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PROTEST METAPHORS: A READING OF SOME CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN ARTISTS.

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Abstract

Humans mostly those in authority have continuously done terrible dehumanized things to other humans, and several instances of injustice have given rise to protests of which spurred many contemporary Nigerian artists in narrating the events through their visual art works. However, this phenomenon has been largely unexamined in the art historical literature. It is as a result of this shortcoming that the present study is looking at the art works, which portrayed moments of protest from the colonial period to the present day Nigeria. The study focuses on contents, styles and techniques. It was discovered that these vibrant expressions by these artists oscillate between naturalism, semi-abstract and pure abstract images

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Introduction:-

There is no doubt that there exist myriads of presentations in modern Nigerian visual arts with reference to protest. Notwithstanding how one interprets or gives an account of protests in the past decades, from the colonial era to date, Nigeria no doubt is believed or perceived to be a vibrant and colourful country of contradictions. One can rightly say that predictably, the political, social and economic history of Nigeria is unmovable and full of contradictions. In fact, Nzegwu (1999) is of the view that thirty eight years after independence, the country is still floundering as it reaps the dire consequences of autocratic regimes. The activities or policies of these autocratic regimes have given rise to numerous protests of which have attracted artistic visual comments. An apt illustration of this complex history of Nigeria of which one can relate to these visual commentaries revealed that government regimes have not been sensitive to the people and their policies appear autocratic. On the other hand, they do not enjoy the people's patriotism or support. This developed, however, formed a major part of Nigeria's problems.

However, it is a fact of history that the absence of due consultation between the governors and the governed over reforms or policies usually raise a storm of protests or revolts against the government in power at any given period in Nigeria. It is obvious that protests of all sorts in Nigeria by all consideration are an important catalyst in dismantling the slave/master relationships which have been a hall mark of colonial, military and political era in Nigeria. The visual presentation of protest as subjectivity has been a feature in contemporary Nigerian art, but this phenomenon has not been given adequate attention or appreciable regularity in art historical literature. Very significantly, one can view the incessant social protest demonstrations by xenophobic ethnic pressure group as a part of bad government influences in present day Nigerian society which of course never fully manifested as a part of the pure Nigerian experience. In other words governance in Nigeria particularly after colonial era was at no time the civilizing mission it claimed to be, therefore wherever it occurred, the society particular the artists, visually present it from visual perspective as a subterfuge for the institutionalization of the inequalities that marked the relationships between political class and ordinary citizens.

The use of subject matter of protest as metaphor was not generally scarce at any period of modern Nigerian art even when much of the philosophy about art was on issues on tradition and by extension natural synthesis. This perhaps is because art has been positioned as an information tool or platform for not only social values but for checking and

highlighting unhealthy events in the society. There is no doubt that visual presentations of protests in modern Nigerian art should be seen as an important advance to highlight circumstances and events that challenged the corrupt colonial, military and political systems in Africa and particular Nigeria as they always pursue unjust rules and actions. For Lazzari and Schlesier (2005) protest art is a form of affirmation, because behind it is the fundamental beliefs that change is possible. They further opine that implicit also is the belief that artwork should play a challenging role in society and politics. Oyelola (2003) singled out Bruce Onobrakpeya as one of the contemporary artists whose concern for the justice and freedom of expression extends beyond the boundaries of Nigeria. However it is observed that many of protests occurred in periods which made them to be fairly well documented in visual forms while others took place when documentations of events were not given adequate attention in both visual and literally forms.

In Nigeria, particularly the military era, it is usually difficult for artists to make visual presentations or portray any event that is anti government. This is bound by the fear of being banished. But whichever way one looks at it, protest messages in visual presentations has been an important metaphor in challenging government misgivings or practices. There is no doubt that we live in a country where government in power at any given period hardly consider protests whatever magnitude of any use to it, neither do they consider cultural, social and economic implications of protests both as an event with potentials for reconstruction and as an experience of our historical past. In fact, Ikime (1995) situates that increasingly in Nigeria; governments are failing to recognize that the right to protest is a necessary aspect of the relationships between the governments and the governed. It therefore becomes very necessary that a political culture should be put in place which should recognize the right of protest. It is obvious that so long as there is government, the civil society and pressure groups stage are bound to stage protests from time to time to question specific aspects of government policies or express strong disagreement of some decision. Two aspects of reactions by the government in power as concerns protesting groups need to be presented here. The first aspect is that government in power at any given period often repressed protesters by force often with the use of the military. Secondly, quite a number of the protesters are usually arrested and injured. Others are imprisoned while some do lose their lives and jobs.

In the light of the different landmark protests that contemporary Nigerian artists have decried through visual commentaries or documentations, the study therefore examines some of the pivotal art pieces of four artists that portray some of these moments of uprising.

Bruce Onobrakpeya:-

The first artist whose work is examined in this study is Bruce Onobrakpeya who was trained as an artist through the formal training method at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology Zaria now Ahmadu Bello University in the early 1960's specializing in Painting and Graphic Art. Although his art training was through the formal school system and tutored by expatriates, he struggled to become a well- established artists in his own right. Despite the fact that he graduated as both a painter and graphic artist, the former has indeed helped him in producing tremendous prints, with the use of deep etching as well as pen, brush and ink drawings which dwells on the theme of protest. With the use of these techniques Onobrakpeya did not only develop new art forms, he gave them new terminologies such as bronze linoreliefs, plastography and plastocast relief (Ikpakronyi, 2012:1). One can say that all these have placed him in the annals of contemporary Nigerian art. The human figures he explores in presenting the theme of protest are either stylized or abstracted. He also applies intricate designs and textures in his works which are aesthetically appealing and derived mostly from his Urhobo culture. In many of his works that makes reference to the subject, he has used the portrayal of women as a sentimental concept. Among them include *Nude and Protest II* (Plate I), *Nude and Protest* (Plate 2), *Ancestral Nude and Protest* (Plate 3) *Youth and Protest* (Plate 4).

Nude and Protest II (Plate1) provides an insight into a nation's political and economic instability. The artist is of view that the work commemorates several killings in the Niger Delta particularly Ken Saro Wiwa and the Odi massacre as a result of protests due to the inhabitable condition of the communities because of oil exploration. Onobrakpeya based his painting on sketches he made of the actual event as it happened several years earlier. In essence this work reminiscence protest match by women in nude he had witnessed in Nigeria, particularly in the Niger Delta area due to neglect and bad leadership.

Although nudity of women particularly adults is forbidden and a taboo in many Nigerian culture, but the artist executed this work to call attention to the seriousness of the issue at that period which necessitated the women to protest in their nakedness. Ikpakronyi (2012) explains that it is a taboo to see a woman naked in Sapele area of

Niger Delta and that it is a great taboo when a group of women moves about naked. He further notes that when women in nude are protesting a cause, the ruler of the people must run quickly to tackle that issue. On his own part, Singletary (2002) says that this phenomenon is popular among the Urhobo of Niger Delta and to some extent, the Yoruba. The intension of this acrylic work however, was clearly to show an expression of women's power in expressing their grievances, on both local and national issues, that negatively affects the governed. The elongated human figures in this work stands in both frontal and profile view poses. The leaden quality of the picture, dull faces and twisted bodies is transformed; they seem to release energy in a flash, marched forward with anger. Illusion of movement is created or indicated by the positions of their feet in diagonal form, as well as their different postures as if they are turning freely in space. The artist portrays the female figure in rich monochromatic hue of blue as well as elegant and flowing curves although with sagging breasts. One can also notice that highlights emphasize certain parts of their bodies. These lighter values of the women's bodies draw people's attention. The outline of each figure in red colour runs continuously without breaking, it shows the artists good draughtmanship. Their facial features though not properly defined expresses different gesture which can be attributed to anger. A close observation of the work reveals that some of the women adorned necklaces around their neck region. This shows that jewelry is a major part of the dress culture of women in the Niger Delta region as they adorn necklaces even in nakedness. Some of the figures were depicted with agape mouths showing that they might be chanting a solidarity song, making some noise in other to announce their presence or attract attention or explaining to whoever cares to know the reason for their protest. Others were depicted with their necks bent to one side and hands either raised up, rested on the head or crossed over each other around the breast region. All these convey an air or feeling of melancholy and visual echo of the protest. More so, the background colour is depicted in entirely green colour with patches of light yellow which serves as highlights to create a feeling of depth in the composition.

In *Ancestral and Nude Protest* (Plate 2) the artist again gives a visual impression of several old women in nude staging a protest march in Niger Delta region to call attention to different environmental and ecological degradation which affects human health, habitation and source of livelihood. The women in their numbers seem to represent very aged women usually referred to as female ancestors who have also been affected by the poor environmental condition of the Niger Delta region. According to Ikpakronyi (2012) the women who move about in the nude are invoking the power of the ancestors to come to their aid and answer questions about things that are going wrong in the environment. He further notes that when they march like that, they are not doing it on their own, they are backed by the power of the ancestors and if the cause of their anger is not tackled, that anger is visited on the king or whoever is in charge. A factual example of what one may call an ancestral anger visiting rulers has been witnessed in Nigeria with the person of late General Sani Abacha whose reign of terror was generally condemned as he eventually died mysteriously. This therefore buttresses the fact that rulers attending to issues concerning the people are not particularly true to the Nigeria situation, especially the Niger Delta region where the rulers at various periods have applied a total neglect to the people's plight. In this work the artist portrays elongated and thin figures of old women with mask-like faces which seem to have been withered with age. Despite their thin proportion, they convey an organic quality that is derived from the forms themselves. More so, the mask-like faces of the women in their different presentations perhaps reminiscence different ancestral deities in the Niger Delta region.

The figures are rendered majorly in linear forms as hues of light blue and yellow ochre appear in few areas on the human figures. The background colour also reflects these two colours which give the entire composition a harmonious balance. The mystic representation on the faces of the female figures such as agape mouths and bulbous eyes enhance the stern character of the women and by extensive gives a feeling of sadness. The figures in this composition are positioned in both vertical and frontal view but their feet are rendered in frontal view. The frontal representation of these female figures call attention to some characteristics of Egyptian drawings, paintings and sculptures where human figures are executed standing in frontal poses with one foot usually set forward. One foot is set slightly forward in this picture to suggest motion. Their posture also makes reference to a popular phrase in Nigeria "Forward ever, backward never".

The forehead and bodies of the female figures are coded in textures and symbols derived from indigenous sources which unequivocally convey attached meanings as they seem to reflect the ethnic identity of the protesters. There are other features in this work that are worthy of note. They include the leaves or tree branches the women are carrying which on one hand signifies that the women came from an environment that is rich in vegetation and forest. On the other hand, it shows an expression that though the green leaves signifies a peaceful and non-violent protest, the protest should not be taken for granted giving the nakedness of the aged or old women involved which is not a common sight in this region. The other striking feature in the composition is the smoking pipe identified on mouth

of the figure positioned in the middle top role. This figure, according to the artist makes reference to Ken Saro Wiwa who was in the forefront in matters concerning the Niger Delta region particularly Ogoni community. Ikpakronyi (2012) explains that Ken Saro Wiwa used to smoke and that he was identified with the pipe in his mouth when he was hanged. He further explains that when he was hanged the pipe fell down, and because it still has tobacco and embers, it brought out huge flame and smoke which rose to the sky and through it Nigeria and the world at large saw the evil that is committed in the Niger Delta.

In *Nude and Protest* (plate 3) the artist continues to accompany his subject matter on protest with spontaneity and intimacy that are rarely found in most artists. The work again demonstrates that women, particularly those from Niger Delta region, though industries and resourceful, are also bold and courageous. They recognize their power and right and do not shy away from expressing them through various means should the need arise. In this composition the artist applies one of his methods of inaudible style and simple way of expressing his thought through natural scene. However compared with his former two works on the same subject, the nude women here are stubbier with a heavier fuller face, better detailed and slightly elongated. One might say that elongated figures are a device which has become a hallmark of Onobrakpeya's depictions. A close observation of the work reveals that the women shaved their hair. This perhaps is another way to attract public support. The figures are rendered in frontal poses facing the viewer with the leaves in their hands which shows a rational relationship with the former two works. The use of light and shade defines their body contours especially, the face, breasts, hips and fat legs. This shows that the artist has acquired a masterful rendition of physical sensuousness. The hues of yellow and blue tones applied on the human body are bright and clear with no visible brushstroke. Outlines are also not precise. The two aforementioned colours give the figures more emphasis and increase their realistic relationship. The solid black background colour appears flat and does not give any information about where the women might be, but one should assume that they are out on the road. However, the dark background sets off the figures. The artist creates a focal point on the bottom area with lighter values on the bodies of the six women to draw attention to these body parts. More so, the slight upwards posture of one leg of the figures in the bottom area as they hunched forward is to suggest motion or movement. Some viewers might turn away from the images of the nude women, dismissing it as not worthy of attention, because they are depicted showing elderly women naked and in a state of dismay. But the work is markedly significant when one gain understanding of the meaning both socially, politically and culturally. Ubogu and Nutsukpo (2012) are of the view that Onobrakpeya reveals through this work, that women wield immense power in some of traditional African life, which they take advantage of and display very effectively when the occasion arises. On his part, Folarin (2003) states that in addition to his visual representation, he also renders a poetic description of this episode in calligraphic writing another form of art.

The work titled *Youth and Protest* (Plate 4) shows Onobrakpeya's depiction of youth uprising as a spontaneous reaction to situations or issues affecting their environment. It is also their own way of fighting injustice in order to have a collective voice in their own future. The vigour and unison of purpose expressed in this picture intensifies the title. The youths, particularly those in the Niger Delta region has severally been able to organize themselves across ethnic or professional divide in protest or agitations with the intention to call attention of the government to their plight and lack of development in their communities. In this work the artist employs the pen, ink, and brush technique in expressing his protest message or event. He explores more of linear technique. In essence the work seems to be realized through sensitivity of line.

His dynamic forms rendered on linearity overlap in rapid succession and thereby create visual tension. In general the artist manipulates the lines into a sensuous instrument to generate not only balance and rhythm but a unified verbal and visual message. The figures symbolize fierce looking youths of the Niger Delta region in a revolution match with a common purpose. The movement of figures in this work reflects the volatile mood in the Niger Delta today due to the impoverished and under-developed condition of the area. More so, the human forms or images here are charged with a delicate sense of disorder which typifies an unhealthy situation. The massive figure in front that makes a swift to the left with a gun in his hand suggests that he is their leader. This swift creates a feeling of vitality and one full of energy.

Uche Okeke:-

Uche Okeke is a painter, who also graduated from the Nigerian College of Arts Science and Technology Zaria in 1961. He emerged onto the Nigerian visual art scene immediately after graduating from school and has contributed immensely to its growth. He is one of the contemporary artists who loves the past and has derived inspiration from it. Hence he did not completely break from the past but inspired by it for new forms of expression. He is also among

the foremost Nigerian artists who have used their art works to react to bad ideas and policies of the government towards the citizens of which has necessitated various protests or revolts. His romance with the theme of revolt or protest perhaps stems from the fact that he was among the Zaria students who first agitated or staged a protest that African heritage should be incorporated in the visual art curriculum during the colonial era. On the other hand Okeke was also fully involved in the Biafran civil war which started in 1967 and ended in 1970. However, his involvement in the Biafran war and encounter with the colonial activities as well as the socio-political turmoil which usually engulfed the nation and other events that have threatened the unity of the country has no doubt reflected or evident in his works.

Although his works that dwells on protest or revolt attempts to foster a new insight and a new consciousness to some of the dark period of the nation, they also direct attention to contemporary Nigerian art and by extension its growth and development. According to Uche Okeke, the subject of protest should be an essential part of human existence particularly the involvement of women, giving the fact that it helps in addressing certain issues as it concerns a people or nation. Among Uche Okeke's art that comments on protest or revolt is *Aba women Rio t* (Plate 5) which depicts female figures that are not easily discernible as the artist portrays unidentified human figures with bulbous sagging breasts but with an effort to avoid unseemly pornographic picture, however, it buttresses the intension of the artist and rein forces the reasons for their agitation. The study calls attention to women who sacrificed their lives in calling for the rejection of obnoxious policies of colonial administration. It is also an awakening or a psychological recharging of feminist in the third world countries and Nigeria in particular to start involving themselves in the things of national concerns. This concern is exemplified in the popular uprising or protest by women in Aba region of Nigeria in 1929 to challenge the inclusion of women as part of the taxpaying group to colonial masters, the tax has normally been only for men. Momoh (1995) informs that in some communities where the protest reached, the women violently confronted the colonial armed forces, attacked native courts and warrant chiefs, resulting in casualties. Ofonagoro (1995) explains that the women protest of 1929 was by all considerations an important catalyst in dismantling the slave /master relationships that marked the colonial period in Nigeria and elsewhere. Similar conclusion was reached by Dike (1995) who asserts that the women's revolt of 1929 in Eastern Nigeria was the first major challenge to British rule in Nigeria after the amalgamation of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914.

The Kaleidoscopic employment of vibrant hues of red and orange as well as dark brown which serves as the dark shade is peculiar to the artist as this technique reflects in most of his work. Ottenberg (1997) is of the view that the brown colour of the work suggests the powerful earth spirit *Ana*. Okeke (1977) posits that *Ana* the earth goddess of the Igbo is the guardian of morality and one who symbolizes virtue and beauty. The artist therefore must have used the brown colour of the earth in other to show that the women in their protest have the support of this powerful spirit of which they also represent. The stylistic arrangement of the figures on the canvas is symbolic and remarkable in the sense that the artist has thematically echoed the message in the picture. It also shows his ability to express events in simplified way and with spontaneity. The rendition of different parts of the human features seems to be an idealization of stylized forms. The artist seems to have disregarded anatomical accuracy as faces and other parts of the women are barely suggested. Hence they are simplified and drawn with fearless finesse. The focal point seems to be the two women in front leading the revolt perhaps breaking old stereotypes about women passivity as they raised their fat arms in a gesture of defiance. This attest to the misery they want to subject the women of which made them to rise up. The fat arms of the women create a sense of vigour and sprightly energy. Their rough and bushy hairs spring up showing that they can sacrifice anything even their wellbeing in order to get justice. The brush strokes are visible. This is evident in lower portion of their dresses which are merely suggested by a flurry of brush strokes that almost take on a life of their own. More so, as the onlooker encounters it, however, they see rough patches created by closely, spaced forms and small brush strokes.




Demas Nwoko:-

Demas Nwoko a master painter and sculptor who also studied at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology Zaria endeavours to express what is always clearly evident. His art is inspired by the inexhaustible repertoire of everyday occurrence and stimuli. Besides, Nwoko is also a confident painter who has used his paintings in making valid visual statements that borders on the Nigerian State from colonial era to the present time, particularly on the dealings of the colonial masters with Nigerians of which the latter usually express their ill feelings in diverse ways. In fact, Okeke (2012) explains that Nwoko contends that modern African art should be a tool for negotiating difficult post colonial identity and ideality, but Dale (1998) observes that "whether they make acidic comment on the unfortunate adventure of the colonial officers or sermonize about the relevance of traditional

African belief systems, Nwoko's paintings appear naive, serious, whimsical and have a child-like quality about them". The above illustration is clearly evident in his work titled *In 1959* (Plate 6). The apparent simplicity of this painting is derived from deep thought, careful planning as well as immense artistic wisdom. Here, the artist portrays five Nigerians in protest behind three colonial officers whose sitting postures and facial expressions signify downcast, uncertainty, dejected and defeated. More so, their mood suggests that the men behind them are asking or demanding for something that seems too difficult to offer or release. The men therefore might have been demanding for Nigeria's independence before it finally came in 1960. In fact, Offoedu Okeke (2012) says that the painting is an allegory of the end of colonial rule in Nigeria and the imminent transition of the country into a new status as an independent state. This painting therefore pays tribute to the many events that brought about the end of colonial rule in Nigeria that eventually earned her the status of an independent nation. However, there is something schematic or rather calculated in the work. The faces of Nigerian subordinates are mostly hidden and not clearly shown as they are placed in dark background, while those of the colonial masters are portrayed with light shades that give the viewer an ample opportunity to observe their state of mind or their inner feelings. In essence Onobrakpeya posed the colonial masters in a manner that the viewer can easily identify with their plight, and surround them in light colours against the pervasive gloom. Again light and dark alternate and flash across the images of the colonial masters, visually conveying the emotions of the moment. This approach is perhaps a deliberate attempt by the artist to arouse a greater sympathy among the viewers on the several misgivings Nigerians encountered during the colonial regime. The foreground colour which perhaps is a red carpet in which the artist positioned the colonialist as well as their neatly tailored suits are signs of class and somewhat tells us of the royal or leadership status they enjoyed as red colour is usually associated with the aforementioned positions. The attribute of a skillful painter is evident in the way he handles the brush in achieving a unique and smooth colour application in this work.



Artist: Bruce Onobrakpeya Title: Nude and Protest II	Artist: Bruce Onobrakpeya Title: Ancestral Nude and Protest	Artist: Bruce Onobrakpeya Title: Nude and Protest	Artist: Bruce Title: Youth and Protest
Medium: Acrylic on Canvas	Medium: Acrylic on Linen Canvas	Medium: Oil on Canvas	Medium: Pen and Ink
Dimension: 197 x 141cm Year: 2007	Dimension: 123 x 91cm Year: 2005	Dimension: 197 x 141cm Year: 199	Dimension: 20 x 9cm Year: 2005
Photo: Sam Onwuakpa	Photo: Sam Onwu	Photo: Sam Onwuakpa	Photo: Sam Onwuakpa

		
<p>Artist: UcheOkeke Title: Aba Women's Revolt Medium: Oil on Canvas Dimension: 182.9 x 121.9cm Year: 1965 Photo: Franco Khoury</p>	<p>Artist: Demas Nwoko Title: In 1959 Medium: Oil on Board Dimension: 136 x 96.5cm Year: 1960 Photo: David Dale</p>	<p>Artist: Obi Ekwenchi Title: Coal Miners Revolt Medium: Concrete Dimension: 10 ft. Year: 1988 Photo: Sam Onwuakpa</p>

Obi Ekwenchi:-

Obi Ekwenchi is a sculptor and another foremost contemporary Nigerian artist who has portrayed protest through his work. His works are mature showing smooth finish as they break new ground in both materials and forms. Ekwenchi graduated from the Institute of Management and Technology Enugu. He obtained a Post Graduate Diploma in Sculpture at the Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka under the supervision of Professor Cliff Nwanna. He is a great artist who has penchant for both sculpture and painting. But his confidence is evident in the way he finishes his sculptural piece. His sculptural piece titled *Coal Miners Riot* (Plate 7) is a complete sculpture in the round. He was commissioned to produce this sculpture for public display in the city of Enugu where coal was mined in great quantity during and after the colonial rule. The work depicts the event of shooting of coal miners by colonial soldiers in 1949, for resisting their oppressive demands. The work stood as a metaphor for both intimidations, oppressive and inhuman nature of the colonial masters.

The images were made to hold our attention in order to reminisce on the grueling work which Nigerian coal miners must have been subjected to do by the colonial officers who made them to revolt. Each of these miners has offered their lives to work for the British colonialists who were dictators. Each of them faces death, but they confront their sacrifice in the same way. The artist combined a superb knowledge of anatomy with modeling to create the fluid, tactile quantity of the figures. Hence one can feel the energy inherent in the figures, as exhibited in their body muscles. The fierce looking soldiers point their rifles like a war machine at them, and even the stance of their bodies attracts people's attention on the miners, particularly the one already shot dead. The man dressed on the traditional Nigerian attire popularly known as "Agbada" seems to be the conscience for the group and sympathizing clearly with them by calling the viewers' attention to this unjustly shooting through his hand pointed or directed at the scene. The fury of the miners charge is expressed in their postures as they held up their shovel and arms in a posture of resistance to the threat of the colonial soldiers. The pigmentation of the entire figure in black gives the work more solidity and also roots it to African society. One can say that this composition in general is also a statement against senseless brutality.

Conclusion:-

This study shows that modern Nigerian artists have been using their art on protest as an effective tool in making comments for political and social change and particularly issues of governance and national interest from colonial period to date. It is therefore observed that some artists are not mindful of being put in incarceration and have continued to interrogate vital issues and moments between the government and the governed through their visual presentations. There is no doubt that the process and channels of telling stories, contesting and negotiating some

unacceptable government actions, policies and programmes require holistic and integrated approaches which include the visual arts.

It is however established in this study that in all the unjustly events which modern Nigerian artists have decried; one identifies lots of variances in style and technique. Obi Ekwenchi depicts naturalism, while Uche Okeke, Demas Nwoko and Bruce Onobrakpeya oscillate between abstraction and pure abstract images. In all, these artists have been able to highlight the plights and responses of the civil society anytime the government in power exhibits negligence, unresponsive, dehumanized and senseless policies and programmes.

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