participation in governance and elections of public officers will be hijacked by political gladiators, consequently the nation’s democratic practice will appear unstable. (Bariledum, 2013).

Political Corruption: involves the sale by government officials of public property for personal benefit. It incorporates the use of public office by politicians both for financial gain and purposes of staying in office for many years. It is also further facilitated by the creation of rent-seeking (Mathew and Idowu, 2012).

Achebe in his “A Man of the People” has tried to show the major cause of corruption; the forms and/or types of corruption, its impact on the socio-economic and political aspects of the

societies portrayed, and, in the end of course, suggests the possible solution on how to avoid/minimize corruption.

4.4. Causes of Corruption in ‘A Man of the People’

As it is difficult to put the demarcation between what is corruption and what is not, it is also hard to list all causes of corruption. But based on the evidences from the text, the major causes of corruption exhibited by Achebe are, low salary/poverty, selfishness and tribalism of the society at large.

4.4.1. Low Payment/Poverty and Attitudinal Problems/Tribalism/ as causes of Corruption in ‘A Man of the People’

We Africans are poor (both in terms of money, knowledge and skill). And this in turn gives birth to the thinking that being appointed as a government official is the only means to become wealthy. This thought was deep-rooted not only in the mind of the individuals but embedded in the minds of the society at large. The life of Chief the Honorable Nanga is an indication that he became prosperous immediately after he was appointed as a minister (A Man of the People P.37). To become a minister is a good source of income....that was why everyone was scrambling for the position, “...*you know what his salary was as an elementary school teacher? Perhaps not more than eight pounds*” But now Nanga gets a salary of four thousand plus a month. (Ibidp. 84).

The aforementioned quotations show that to be elected as a minister or an official is a short-cut to becoming wealthy. The majority of African leaders during their campaign promise the society they will bury poverty and backwardness if they get elected. But when they get elected, they do not keep their promise instead they use their position to enrich themselves and their relatives. They begin to accumulate wealth at the expense of the poor masses. They begin to educate their children in highly expensive private schools(domestic or foreign) like Chief Nanga’s children, “...*his children whom I discovered went to expensive private schools run by European ladies spoke impeccable English*”.(A Man of the People P. 32).

Of course, the payment of teachers was extremely low. That was why Odili’s father repeatedly told his son to resign from his ‘foolish teaching’ according to his father and get a decent job in the government and buy himself a car....(Ibid p.31).However, low salary

should not be a reason to commit corruption. Let alone in developing countries, the teachers and civil servants of the majority of developed countries get low salary. But what will happen to the nation if all its teachers and civil servants commit corruption because they are paid less? Surely, the nation will get ruined.

It is logical to think that low salary could be a source of poverty, and, poverty in turn, forces the officials to stay in power for many years and continue to exploit a nation because the leaders fear returning to the previous life which was miserable, “*A man who has just come in from the rain and dried his body and put on dry clothes is more reluctant to go out than another who has been indoors all the time.*” (A Man of the People, P.37). And according to Achebe, we all had been in the rain together until yesterday. In this context, the rain symbolizes poverty because those who have no shelter are highly exposed to rain, cold, windy etc.

This means that one who had lived in poverty and got the opportunity of leading better life doesn't want to relive the miserable life of which he had enough. So, they prefer to stick in one position for many years, “*We ignore man's basic nature if we say, as some critics do, that because a man like Nanga had risen overnight from poverty and insignificance to his present opulence he could be persuaded without much trouble to give it up again and return to his original state.*” (A Man of the People, P.37). But when Odili himself saw the luxurious life Nanga had, he wished to be a minister lifelong but thanked God that he was not elected as a Minister, “*....saw all the beautiful furniture anew from the lying down position and looked beyond the door to the gleaming bathroom and the towels as large as a lappa I had to confess that if I were at that moment make a Minister I would be most anxious to remain one forever. And maybe I should have thanked God that I wasn't*” (A Man of the People, p. 37). In the previous excerpt the writer tried to show power mongering coupled with poverty forced the majority of African leaders to remain in power for many years. The second extract also illustrates that in Africa no single man or woman will hesitate to commit corruption if he/she gets the opportunity. And of course, Odili in the end committed corruption (refer to page 51). That was why the majority of the Nigerian society felt that whatever party comes, there will not be any difference, “*there were three vultures....the third and youngest was C.P.C, whether it is P.O.P or P.A.P they are the same*”. (A Man of the People, P.125-126). The

word Vulture metaphorically shows the politicians' insatiable desire for property. Edna's mother strengthened the distrust of the society on the politicians, "*What is my share in that? They are both white man's people*" (A Man of the People, p.107). This means that the black leaders were not any different from the colonizers-both were exploiters.

At last the society realized that there would not be any party that could serve the people equitably. So, they convinced themselves that the only way to get out of poverty is to elect a politician from their respective villages, "...*We all know*" Max said, "*What one dog said to another*" he continued, '*If I fall for you this time, and you fall for me next time then I know it is play not fight. Now it is your turn here in Urua. A goat does not eat into a hen's stomach no matter how friendly the two may be. Ours is ours but mine is mine. I present as party candidate your own son, Odli Samalu...*' (A Man of the People, P.126). Through the above quotation Achebe ridiculed the narrow-mindedness of the speaker (Max). It reflects the feeling of nepotism rampant in the ills of the society. They thought it was only when they elected a member of the parliament from their village that their hand could reach at the plate of the 'national cake'. Here Achebe had tried to attack the thinking of tribalism. According to him, the society elected a politician who came from their surrounding or village expecting that he/she would bring to them a slice of "the national cake". 'National cake' metaphorically means the material wealth of the country. This has to be shared among all citizens equally and equitably. But the people prioritized their own interest and overlooked the bigger picture, the nation's interest "...*that the mainspring of political action was personal gain, a view, which I might say, was much more in line with the general feeling in the country...*" (A Man of the People, p.116). This thinking was implanted not only in the mind of individuals but deep-rooted in the minds of the majority. They assume that people in power are striving for selfish end. The politicians in the first place satisfied their own interest, then, served the society from whom they came. For instance, the road that had to be tarred was late because it was not in the district of the Minister of Construction, "*the cabinet has approved the completion of the road between Giligili and Anata since January but this foolish man has been dilling and dallying because it is not in his constituency*" (A Man of the People, P.42). This shows that had the road been in the district of the Minister of construction, it would have been tarred within or before the stated timetable. Both the politicians and the society at large were divided into

villages or tribes not only geographically but mentally too. Nanga was from Anata, the people of Urua thought the population of Anata had already eaten and now it was their turn to exploit the nation, “... *That word was that our own son should go and bring our share.... The village of Anata has already eaten, now they must make way for us to reach the plate. no one in urua will give his paper to a stranger when his son needsit*” (A Man of the People, p. 127). These and other similar quotations vividly indicate the mindset of the majority of the society. The majority of the Nigerians related authority with ‘eating’ only. “...*The great thing, as the old have told us, is reminiscence; and only those who survive can have it. Besides if you survive, who knows? It may be your turn to eat tomorrow. Your son may bring home your share.*”(A Man of the People,p.145). Nigerians felt that to be appointed as a Minister or member of a Parliament is a source of wealth. There is a similar saying in Ethiopia, “If you don’t eat when you are in power you will regret when you are demoted”. Expecting that they would get better infrastructure, they preferred to elect a candidate from their surrounding or tribe irrespective of the candidate’s knowledge, skill, ability, commitment. This practice distorts democracy; affects the whole election process. And without a skilled, knowledgeable, committed, devoted, visionary and neutral leader, it is unthinkable to meet a nation’s development agendas because leader’s role in transforming one nation from poverty and backwardness into a prosperous nation is immense.

The society was not only ignorant as Odili said but also pessimist. The following extract proves what the society’s response would be if Odili dared to tell them one or two truths about Nanga:

... and tell the whole people-this vast contemptible crowd that the great man they had come to hear with their Drums and Dancing was an Honorable Thief .But of course they knew that already. No single man and woman there that afternoon was stranger to that news-not even the innocent-looking girl on the dais. And because they all knew, if I were to march up to the dais now and announce it they would simply laugh at me and say: What a fool! Whose son is he? Was he not here when white men were eating; what did he do about it? Where was he when Chief Nanga fought and drove the white men away? Why is he envious now that the warrior is eating the reward of his courage? If he was Chief Nanga, would he not do much worse? (A Man of the People, P.139).

This is a reflection of the cynic attitude of the people who have lost trust in political leaders, that is, whoever assumes power runs to satisfy his/her own interest.

What the African freedom fighters (Nanga and his followers according to the society) did was accepted as rewards.

There might be comrades who shed their blood in a lengthy fight to eradicate invaders and oppressors and bring about peace. But it is not logical to let them do whatever they wish. In other words, we shouldn't let them become corrupt.

4.4.2. Greed as another Cause of Corruption in 'A Man of the People'

Naturally man is selfish but Nanga and his followers were more selfish than others. They exploited the nation openly. In the selected text Josiah, according to Odili was the wicked, reneged and outlawed trader (A Man of the People, p.138), symbolizes the exploitative ministers whereas the blind Azoge represents the exploited people in the society. When Josiah stole Azoge's stick, one old woman cursed him saying, "*So the beast is not satisfied with all the money he takes from us and must now make a medicine to turn us into a blind buyers (the public at large) of his wares.....may he blind his mother and father, not me*"....."*Some peoples belly is like the earth...*" (A Man of the People, P.87). Here, Achebe tried to ridicule the unquenchable desire of the Ministers for wealth. Azoge was blind. It was only with the help of his stick that he was able to move here and there and look for his food and drink. But the trader stole Azoge's second eye. Without his stick Azoge can't walk, will die of hunger. The same was true about what the then leaders were doing. They first of all deceived the society and then mercilessly exploited them. The phrase '*some peoples' belly is like the earth*' is an exaggeration that shows the extent of selfishness of Nanga and his followers in particular and African leaders in general. But as the saying goes, "Truth will out". Though they were late, the people realized the truth as Azoge at last noticed his stick was stolen, ".....Josiah has taken away enough for the owner to notice".But according to Odili, the owner he knew and discovered was the will of the whole people.(A Man of the People, p.87). Nanga and his followers had exploited and accumulated a lot of wealth as already mentionedbut still campaigned to be elected again.

As it is impossible to analyze all causes of corruption it is also difficult to limit the forms and/or types of corruption. But based on evidences from the text the following are some major forms and/types of corruption committed by the major characters of the selected text.

4.5. Major Forms of Corruption Committed in ‘A Man of the People’ and How Achebe Satirically Attacked the Evil Politicians

4.5.1 Bribery

Bribe is payment given to or taken by state officials who have power to decide on certain monopoly of the state in a situation the client has no other choice to get that service. The payment may be made in money or kind. Bribery has many synonyms like kickbacks, baksheesh, sweeteners, pay-offs, speed money, grease money etc. Let us see how Nanga bribed the journalist, “.....*he drank two bottles of beer, smoked many cigarettes, and then gets a “dash” of five pounds from the Minister.... ‘If I don’t give him something now, tomorrow he will go and write rubbish about me’ said Nanga*”.(A Man of the People, p. 67-68). The Minister gave the journalist five pounds as a “dash” expecting that the journalist in return will not write bad things about him whatever concerning he did/ said. The journalist also re-wrote the story in a way that would suit the ear, “ *...In short the Hansard boys wrote a completely new speech suitable to the boastful villain the ex-minister had become*” (A Man of the People, P.6) and put it in the front page if needed, ‘*First rate, sir; I shall put it in the front page instead of a story I have promised the Minister of Construction*’ (Ibid, P.68). The journalist violated journalism ethics for a small amount of money or other things but its impact would be tremendous. They prevented the society from obtaining accurate information and this in turn led the society to pass wrong decisions and judgments. A journalist is supposed to report without bias.

In another story the European building firm of Antonio and his sons built a four-story building for Nanga as a gratitude/baksheesh in return for his giving them the half-million contract to build the National Academy of Science and Arts. The evidence is as follows:

The house in question was the very modern four- story structure going up beside the present building and which to get into the news later, it was, as we were to learn, a “dash” from the European building firm of Antonio and Sons whom Nanga had recently given the half-million pound contract to build the National Academy of Arts and Séance. (P.97)

Let alone a public building when we plan to build a private building we are required to select a contractor through open bills. This is important for many reasons. The major is, it helps to get qualified and experienced contractor with less cost. But Nanga did not care about the

quality of the building and the cost the nation would incur. What worried him most was the amount of money/gift he would secure. This means he prioritized his own interest at the expense of the nation's cost.

The British Amalgamated rewarded Chief Nanga with many things. For instance, they gave him ten luxury buses as a "free gift". Each would cost him six thousand pounds, Nanga himself re-affirmed it as saying, "*It doesn't mean I have sixty thousand pounds in the bank*" "*I'm getting them on never-never arrangement from the British Amalgamated*" (A Man of the People, p.43).

The other favor Mr. Nanga and Alhaji Wagada the current Minister of Foreign Trade did for the British Amalgamated was informing the British amalgamated to import enough textile goods and then declared the twenty percent price rise on certain types of imported textile goods. (A Man of the People, P.100). Then with the money Nanga obtained from the British Amalgamated he built three blocks of seven-story luxury flats at three hundred thousand pounds each in the name of his wife and these flats were immediately leased by British Amalgamated at fourteen hundred a month each. (Ibid, P.101. It is like the saying "scratch my back and I will scratch yours". The officials though for their mouth say they were '*the government of the people by the people for the people*', failed to serve the society at large. Nanga had a very close relationship with the foreigners. He was even not interested to work with the domestic investors because he would get nothing from them, he said, "...*you know very well T.C. that you cannot trust these boys. That is why I always say that I prefer to deal with the Europeans...*" (A Man of the People, P.42). He preferred the Europeans to his nation's citizens because the foreigners would provide him with something as a 'dash'. He mentioned his nation's citizens greediness as, "...*our people are too selfish and too jealous...*"(Ibid, p.43).

In addition to the gifts mentioned above, the Europeans also gave Nanga the opportunity of scholarship of doctor of laws, "*They are going to give me a Doctorate degree in Law*". (A Man of the People, P.19). The British amalgamated did not stop with these; it also interfered and extended its hand in the election process. It funded the party P.O.P. with a lot of money, "*The British Amalgamated had paid out four hundred thousand pounds to P.O.P.*" (A man

of the People, P.127-128). All these illustrate that Nanga was not serving his nation and society. Instead he was exploiting the nation in collaboration with the foreigners.

Chief Nanga was not only a bribee but had tried to bribe Odili by providing the chance of “Scholarship” and 250 pounds in order to induce him to stop fighting against him. Here is what Odli’s father has to say concerning the gifts Nanga had brought to Odili:

In spite of your behavior Chief Nanga has continued to struggle for you and has now brought you the scholarship to your house. His kindness surprises me. I couldn’t do it by myself. On top of that he has brought you two hundred and fifty pounds if you will sign this paper. (A Man of the People, P.119).

Odili’s father was the local chairman of P.O.P in their village, Urua. That was why he together with Nanga tried to persuade Odili to take the gifts. His father convinced himself that fighting Nanga and his government is like according to Edna’s father, ‘*the challenge of a tick to a bull*’ (A Man of the People, p.107). Because he said, “*So, you really want to fight Chief Nanga! My son, why don’t you fall where your pieces could be gathered?*” (Ibid, P.120). Though his own father enticed him into accepting a scholarship and the money in the form of a bribe, Odili appeared to be concerned about the well-being of the populace. Odili knew very well the offers were not for free. He would get the offers only if he signed on the paper that should read, “*From today onwards I will not contest your seat*”. This is related to electoral corruption too.

Odili’s guard Boniface was also involved in corruption. The following two extracts show how prevalent corruption is in post-independent Nigeria:

We give three pound ten to that policeman so that he go spoil the paper for our case. Then we give one-ten to Court Clerk because they say as the matter done reach him eye the policeman no Kuku spoil am just like that. Then we give another two pound....

...This no be matter for jock; we wan the money to pay certain persons wey go go him house for night and burn him car....(p.115).

The previous extract is about the involvement of a policeman and a court clerk in corrupt practice. They both take money and in return will spoil the case that could put Odili and his followers under allegation. This shows the prevalence of corruption in the story and how it touched everybody in the country. Achebe tried to reflect the realities in Nigeria during that

period (1960s) i.e., no one in Nigeria was clean from the evil practice of corruption. In his book entitled “The Trouble with Nigeria” Achebe once again re-affirmed the pervasiveness of corruption in Nigeria saying, “Keeping an average Nigerian from being corrupt is like keeping a goat from eating yam”. (Achebe, 1988,p.38).

4.5.2. Embezzlement

Embezzlement is the misappropriation of public funds or resources by the public officials. It starts with using public office’s equipment like, computer, printer etc. for own purpose, or public office’s car to transport the officer’s child to and from school. In the selected text no one exploited and eroded the nation more than Nanga and his followers. Nanga lived in a sophisticated and luxurious house. Odili described the living standard of Nanga as, “*When I lay down in the double bed that seemed to ride on a cushion of air, and switched on that reading lamp and saw all the beautiful furniture anew from the laying down position and looked beyond the door to the gleaming bathroom and the towels as large as a lappa*” (A Man of the People, P.37). Besides, Nanga also drove a famous and new car at that time and accumulated a lot of money, Odili once again described it as, “*...because the man was a minister bloated by the flatulence of ill-gotten wealth, living in a big mansion built with public money, riding in Cadillac and watched over...*” (Ibid, p. 76). Nanga lived in luxury while those he was supposed to serve were barely scraping by. When it comes to embezzlement it was not only Nanga who used the public resources for his own purpose but Odili too. The party C.P.C was funded from friends abroad for the election campaign purpose only but Odili finally failed to discharge his responsibility the party entrusted him and used the public fund for his own benefit. He used C.P.C money to cover his father’s case of Tax Assessment Office as he said, “*I had to find twenty-four pounds fairly smartly; fortunately, I had just enough C.P.C money in the house to cover it.*” (A Man of the People, P.133). Moreover, he paid the bride price for his promised wife Edna. “*I had privately decided to borrow the money from C.P.C. funds still in my hands. They were not likely to be needed soon.....*”(Ibid, P.148), Odili once again affirmed the inevitability of exploitation of public funds as follows:

One early morning Boniface and one of the other stalwarts woke me up and demanded twenty-five pounds. I know that a certain amount of exploitation was inevitable in this business and I wasn't going to question how every penny was spent. But

at the same time I didn't see how I could abdicate my responsibility for CPC funds entrusted to me. (A Man of the People, P.114).

Even Odili's father drove the party's car as much as Odili himself "*But he was clearly satisfied with what I had got out of it so far, especially the car which he was now using nearly as much as myself.*" (A Man of the People, P.116).

4.5.3. Fraud

This is a form of corruption that brings about tremendous economic crises of one nation. It includes illegally printing of large amount of national bank notes to fill national deficiency.

It also includes the involvement of government officials in illegal trade networks. According to Bayart et.al (1997:11), state officials involve in importing toxic and atomic waste materials from the western countries.

An example of the practice of fraud in '*A Man of the People*' is the Prime Minister's rejection of the Finance Minister's plan and ordering the national bank to print fifteen million pound, "*The Prime Minister said "No" to the plan. He was not going to risk the election by cutting down the price paid to coffee planters at this critical moment; the national bank should be instructed to print fifteen million pounds.*"(A Man of the People, P.4). Instead of looking for other options on how to deal with the problems they confronted, the Prime Minister ordered the Bank to print fifteen million pounds which was illegal.

Achebe has also tried to show how Nanga and his followers in particular and African leaders in general participated in direct and indirect trade activities and other business practices. The following extract is an indication of how Alhaji Wagada was involved in illegal trade practices:

As the whole world now knows, our Minister of Foreign Trade, Alhaji Chief senator Suleiman Wagada, announced on New Year's Day a twenty percent rise in import duties on certain types of textile goods. On January 2nd the Opposition Progress Alliance published detailed evidence to show that someone had told the firm of British Amalgamates of minister's plans as long ago as October and they step to bring in three shiploads of the textiles by mid-December. (A Man of the People, P.100).

Wagada, who was a government officer, re-adjusted the decree for his benefit. He first of all informed the British Amalgamated to import a huge amount of textile goods, and then declared the price rise on imported textile goods.

It was not only Wagada who did this type of trick but Nanga was the first,

...The Daily Matchet for instance carried a story which showed that Chief Nanga, who had himself held the portfolio of Foreign Trade until two years ago, had been guilty of the same practice and had built out of his gains three blocks of seven-story luxury flats at three hundred thousand pounds each in the name of his wife and that these flats were immediately leased by British amalgamated at fourteen hundred a month each. (A Man of the People, P.101)

Another official who was a fraudster was Mrs. Eleanor John who was once up -on a time was 'member of library commission'. She became the richest merchant in the nation and was a 'close friend of the ministers'. The following extract speaks out her background:

....Her massive corral beads were worth hundreds of pounds according to the whisper circulating in the room while she talked. She was 'Merchant Princes' par excellence poor beginning-an orphan, I believe no school education, both of which she put to a small trader and then to a big one. At present they said, she presided over the entire trade in imported second-hand clothing worth hundreds of thousands. (Ibid, P.15).

According to Mathew and Idowu (2012), corruption can occur in different forms. For instance:

...when the actions of individuals, groups, or firms in both public and private sectors influence the formation of laws, decrees and other government policies and /or changing or altering the implementation of existing laws, rules and regulations to 'provide advantages to either state or non -state actors as a result of illicit and non-transparent provision of private gain to public officials. (P.14)

What Wagada and Nanga did was matched with the aforementioned form of corruption.

4.5.4. Favoritism

"A common saying after independence was that it didn't matter *what* you knew, but *who* you knew." (P.17). Through the phrase Achebe tried to expose the deep-rooted and widely-accepted attitude on tribalism in the nation.

Favoritism is a form of corruption in which state officials grant offices or some kind of benefit to their friends, relatives, and in most societies to family clan, tribe, ethnic, religious groups

regardless of their ability and knowledge. In Nigeria favoritism was not considered as corruption. Consider what Nanga has to say to Odili at public meetings, “*By the way Odili, I think you are wasting your talent here, want you to come to the capital and take up a strategic post in civil service. We should not leave everything to the highland-tribes our people must press for their own share of the national cake.*”(A man of the People, P.12). Though Nanga was from Anata and Odili was from Urua, both were low-landers. Nothing will destroy a nation more than this form of corruption because hiring a person who doesn't fulfill the requirement of any task in an office is a disaster.

State officials recruit individuals not based on their abilities and skills that the position requires. Instead they appoint those who are from the same tribe and family, “*...If it was in his constituency he wouldn't listen to experts. And who is the expert? One small boy from his town whom we all helped to promote last year...*” “*...of course, Chief Nanga said the fellow hadn't been appointed in the first place for his expertise at all*”(A Man of the People, P. 42-43). He was appointed only because the ‘expert’ was from the same tribe with the Minister of public construction named T.C. Kobino.

Not only were these, but those who were loyal to the party had been given the priority irrespective of their profession “*A man need not be an economist to be Chancellor of the Exchequer or a doctor to be Minister of health. What matters was loyalty to the party.*” (Ibid, P.5).

This form of corruption affects not only the efficiency and effectiveness of the party but the nation as a whole because the chosen officials were not selected considering their capacity; skill and knowledge. They were chosen on the basis of their tribalism and their subservience.

Of course, the society at large committed the corruption of favoritism. The people preferred to elect a member of the parliament or any official if he/she was from their surrounding/tribe. They believed that it was only when they elected from their tribe that their road would be tarred and would get better access to infrastructure and other resources. The following excerpt vividly shows the mindset of the society, “*...last time you elected a member of parliament from Anata. Now it is your turn here in Urua. A goat doesn't eat into a hen's stomach no*

matter how friendly the two may be. Ours is ours but mine is mine. I present as party's candidate your own son, Odli Samalue" (A Man of the People, p.126).

The elders were not any different. The elders shared the above view as, "...not only entered but built a house there...That word was that ours should go and bring our share" (Ibid ,P.127).

4.5.5. Media Corruption

The major purpose of any media is to serve the society at large. But according to Achebe the media were serving the officials. Achebe has tried to show how the media often tilted towards the government in power, neglecting the service they owe the society. When the Prime Minister had sacked some of the ministers serving under him because they failed to support him in his move to spend huge amount of money on revitalizing the nose-diving coffee business in the country, a newspaper called "The Daily Chronicle" in its editorial wrote supporting the prime minister's measure of firing the finance minister and his team. The editorial goes like this:

Let us now and for all time extract from our body-politics as a dentist extracts a stinking tooth all those decadent stooges versed in text-book economics and aping the white mannerisms and way of speaking. We are proud to be Africans. Our true leaders are not those intoxicated with their Oxford, Cambridge, or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the people. Away with the damnable and expensive university education which only alienates an African from his rich and ancient culture and puts him above his people. (A Man of the People(P.4).

As shown above, the media in question, "The Daily Chronicle" clearly supported the government in power at the expense of the journalism ethics. This is ironical and it exemplifies the attitude of those who work in the media houses in different African countries, supporting governments in power either for favors or for fear of being prosecuted. The major objective of media is to investigate the truthfulness of a story and inform/expose it to the society as it is. The society will give its judgment to the evil nature, accountability or wrong doing in the story. Though this was the role of media, it labeled the dismissed ministers as evils, in exactly the same way the government did.

The Media carried stories only from the perspective of the officials, "*The next morning the Prime Minister sacked and in the evening he broadcast to the nation. He said the dismissed*

ministers were conspirators and traitors who had teamed up with foreign saboteurs to destroy the new nation”The newspapers and the radio carried the Prime Minister’s version of the story” (A Man of the People, P.4). The media didn’t want to investigate the other side of the story. They were like cadres of the government.

The media were under control of the officials. They were not independent. Nanga strengthened this idea by saying,“...*What? Don’t worry about the press; I will make sure that they don’t publish it....?* (A Man of the People, P.42).

The media reported stories in a way that suits with the interest of the officials, though reporting what someone has not said or an event that has not happened is a big blunder. The following extract shows how the media were one sided:

...Although Dr. Makinde read his speech, which was clearly prepared, the Hansard later carried a garbed version which made no sense at all. It said not a word about the plan to mint fifteen million pounds-which was perhaps to be expected-but why put into Dr.Makinde’s mouth words that he couldn’t have spoken? In short the Hansard boys wrote a completely new speech suitable to the boastful villain the ex-Minister had become. (A Man of the People, P.6)

The media announced Chief Nanga’s inaugural campaign which hadn’t even taken place. (Ibid, p.133).

There are also other evidences that show how the media was biased. It was used as an instrument only for the government officials. It was not inclusive. The following extract is an indication and it is *Odili’s narration*:

....second I waited to keep a close watch on the antics of our national radio system which incidentally had not so far said a single word about the existence of our new party even though we had kept them fully informed of our activities. (A Man of the People, 132)

Achebe attacked the imbalance of media. Media are expected to be free from any party’s / government’s interference. But the media/ journalists were reporting only the government’s agenda. For instance, during the third election campaign the government declared that in the coming election no one would elect a candidate other than Nanga. And the media took the declaration as it was and orchestrated to the international community in different languages

including English (A Man of the People, P.136). This shows that the media were on the side of the government and the practice violated the media ethics.

4.5.6. Election Violence

In Africa it is not surprising to see or hear about the removal of party members or parties in their embryonic stage. If an incompetent government or leader believes opposition individuals or parties are likely to become competent enough, it may remove (imprison) them based on false accusations. For example, it may be said that they have connections with groups that have already been lawfully banned. This practice is considered as the beginning of electoral fraud. One good example of such a fraud is the story told in Achebe's *A Man of the People*. The Prime Minister sacked the Minister of Finance who was a Ph.D holder in public finance and his team due to their disagreement on how to deal with the slump that happened in the international coffee market. (P. 3-4). Though the truth was different, the Prime Minister told the public that as the dismissed Ministers were conspirators and traitors who had connections with foreign saboteurs to destroy the new nation(A Man of the People, p.4). The prime minister continued his false allegations and announced to the audience, "... *the Miscreant Gang had been caught red-handed in their nefarious plot to overthrow the Government of the people by the people for the people with the help of enemies abroad*" (Ibid, P..5). So the Public at large believed the Prime Minister's accusation and called him, 'the Tiger', 'the Lion', 'the One and Only', 'the Sky', 'the Ocean' and many other names of praise. (A Man of the People, P.5), whereas, they called the dismissed Ministers as 'Traitors', 'Cowards', 'Doctor of Ford your Mother' and many other names (Ibid, P.6). In Achebe's opinion, the praise accorded to the Prime Minister was inappropriate. And the words of insult thrown at the sacked Ministers were lopsided. The names unmatched with the personality of the Ministers, they are direct opposites.

Then the dismissed Ministers were not only despised but also tortured both physically and psychologically. They were loudly booed by members and the public. In the election week the Minister's car was destroyed by angry mobs and his house stoned. Another dismissed minister had been pulled out of his car, beaten insensible, and dragged along the road for fifty yards, then tied hand and foot, gagged and left by the roadside(A Man of the People, P.5). Nanga and his followers feared in the second term election process that they might be overthrown by the

educated ministers. But according to Odili during the second term election campaign there was no competent party to P.O.P, “*Mr. Nanga was an unknown back-bencher in the government P.O.P. A general election was imminent. The P.O.P was riding high in the country and there was no fear of its not being returned. Its opponent, the Progressive Alliance Party, was weak and disorganized.*”(A Man of the People, p.3).

Odili himself was dismissed from his teaching job. In the first place Odili officially objected to what the school proprietor proposed for all teachers, “ *...I had objected vehemently to this standing like school children at our staff meeting....*”. (A Man of the People, P. 7). At last, when both the proprietor and Nanga knew that Odli was campaigning against Nanga, he was not only dismissed from his job, but also was kicked, knocked and beaten by Nanga’s rascals (Ibid, P. 103).

Of course, Nanga had tried to stop Odili peacefully from running against him by providing money and the opportunity of scholarship but when Nanga realized that he wouldn’t succeed, he began to use his force to prevent Odili from his candidacy, Odili said, “*...by this time blows were falling as fast as rain on my head and body until something heavier than the rest seemed to split my skull.*”(A Man of the People, P.14). Then he found himself in hospital. But still the Minister continued suing Odili as if people had found dangerous weapons in his car, “*they said five Machetes were found in your car and two double- barreled guns...*”(Ibid, P. 142).Odili’s car was set on fire but the truth was according to Odili to prevent him from signing his nomination paper. (Ibid, P.143).Such measures were used by corrupt governments to prevent/avoid opposition party candidates from competing in an election.

Furthermore, worst of all Max was killed because he knew the truth of how the election was rigged. The following extract shows the other form of electoral corruption:

...Max had been informed by our party intelligence that Chief koko’s resourceful wife was leading the Women’s Wing of the P.O.P. in an operation that one may describe as a breast-feeding the ballot, i.e. smuggling into the polling booths wads of ballot paper concealed in their brassieres. Max immediately investigated.(A Man of the People,)P.143).

Buying voter’s paper could be another form of electoral fraud. The prime minister ordered the National Bank to print fifteen million Pounds primarily not to protect coffee farmers from the

crises they were confronted with but to secure votes in the coming election, “*The Prime Minister said ‘No’ to the plan. He was not going to risk losing the election by cutting down the price paid to coffee planters...*”.(*A Man of the People*, P.3-4).

The Prime Minister needed to cover the price paid to coffee farmers. His intention behind this was winning people’s favor for the coming election. Besides, African leaders were highly motivated to build dams and other infrastructures only when an election time was approaching. This ironically reveals that their motive is not to serve the society but to get political profit. Nanga quarreled with the Minister of Construction for dallying the tarring of the road that stretches from Giligili to Anata. The reasons for Nanga’s quarreling were two according to Odili; –next election and the arrivals of his buses. (*A Man of the People*, P.42-43). He was pressing the tarmacking of the road before the election not to satisfy the demand of the people but to gain economic and political mileage. The above examples reveal the hypocrisy of African leaders who only assist the society if that help would benefit them in the long run.

Election is a prima facie feature of any democracy. This therefore implies that the people’s preference to choosing their leader in regular, free and fair election is a minimum requirement to sustain democracy. As rightly noted by Nnaa (1985), the electoral system of any nation is the bedrock of its nation’s politics, the decider of how the leaders are chosen. However, according to the story of the selected novel, election process was violated. The leaders officially declared and forced the society that in the coming election no single man or woman would cast their vote to another candidate. They have to throw their paper in Nanga’s ballot box only. The declaration went as follows:

We heard the sound of Crier’s song.... But this night he did something new; he announced a decision already taken. The elders and the councilors of Urua and the whole people, he said, had decided that in the present political fight ranging in the land they should make it known that they knew one man and one man alone-Chief Nanga. Every man and every woman in Urua and every child and every adult would throw his or her paper for him on the day of election-as they had done in the past. If there was any other name called in the matter the elders and councilors of Urua had not heard it.(A Man of the People, p135)

In the above extract the phrase ‘every child’ is an exaggeration that shows the firmness of the government’s order. The government coerced the society to choose Nanga only. It prevented the electors from exercising their democracy of choosing who they believe is capable of

leadership and clear from any guilty practices. The phrase 'had done in the past' also shows that the previous elections were corrupted.

According to Wikipedia, electoral fraud manifests itself with the win of one party for many years like Chief Nanga had been elected for the third time unopposed. (P.144). But it ends tragically most of the time leading to military coup. The fiction's story highly coincides with the syndromes of electoral corruption.

4.6. Consequences of Corruption

4.6.1. Economic Impact of Corruption

The economic effect of corruption can be categorized as minor and major. However, in one way or the other, it has a serious impact on the individual, the community and the country. First and foremost, corruption leads to the depletion of national wealth. It is also often responsible for increased costs of goods and services. The following extract illustrates the high cost of living in Nigeria during the setting of the text as, “ *...most of the hunters reserved their precious powder to greet the minister's arrival-the price of gun powder like everything else having doubled again and again in the four years since this government took control*” (A man of the People, p.2). The funneling of scarce public resources, to uneconomic high profile projects at the expense of the much needed projects such as schools, hospitals, and roads “*During the fifteen mile journey to Anata which took the greater part of forty minutes because of the corrugated laterite surface*” (Ibid, P.12), or the supply of potable water, “*When seven works lorries arrived in the village and began to cast away the pipes they had deposited several months earlier for our projected rural water scheme.*” (A Man of the People, P.134), diversion and misallocation of resources, conversion of public wealth to private and personal property, inflation “*....in honor one of those who had started the country of down the slopes of inflation*” (Ibid,p.2), imbalance economic development, weakling work ethics and professionalism, hindrance of the development of fair in the market structures and unhealthy completion.

Above all, large scale corruption damages the economy and impoverishes the entire population. There are some indicators that show how the living standard of the majority of the

population portrayed in the book was very severe. Odili described the house of his half-sister and her husband in Giligili, as follows:

....We had two rooms in the iron roofed house with its earth walls and floor. My sister, her husband and two small children slept in one and the rest of us three boys shared the other with bag of rice, garri, beans and other foodstuffs. And of course, the rats.(A Man of the People, P. 41).

And he described the house of Edna's father and the deep rootedness of poverty as:

....I found Odo's(Edna's father) house of red earth and thatched roof. (A Man of the People, P. 90).

....Actually I think her crying was probably due to hurt pride because the food lying on the road showed how poor her family was. (A Man of the People, P.95).

The pipes that were planned to be used for the projected rural water scheme in Urua were returned when the politicians thought that Odili and his father were running against Nanga (Ibid, p,134). This shows that the society of Urua still did not have access to clean water. The same was true about the community of Ichida, "...whose inhabitants had also been promised water but hadn't so far seen even one pipe."(A Man of the People, P.136).

Edna's mother was in hospital. But she had no money to pay for her medication. Edna's father mentioned the situation they were in as follows, "You must tell him she is still in the hospital. That her medicine costs money and that she planted neither cassava nor cocoyam this year" (Ibid, p. 92).

4.6.2. Psychological /Social Impact

If someone steals something, he/she immediately loses mental rest, freedom and confidence. The same is true about the majority of African leaders. No leader in Africa walks in the street without a guard. The bridge that connects the politicians with their community is already broken. The trust of the society on their leaders and the politicians on their people is eroded. Chief Koko's, Minister for Overseas Training, suspicion on the waiter for poisoning the coffee he drank was an indication, "They have killed me" " they have poisoned my coffee" (A man of the People, p.33). But the truth was different. The coffee was cooked using the unfamiliar coffee especially to the leaders called OHMS-our home made stuff which were highly promoted and campaigned at that time. If the politicians and the society lose trust in

each other, it will not be easy for the politicians to mobilize the citizens for a common goal. Corruption impedes people from working together for the common good. If frustration and general apathy among the people triumphs, it results in a weak civil society. The society at large lacked trust on the politicians. They say whoever party comes they are the same, "*the same ten and ten pence... There are three vultures the third and the youngest is C.P.C...*" etc...

Moreover, from among the social impacts, may be due to poor funding to the education system, teachers were not happy with the wage they get, "...at that critical time, when teachers all over the country were in an ugly, rebellious mood..." (A Man of the People, p.10). This resulted in failure of education from time to time. There is an evidence for this. Nwege, the school proprietor, praised Nanga's excellent behavior as the result of '*when education was education.*' (Ibid, P.11). Nanga himself strengthened the problem as saying, "Yes" said Nanga, "...I used to tell them that standard six in those days is more than Cambridge today" (A man of the People, p.11). This also leads to producing students that are not well equipped with knowledge and skill rather burdens to the nation -followed by an increase in unemployment.

4.6.3. Political Impact

The dominant form of corruption in the selected fiction is related to electoral corruption. This evil practice above all thwarted democracy and hindered the society from exercising their right. From the onset the society was unable to elect whom they believe is able. The literary work began with sacking of the Finance Minister and his followers and ended with a coup and in the end of course, Nanga was caught trying to flee, "...our young army officers seized the opportunity to take over. We were told Nanga was arrested trying to escape by canoe dressed like a fisherman" (A Man of the People, p. 148). As the saying goes, 'You will harvest what you sow' the government officials rewarded with what they deserve. Politics plays a crucial role in bringing about a nation's development. If there is no fair and free election, if the politicians are above the law, if there is no proper allocation of resources among the citizens, it will not be easy for a country to go forward.

4.7. The Solution Achebe Suggests

After independence, most African countries drifted shamelessly from a bureaucratic administration that emphasized good governance to one that emphasized the sovereignty of

politics. This resulted in the emergence of a politicized bureaucracy in those countries which began to engage in centralized economic decision and patrimonialism. The new states were not only bureaucratic autocracies but also political and economic monopolies now lacking in accountability, transparency and rule of law (Dia, 1993 cited in Hope, 2000)). This led to suppression of political oppositions for example, in the selected book, the Prime Minister sacked the Finance minister with false allegations, Odili and his father were fired from their job, election violence was cultural and in the end Odili was beaten mercilessly and of course Max was killed. In such a situation, the only solution suggested by the author to overthrow the corrupters is through military coup. The solution suggested by Achebe was also reflected and matched with the real politics of Nigeria (as it is said the goal of fiction is not only to reflect the realities but also suggest possible solutions to solve problems of the real world). In the setting of the novel "*A Man of the People*", what happened in the politics of Nigeria was coup d'etat after coup d'etat.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to analyze realism and satire as the frameworks of the study. The main focus has been on analyzing the social evil corruption and how Achebe exposed and attacked the corrupt politicians using various satirical techniques. It has been found out that Achebe's 'A Man of the People' portrays the real events of Nigerian history during the setting of the fiction. 'A Man of the People' which mirrors the prevalence of corruption at the aftermath of the Nigerian independence. No one was free from corruption. That is why Achebe in his book entitled 'The Trouble with Nigeria' said that 'Keeping an average man from corruption is like keeping a goat from eating Yam' (1998, p.38). But the corruptions committed by the politicians were very serious. Achebe tried to show the major sources of corruption as poverty, attitudinal problem of the society and greediness thinking that drying these factors could help in minimizing corruption. 'A Man of the People' satirically shows the authors distress on the prevalence and deep-rootedness of corruption in Nigeria at that time. In Nigeria every form of corruption were committed: starting from inviting someone to lunch expecting something in return; to win big contracts without bidding; to participate in illegal trade activities; to use public resources for personal purpose; to order national bank to print some notes; to hire or appoint a friend, family member or a clan in an office regardless of knowledge, skill and commitment; to use the media for own purpose and prevent the community from participating in any election process and protecting candidates from campaigning.

From among the literary mediums employed by Achebe to expose and ridicule the corrupt politicians, irony and hyperbola are the dominant ones. For instance, to begin with the very title, 'A Man of the People' literally could mean Nanga is 'a man of the people by the people for the people'. But when the story uncovered, Nanga is 'a man of Nanga, by Nanga and his followers and for Nanga and his friends and colleagues'. Moreover, Achebe exaggeratedly attacked the corrupt politicians. The phrase 'some peoples belly is like the earth' is a literary expression that indicates the extent of the selfishness of the officials.

Achebe tried to show how corruption paralyzed the economy and politics of Nigeria. The story of the fiction ended with coup d'état as the last solution suggested by the author to overthrow the corrupt politicians from their throne.

But the researcher of this thesis doesn't accept coup d'état as a solution to curb corruption and oust corrupt politicians from their power. Instead, it requires doing more on the minds of the society at large, supporting and appreciating those authors who focus on social criticism, strengthening civil society institutions like media, and laying down a system that can trap the corrupters.

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