



Booties of War: Minority Subjugation in Ahmed Yerima’s *Jakadiya*

Ruth Etuwe Epochi-Olise^{[a],*}

^[a] Alex Ekwueme Federal University, Ndufu-Alike, Ebonyi, Nigeria.

* Corresponding author.

Received 3 September 2022; accepted 6 October 2022

Published online 26 October 2022

Abstract

Minority groups, comprising of girls and women, are victims of discrimination, subordination and sexual enslavement because of their status as spoils of war. As victims, they are Slaves Hijacked to Entertain Men (SHE-menism; Umukoro, 2022); so, they are commoditized as sex objects meant for the selfish sexual pleasures of men. Beyond being toys of sexual entertainment, they serve as concubines and baby factories as well as instructors to younger slaves. Yerima’s *Jakadiya* shall be used critically to address the issues of forced migrations and the concept of SHE-menism as they affect both the young and old. Using the theoretical framework of intersectionality, this study will examine how the socio-cultural constructed categories of age, ethnicity, gender, and class interact to legitimize sexual victimization and perpetrate systematic social inequality. The study will focus critical gaze upon the various liberatory and emancipatory strategies adopted by female victims to recover their humanity and dignity.

Key words: Ageism; SHE-menism; Intersectionality; Migration; Inequality; *Jakadiya*; Patriarchy; Minority; Dehumanization

Epochi-Olise, R. E. (2022). Booties of War: Minority Subjugation in Ahmed Yerima’s *Jakadiya*. *Studies in Literature and Language*, 25(2), 80-88. Available from: <http://www.cscanada.net/index.php/sll/article/view/12783>
 DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3968/12783>

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, women have been subjected to violence that has affected their lives. This inequality is a product of patriarchal practices in most of the culture, which is skewed in favour of men to discriminate and humiliate women. This violence manifest itself in their shared experiences such as battering and rape, as well as subjugation and domination by the patriarchal enclave, whether as private family matters or external aggression; they are largely recognized as part of a larger system of domination that affects women collectively.

Women have been mistreated for decades and even till date; but the acceptance of this mistreatment is due to patriarchy’s conspiratorial system, which is based on women’s intersectional identities from the perspectives of age, class, sexuality and gender. These disparities are the result of patriarchal behaviours in most societies, which are biased in favour of men in order to discriminate against and degrade women regardless of their status or age. This study examines the concept of SHE-menism (Slaves Hijacked to Entertain Men; Umukoro, 2022) as female experiences and its impacts on both the young and old, using Yerima’s *Jakadiya*. Intersectional identities are employed in this study to respond to difficulties of marginalised older women, which are necessitated by age, class, and sexuality, all of which interact to determine the numerous dimensions of their lives in a patriarchal society.

AGEISM, INTERSECTIONALITY AND SHE-MENISM

Age is increasingly regarded as a social construct that is in no way comparable to a personal trait; a social divider,

playing a part as a social and identity marker while also underscoring its influence on establishing institutions, defining social interactions, and producing inequities. Ageing calls for self-reflection on one's successes and a sense of fulfilment after overcoming challenges in life and growing older, wiser, and more experienced. The wisdom, knowledge, and experience they have accumulated have not diminished, even though the aged know they are getting closer to death and that their strength, fertility, agility, intelligence, mobility, and production are quickly vanishing. Nevertheless, they are still uneasy and concerned about this feeling. And because these people gain and lose things in the process, many people view ageing as a "curse blessing" (Adeoti, 2020).

According to research, ageism, ageing, and gender differences affect both men and women differently (Itzin and Phillipson, 1995). Negative stereotypes and prejudice based on age, usually but not invariably older age, are referred to as ageism that eventually affects everyone. Ageism is socially created and has serious negative effects on both individuals and society. It is a prevalent bias in every society like other types of prejudice such that people's trials worsen as ageism intersects with other types of bias. Ageism can be both explicit and implicit, institutional, interpersonal, and self-directed. It refers to a belief, attitude, and action that are motivated by stereotypes and untruths about people, especially older ones. Thus, ageism is the application of preconceptions, prejudice, or discrimination based on a person's age; it occurs when age is used to label and divide individuals in ways that cause harm, disadvantage, and injustice and undermine solidarity across generations (WHO's Global Report, 2021).

Butler first proposed the idea of ageism in 1969 with the primary goal of highlighting the various forms of marginalisation and prejudice that older people experience. Though, some people would experience worse circumstances than others due to intersectionality with various biases especially as it is rooted in oppressive attitudes that are firmly ingrained in social institutions. However, ageism that is based on the intersection of gender and age is known as gendered ageism; it is any discriminatory action based on this intersection, which could be purposeful or unintentional. Gendered ageism can be seen in both gender's relationships and is not just present in interactions between men and women (Jyrkinen, 2013). The term "gendered ageism" is first used to investigate age discrimination and the place of gender in an organisation (Itzin and Phillipson, 1995; 1993), which becomes a "double jeopardy" because two interacting power systems increase vulnerability of a person (Walker, 1998; Handy and Davy, 2007; Barrett and Naiman-Sessions, 2016). However, it is a jeopardy for the female because it highlights how patriarchal standards are dominant and paired with a focus on youth as older women's status declines more quickly than that of

older men (Barrett and Naiman-Sessions, 2016). In other words, when someone has many marginalised identities like class, sexuality, disability, religion, and age among others; the effects of "double jeopardy" can become more pronounced. However, gendered ageism as a phenomenon is pervasively present in institutions but not just directed against older women or older persons, but also at any presumption of inferiority toward the young or the elderly, regardless of gender (Kalish, 1979; Butler, 1980; Palmore, 2001; Krekula, 2009). It is possible to conceptualise gendered ageism as a dynamic social positioning technique, that is, an indication of the social context rather than a role, identity, or personal characteristic. Researchers have found that ageism based on appearance and sexuality affects women of all ages more than men, making them invisible in public places (Duncan and Loretto, 2004; Granleese and Sayer, 2006; Clarke and Griffin, 2008).

Intersectionality is a 20th-century invention, but in spite of its novelty in academics; the power and advantage connected to social places has undoubtedly existed for much longer (Tomlinson, 2013). In response to second wave feminism in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, the modern understanding of intersectionality has emerged (Pilcher, 2004; Dudley, 2006; Bilge and Roy, 2010). In its capacity to unite and mobilise women's groups fighting for all sorts of equality, the feminist movement had a profoundly positive impact that "... opposed the hierarchies that reinforced disparities imposed by patriarchy and capitalism" (Dudley, 2006, p. 38). This historical setting gave Crenshaw the opportunity to develop the word "intersectionality", which adequately describe the complicated interaction between the social sites of gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, disability, and class (Crenshaw 1989; Simpson, 2009; Bowleg, 2012; Saxe, 2017).

The intersections between various oppressive or discriminatory practises known as intersectionality is as a result of multiple identities that includes gender, sex, ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, and financial class, which contribute to the diversity of human encounters with oppression. These identities interact with one another on many different levels at once, and it is this interaction that fuels social injustice, discrimination, and inequality. Intersectionality demonstrates how gender stretches into disability, which wraps around class, strains against abuse, rumbles into sexual orientation, and folds on top of race, all of which ultimately pile into one human body (Clare, 1999). These multiple forms of inequality can compound one another through a process known as intersectionality, which results in challenges that are not always obvious or well-understood by conventional ways of thinking (Steinmetz, 2016). The term "intersectionality" refers "more generally to all women, because differences in sexual orientation, age, and physical able-ness are all sites of oppression" rather than only the way that race and

gender interact (Zack, 2005, p. 7). Women who experience intersections of these multiple identities may encounter various, mutually reinforcing barriers to equality and may not be directly targeted by mainstream corporate policies, programmes, and efforts for justice. The connection between power and identity is part of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2015), so the goal is to make the identities of individuals who have historically been oppressed and disadvantaged, particularly women, apparent while simultaneously attempting to understand the intricacies of social identities.

Political intersectionality examines structures beyond individual experience and is concerned with the intersections of political agendas and projects that are frequently created to favour some groups of people to the detriment of others, whereas structural intersectionality examines how institutionalised barriers discriminate against people who live at the intersection of several social locations (Walby et al., 2012) while representational intersectionality examines how specific social identities are stereotypically exploited in popular media through unfavourable portrayals (Crenshaw, 1997). In other words, intersectionality is an anti-oppressive paradigm that looks at how different relationships and identities interact with political potential in order to increase the complexity of identity (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Although it allows social and political fights to re-emerge (Cirstocea and Giraud, 2015, p. 41), it also aims to understand how the power nexus causes both privilege and discrimination status. Although it is a general theory of identities, which examines how these social groups have impacts on people's lives; intersectionality also highlights oppression and serves as a tool for redressing injustice. It encourages people to consider how various social contexts interact to shape human beings. The specific goals of intersectionality include social fairness, coalition-building and transformation that promotes solidarity by emphasising the interconnectedness of all efforts for freedom from oppression and the mutual benefits of cooperation among the people; however, can undermine oppression and authority, resistance and resilience by the people. Thus, intersectionality is concerned with the practicalities of social change (Simpson, 2009), which explains how societal systems that discriminate against particular demographics interact with human experiences are adopted and maintained by modernist society (Gopaldas, 2013; Hirschmann 2012; Crenshaw, 2016; Shimmin et al., 2017).

MIGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES

Movement of people from one place to another is as old as mankind and has always been an inherent aspect of human societies, though not purely an individual's decision. This, quite often is a manifestation of the drive

toward innovation and development or as a product of both coercion and volition as a result of natural disasters, conflicts/wars and manmade disasters, which are primarily underpinned by economic motives or political persecution. The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have witnessed a lot of migration, especially that caused by duress whether across borders or within a state. This compelled movement has an important and inextricable relationship with conflict, which lies at the heart of global politics that can be identified on three levels: its causes, consequences, and responses. It is assumed to have a political basis especially as it has different strands such as internally displaced persons (IDPs), refugees, trafficking and development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR). While IDPs are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border; Refugees are peoples who owing to a well-founded fear of persecution, on the grounds of race, religion, nationality or membership of a social group, find themselves outside their country of origin, and are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country; human trafficked are those people who are either kidnapped or deceived for the purpose of using them for forced labour especially for sex trades and DIDR occurs when, as a result of a change in land use, people are forced to leave their homes either because of direct physical displacement or because of indirect livelihood displacement. The migrating individuals face structural constraints and all retain a degree of agency to choose between different options of survival.

Forced migrations no matter the causes are generally inauspicious to both male and female but most especially to female; as they are a more endangered group. The process causes pressure on both genders, especially for women, and changes the current disparities that resulted from the situation into chronic inequities that continue to exist. These women's helpless state leads to major challenges and discrimination resulting, which exposes them to violence, sexual exploitation, rape, forced labour and other anti-social behaviours imposed on them by their circumstances of being displaced. Most migration experiences usually give rise to sexual exploitation or forced labour that is accomplished through violence, coercion or deception. Girls and women are the primary victims of sex trafficking, hijacking and slavery. For a person to be treated as a sex slave, it means that she or he has been objectified, which means the person has been lowered from being a human and giving the mere status of a commodity/object (Kant, 2011). This sexual objectification occurs when individuals are sometimes

regarded as objects of sexual desire and evaluated in terms of their physical characteristics and sexiness or because the person has to be “dishonoured” and made worthless. However, most female sex trafficking is as a result of girls being objectified by men and mainly for the purpose of their pleasurable satisfaction without recourse to their dignity or personality. This objectification of females has become problematic because the men see nothing wrong in it as according to Shaka and Uchendu, women begin as objectified victims from infancy:

... she is a victim of a patriarchal brand of socialization which conditions her mentally and physically as a willing slave of man; as a recreational facility to man; as an ornament or a piece of art work to be viewed and admired (2012, p. 5).

This dehumanization projects the woman in a position of servitude where she starts the service from the highly patriarchal home front to that of her spouse or worst still if she is hired or taken hostage and yoked either to a male or a group of males, primarily for sexual gratification where she is in the master-slave relationship: handler (male), victim (female). Thus, she is renamed with the acronym SHE, meaning a Slut/Slave-Hired/Hijacked-to-Entertain men (Umukoro, 2022).

The SHE-men (hired or hijacked) are mostly in a state of powerlessness (Millett, 2016) because regardless of her feelings, she is under compulsion to fulfil her set purpose, which is to ‘entertain’ men especially as her body is seen as a commodity void of dignity and humanity. Since the system allows men to dominate in all spheres of life, the society tacitly condones the dehumanization of women (Makama, 2013, which makes men perceive women as not being human so demand complete submissiveness from them. This forceful submission results from prolonged period of sufferings women undergo having accepted violence and legalising the promotion of masculinity and power as a norm. They also see women as a piece of property to be picked up and played with and then disposed off at will, which inadvertently increases violence and all forms of sexual assault including rape. Unfortunately, these intersectional identities like female objectification, race (as a result of forced migration or trafficked from a known region/culture), age (young/old), class (rich/poor) and caste (slaves/freeborn) interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels and contribute to systematic social inequality in Yerima’s *Jakadiya*.

SYNOPSIS OF YERIMA’S JAKADIYA

Jakadiya is set in the pre-colonial Hausa State, Nigeria that is still (indirectly) governed by the Sokoto Caliphate. The play depicts the rifts undermining the long-standing succession system in Hausaland using the traditional sociocultural and political peculiarities of the people. *Jakadiya* provides a vivid and historical picture of the royal lineage and how scheming and power squabbles

can upset cultural and institutional order. It presents a captivating tale of Bilkisu (also called Jakadiya), a fifteen years old young girl that was taken as a slave as a result of war but later becomes the late Emir’s consort. Jakadiya not only served the palace as a slave and sex object exploited for the selfish sexual gratification of the Kings, father and son, but also as a toy, baby factory, and instructor. She, despite being a slave also has lofty aspirations.

Bilkisu (Jakadiya) served obediently until she attained the age of being the oldest chief of the slaves and because of her positions in the palace pleaded that the late Emir, Sarkin AbdulGafar make her the Magajiya (the head of all women in the country) as compensation for her years of suffering, dedication, humiliation, and contributions in maintaining of the status quo. This request was granted by the Emir who promised she will be made even after his death. Her desire for this lofty aspiration is for her to gain both independence and power. However, she noticed that the promise made by the late Emir wants to slip from her, so she attempts to persuade the new Emir, El-Rasheed Rufai to fulfill the promise made by his predecessor, but went further to blackmail, coerce and beg the kingmakers to assent to her request in order to achieve her goal. Bilkisu (Jakadiya) having been told by Ahmed Datijo (Head of the Dogari - the royal shadow who sees and hears but says nothing) that Rufai was in fact her true but illegitimate son, impersonates Hajiya Hauwa (Uwar Soro) - the purported mother of Rufai - to perform the paternity ritual that should ideally kill Rufai but Bilkisu was murdered by the Chief Security Guard, Ganbu Gada after the test in an attempt to save her child. However, there are a lot of unanswered questions bothering Rufai that are related to the ceremonies and its success as it leaves him lost as to his true identity.

In the play, instances of female abuse in the royal family were depicted, as Bilkisu (Jakadiya) and Atine are subjected to multiple incidents of misery, abuse, and dehumanisation. As a victim of sexual assault, humiliation, and deception, Bilkisu embodies the intersectionality problem as it affects the majority of women. She is a representation of the trauma experienced by young and old women who have been mistreated due to their gender, ethnicity, class, or race. For her and most likely other Africans, ageing produces a sense of fulfilment in retrospect while reflecting on the record of difficulties overcame and accomplishments attained. Despite her fear as she draws closer to her death, Bilkisu is relieved that she has triumphed over the challenges of life, thanks to the wisdom and knowledge she has acquired over the years. She is losing youthful vitality quickly, and her strength, fertility, agility, mobility, and productivity are all suffering. However, her wisdom, knowledge, and experience are all intact.

HIDDEN PAINS OF INTERSECTIONALITY IN JAKADIYA

The conquest of smaller kingdoms are the goals of larger kingdoms and the enslavement of the conquered kingdoms are priceless to them. Thus, slavery to royalty is nothing new; though it is cruel and an atrocity because it demonstrates a lack of respect for other people. A sacrilege from a religious standpoint since it violently denigrates God's creation. This is evident in Bilkisu's case, who even at over 70 years still remains one even when she was granted her freedom by the late Emir. In her reply to the blind Ahmed Datijo who asked if she was still as beautiful, she confirms her age: "Beautiful?... after seventy years?" (Yerima, 2017, p. 13). This situation shows how inhuman the powerful are, especially as depicted by the late Emir, who never kept his promise to Bilkisu. She accuses Madawaki who swore before the Late Emir to do his biddings after his death "... By your oath to the late Emir, make me the Magajiya. Let me fill the vacant stool left by the late Magajiya Aishatu ... (p. 18). Even with the serious proclamation of the late Emir, Madawaki sees it as a joke, a declaration made under the influence of sexual pleasure and desperation for a male child. She, like others, are marginalized and silenced victims who have limited access to representation at every level, but survive, relying on their strength, resilience and resourcefulness in spite of the vulnerable situations in which they find themselves.

Dehumanization's ultimate manifestation is war. Although there is significant human, financial, and social repercussions, women are more severely affected in this situation. These wars continue to highlight social issues in society and bring out the worst in people such that the freeborns constantly seek out opportunities to dehumanize them and make them appear as mere objects. The woman suffers doubly as war-time possession, they are taken as "Femme-mère" (woman/wife-mother), "femme-maitresse" (woman-concubine), "femme-enfant" (woman-child), "pute-enfant" (prostitute-child), and "enfant-parent" (child-parent) or subject/object (woman's body to mothering) (Nfah-Abbenyi, 2005, p. 103). Sometimes women take up all the roles together and other times, they are made to take up one or two together; not by choice but by force as hijacked slaves. The Uwa Soro, Hajiya Hauwa rubs it in without mincing her words: "Good. No blood of the infidel must be allowed to stain the royal blood of the palace. ... (Yerima, 2017, p. 10). She goes further to dehumanize Atine, the new slave girl meant for the new Emir:

Uwa Soro: ... Young girl, I hope you know your place? ... There must be no attempt to rise beyond your place. You are nothing but a *kwakwara* ... a common consort, and you shall remain one until you die. ... (p. 10).

These women and girls are considered as nothing more than sexual objects, as well as baby factories, maids, and

domestic employees under perpetual servitude, royal tyranny and patriarchal deception. These are continuously perpetrated by the Emirs and other men of the kingdom; even other women of higher status are also partakers of the dehumanisation.

Immediately Bilkisu found out of her new status, as the mother of a royal blood and crown Prince of the kingdom, and the self-realisation and consciousness of what she really meant to the royal family; it spurred her to take up the natural role the 'supposed mother' (Uwa Soro) of the prince should indulge in. Despite the sacredness of the ceremony, Bilkisu interfered with the ritual process to prevent Prince Ladan from becoming the new Emir. She did this because of her courage and resilience to keep her son from being labelled "a bastard", unfit for the throne. Her ingenuity foiled the intended succession and made the paternity ceremony a success. As a result of this intervention, it paints the royal family as impure because the new Emir, El-Rasheed Rufai, was born by Bilkisu, the slave courtesan. Though Bilkisu was able to escape royal enslavement on earth, her son's pronouncement before his final ascension to the throne ultimately transforms her into a freeborn, which is akin to her purification and eventual cleansing.

Bilkisu: When I saw him tonight ... I knew ... I could feel it. My womb lipped; nipples pinched. He is my son, Atine. I swear, he is. (*Begins to cry again.*) My heart is torn, split into two. One says death ... (60)

Atine: What if we are found out? We will be beheaded. May Allah be with us. (*Sound of drums and Kaakaki.*)

Bilkisu: *Ameen.* Be quiet. They approach. Say nothing ... just watch me perform the ritual. Remember everything I have told you. (Bilkisu *stretches her hands.*) Come. (Atine *hesitates, then embraces her.*) Now, where is the bowl of kola nuts?

Atine: Here, relax mother, I have it all under control. Now the sound is closer.

Bilkisu: Just play your role as I have taught you. May Allah be with us. (p. 63)

Bilkisu: Rankadede, I have just two requests. The first one is that I want to die a freeborn. Rankadede, I have been a slave for too long. Seventy years, my lord.

Rufai: Done. My late father told me about how and why he changed his mind about your freedom on his death bed.

Bilkisu: (*Pause. Slowly.*) I want to be Magjiya.

Rufai: Good (pp. 56-57).

Even when most members of the royal house and the cabal know that Bilkisu birthed the crown Prince, she was refused her rightful place because of her status as a slave, not a blue blood worthy of birthing an Emir. The disdain, humiliation and injustice are unhealthy as it further widens the gap of intersectionality in the community even when motherhood and who begets a blue blood does not discriminate. The dehumanisation and de-womanisation become more grounded if any family have challenges with childbirth, the SHE-men

becomes the baby factory, as Bilkisu (Jakadiya) did when she was younger.

Madawaki: ... but Hajiya Bilkisu, remember those were desperate days for him. He needed an heir so badly, and you being pregnant with his child, it must have blurred his judgement (p. 19).

In spite of being the mother to the heir of the kingdom, Bilkisu was never considered a freeborn of same class and status but always a slave that should never be taken seriously or accorded respect and honour. Bilkisu's pregnancy and birthing of a son proves to the royal house and patriarchy that she is worth more than a slave and consort because she can be physiologically, biologically and by destiny superior to the Uwa Soro, Hajiya Hauwa. However, Bilkisu is denied the joy of real motherhood and the glory of her destiny as an Emir's mother because of the rules governing the emirate. In Ahmed Datijo words, who was there when everything happened as he reveals everything to her:

Ahmed: Yes. If your baby had been pronounced as the heir, and the Queen's child announced dead, you would have had to die too. They would have killed you. (p. 43)

Along with other horrific wartime events that affect them, rape and sexual assault are two of the main forms of victimisation experienced by women and girls. Rape is purposely used to terrorise and demoralise the communities in an attempt to put pressure on them to either surrender or leave the area by force, which is another reason why these crimes continue. Bilkisu and other female slaves are seen as mere tools for a man's sport, which renders them powerless, worthless and as a commodity that can be discarded after use. She, like others, were hijacked as spoils of war and brought to the kingdom to mainly 'entertain' the men of the royal family besides carrying out other duties. Recounting her story to Ahmed:

Bilkisu: I remember the father, the fat toad, who like a lecherous animal had pinned me down at the age of ten, in the midst of his friends. For a bragging bet, he raped me, with his fat stomach crushing my every bone. I remembered that as he did it, his friends cheered him on. I was the sport ... bruised all over. Jakadiya Memuna cooked me in hot water, not knowing where to start from. It was the beginning. (*She cries louder.*)

Ahmed: Let it be.

Bilkisu: (*Pause. As if in a whisper.*) Then I turned to the son. The second, whom I considered slightly friendlier, yet turned out to be more vicious, more lecherous, and deadlier. ... He continued to plough me like his father did. He treated me like a possession, a piece of liked doll, which he dressed up. And then a fit of his uncontrolled temperament and appetite, and he would tear me up ... piece by piece ... (p. 37)

Patriarchy, the world over, view women as properties of males so subscribe to the idea that rape is purely a part of the valid rewards of war and the winners are allowed

to forcefully take hold of their opponents' women, just as they plunder other property (Cohn, 2012). Bilkisu, just like others, served as a sex tool and possession for both father and son because the patriarchal order allows it. Sadly too, even in her aged state, Ahmed Datijo (Head of Dogari) made sexual move towards her. This means that as a slave, anyone can desire to possess her after the Emir is through with her. Madawaki reaffirms the notion of slaves used as mere entertainment objects to calm the Emir's lust as he said that: "... it was a good evening of entertainment. The Emir was overjoyed ... he could have even promised Satani half of his kingdom at the time ..." (p. 19). This is the sad reality of any woman hijacked for sexual entertainment. Atine, a younger girl, has also become a 'would-be' toy for the new Emir, Rufai. This invariably means that they will always be SHE-men! (Slaves Hijacked to Entertain men). Their relationship reeks of the master (male)-slave(victim) dynamics, which also intersects with the feminine identities, due to their gender, ethnicity, class (slaves), and religion. These men beat, hurt, raped, and sexually assaulted these women and girls, yet they get away with it because they are viewed as spoils of war. Men and patriarchy control and abuse women's identity and sexuality, but this control is best understood in terms of gender and power dynamics. In fact, male possession of women's bodies increased their authority in general and increased the material advantages for them, which makes it worse for them to let go. Bilkisu's story demonstrates how women in patriarchy are integrated into the hierarchy of power struggles in such a way that they end up helping males maintain their own control over power and sexuality as aided by the culture and Uwa Soro, Hajiya Hauwa.

African culture and indeed royalty have aided the total subjugation, remigration and demeaning of women, which is always emphasised to give credence to patriarchal actions. It is in this light that Madawaki declared to Bilkisu that: "... Our culture is our tomorrow; it must be kept intact. ..." (p. 14). Yet, the culture of the consort, Atine is disregarded because she is a possession and not of their royalty.

Bilkisu: I cannot believe that after all my studious attempts to make you become a good and well brought up Muslim girl, you still have not forgotten your pagan past? What is all this? What have I been doing all these years? Preparing an unbeliever ... a pretender ... a *kafiri* ... to be the perfect consort for the Emirs? ... (p. 48).

This aspect of intersectionality also denigrates the woman, making her lose her culture, personality, and her being just like Bilkisu. But the little girl, Atine does not pretend; she believes and is proud of her culture, no self-denial like others. Thus, she practices it in the secrecy of her room connecting to the power of her culture in order to make herself happy and fulfilled. Her conversation with Bilkisu confirms it:

Atine: This is the dance they robbed Ometere of when they forcefully brought her here, mother. She would have dressed in her white underwear ... a rich wrapper tied around her breast. She would have danced round the village with her agemates, celebrating her entering into womanhood. (*Pause.*) But all that is a dream for Ometere.

Bilkisu: Who?

Atine: Ometere. Me! I am not Atine, mother! Ometere was, and still is, my name. I, the daughter of the great family lineage of rainmakers, Ohindase, Okomaniyi Avogude ... oh yes, the blood of Ozumi the peacemaker flows in me. My father, the great-grandson, and direct prince of the ruling house of Omadivi, an indomitable warrior of Ebiraland of my birth! (pp. 50-51).

Atine is able to convince Bilkisu of her strong belief in her culture, and this made the Bilkisu advise Atine to allow her ancestral heroine mother, Oyiza to protect and revenge the evil against her mother and people. Since Iwuchukwu's focu-feminism states that "oppression and subjugation of women comes in different forms, shapes, and magnitudes predicated by each woman's cultural background and circumstance" (2015, p. 77). She proposes that in order to be freed from imagined tyranny, to be empowered, and to achieve self-actualization, each woman needs to focus on herself, her specific circumstances, and cultural background. This is exactly what Atine did, she chose to stick to her culture in spite of the different cultural backgrounds and situation she found herself. Rather she chose a method she feels is best suited for defeating depression, pains and trauma awaiting her time of freedom. This is due to the fact that every woman's oppressive experience is unique, along with the idiosyncrasies of the context in which she finds herself, making it possible that whatever survival method one woman uses may not be effective in another woman's situation.

In line with the above assertion, Madawaki possess the same patriarchal disposition about women being worthless, while also referring to them as stupid. As a senior palace chief and custodian of culture, he also goes on to deny the women their rights to lawful positions. In his exact words: ... I have four wives and I still don't understand the stupidity of women. The coronation is tomorrow and she sits us down to remember stupid promises made by a late Emir? Women! ..." (pp. 21-22). In Africa, the royal institution is a customary structure that is highly respected, and Northern Nigeria is no exception. The royal institutions in Northern Nigeria are customarily headed by men and emirs, it has created a pattern for how both genders interact with one another. Because of this, the African royal system has remained patriarchal and has also treated women as their property despite civilization, which globalisation represents. This notion, therefore, legalises the concept of SHE-menism, which is recognized in the African patriarchal society; they ensure that it is a continuum, an acceptable belief that grants authority to an older sex educator. This is, therefore, Bilkisu's (*Jakadiya*)

obligation to Altine who she is handing over to as a young, capable and well-tutored ally that must continue from where she stopped because of age. In Bilkisu's words:

Bilkisu: ... Hajiya Hauwa, let me present the new Emir's pleasure sport. We have taught and coached her on how to perform the great feat of taking the Emir to the cliff of excitement. ... (p. 9)

Bilkisu: ... You are a woman ... born to bear the hot red molten stone with grit and pain ... without a whimper of cry. With time you will heal.

Atine: No! That is, you. I bleed, Mother (p. 52)

The royal institution betrays the faith placed in them by the people by holding them perpetually captive rather than protecting them, especially when it comes to treating women with deference and contempt. They support patriarchy, which views and treats women as property, which is seen in *Jakadiya* and institutionalised by Uwar Soro, Hajiya Hauwa. In spite of Bilkisu's ordeal as a consort and whose child was swapped for the dead son of Hajiya Hauwa, she advised, tutored, nurtured and assisted her captors and their family. While circumstances compelled her to train and prepare Atine, a younger slave like herself as the new consort for the new Emir, Rufai under the stern guidance of the Uwar Soro who coerces her into submission of an unbridled life-long sexual exploitation. However, Yerima is inclined to believe that a retrogressive culture is one in which the ruling class, royalty, views women as property.

In spite of the failings, the hurting words and actions of the royal family and their cohort, Bilkisu still maintains her roles as event planner, adviser, adjudicator, and crisis manager; she is involved in the "politics of m(o)thering" (Obioma, 2005) and nurturing as both the central (goddess) and marginal (victim) force in the kingdom in her age and condition as a slave. Both, Bilkisu and Atine (old and young) in unity helped to resolve the impending doom that would have befallen the royal house. As a mother who has compassion for her child, she sacrificed herself for her son to live. Though patriarchy constructs the institution of motherhood while women experience it (Rich, 1986), Bilkisu carries and accepts the pains and rewards with all pride and happiness in spite of her age.

Bilkisu: ... Your Highness, your clothes for the morning prayers are with me. I shall bring them in the morning. But for now, I will leave for the Madawaki's house as soon as your friends are served...

Uwa Soro: Yes ... yes. Go. Pay him our respects. But first make sure our friends are happy. (p. 11)

Madawaki: *Amialekun salam!* (*Looks up.*) Hajiya Bilkisu, you have come.

Bilkisu: Yes, Rankadede. I received your message. I know that it is important that we speak before the coronation. The Uwa Soro sends her regards, I greet you, Mallam Ahmed Datijo

Ahmed: I greet you, too. The voice has not changed even though many years have passed.

Bilkisu: This awful thing called age sneaks in like the morning light at dawn. The body is mine, but the soul weakens. (p. 13).

CONCLUSION

Migration is a phenomenon that has existed since the dawn of time, the world over whether deliberate or coerced and causing either pain or joy. Yerima depicts the miserable condition of the African slave woman in the framework of African royal patriarchy, with women acting as complicit accomplices and turning them against one another, which is a mockery of humanity and women. It is more disheartening as the royal house sees slaves as only suitable for sexual escapades, giving birth and mothering such children but undeserving to be a spouse; not sufficiently feminine to be the mother to the heir and unworthy to be a queen of the kingdom. However, the case in *Jakadiya* is that of girls and women hijacked as spoils of war - SHE-men; dehumanized and demeaned but the intersectional identities they are faced with are multifaceted because of their minority and vulnerable status. In spite of their being silenced and marginalised by the patriarchal system and the royal family, they are not voiceless rather their strength, resilience and resourcefulness have become their survival strategy.

REFERENCES

- Adeoti, G. (2020). Ahmed Yerima's dramaturgy. *Theatre Scholarship Dialogue Series*, 2, 87-118.
- Barrett, A. E., & Naiman-Sessions, M. (2016). 'It's our turn to play': Performance of girlhood as a collective response to gendered ageism. *Ageing and Society*, 36(4), 764-784. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X15000021>
- Bilge, S., & Roy, O. (2010). Intersectional discrimination: The birth and development of a concept and the paradoxes of its application in anti-discrimination law. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 25(1), 51-74.
- Bowleg, L. (2012). The problem with the phrase 'women and minorities': Intersectionality - an important theoretical framework for public health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(7), 1267-1273.
- Butler, R. N. (1980). Ageism: A foreword. *Journal of Social Issues*, 36(2), 8-11.
- Cîrstocea, I., & Giraud, I. (2015). Pluralism in contemporary feminist movements. *L'Homme et la Société*, 198(4), 29-49.
- Clare, E. (2015). *Exile and pride: Disability, queerness and liberation*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Clarke, L. H., & Griffin, M. (2008). Visible and invisible ageing: Beauty work as a response to ageism. *Ageing and Society*, 28(05), 653-674. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X07007003>
- Cohn, C. (2012). Introduction. In C. Cohn (Ed.), *Women and Wars* (pp. 1-56). Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1(8), 139-167.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1997). Beyond racism and misogyny: Black feminism and 2 live crew. In T. D. Meyers (Ed.), *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader* (pp. 246-263). New York: Routledge.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (2015). Why intersectionality can't wait. *The Washington Post*, 24 September.
- Crenshaw, K. W., & Schulz, P. (2016). Intersectionality in promoting equality. *Equal Rights Review*, 16, 206-219.
- Dudley, R. A. (2006). Confronting the concept of intersectionality: The legacy of Audre Lorde. *McNair Scholars Journal*, 10(1), 37-45.
- Duncan, C., & Loretto, W. (2004). Never the right age? Gender and age-based discrimination in employment. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 11(1), 95-115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2004.00222.x>
- Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 32, 90-94
- Granleese, J., & Sayer, G. (2006). Gendered ageism and "lookism": A triple jeopardy for female academics. *Women in Management Review*, 21(6), 500-517. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420610683480>
- Handy, J., & Davy, D. D. (2007). Gendered ageism: Older women's experiences of employment agency practices. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 1, 85-99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1038411107073606>
- Hirschmann, N. J. (2012). Disability as a new frontier for feminist intersectionality research. *Politics and Gender: Cambridge Core*, 8(3), 396-405.
- Itzin, C., & Phillipson, C. (1993). *Age barriers at work*. London: METRA.
- Itzin, C., & Phillipson, C. (1995). Gendered ageism: a double jeopardy for women in organizations. In C. Itzin, & C. Phillipson (Eds.), *Gender, culture and organizational change: Putting theory into practice* (pp. 84-94). London: Routledge.
- Iwuchukwu, O. (2015). Focu-feminism: A panacea for self-assertion and self-actualisation for the Nigerian woman. *OFO: Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 5(1& 2), 77-94.
- Jyrkinen, M. (2013). Women managers, careers and gendered ageism. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 30(2), 175-185. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2013.07.002>
- Kalish, R. A. (1979) The new ageism and the failure models: A polemic. *The Gerontologist* 19(4), 398-402. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/19.4.398>
- Kant, I. (2011). *Groundwork of the metaphysics of morals*. Trans.: M. J. Gregor. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krekula, C. (2009). Age coding: On age-based practices of distinction. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 4(2), 7-31. <https://doi.org/10.3384/ijal.1652-8670.09427>

- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: the way forward. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(17), 115-144.
- Millett, K. (2016). *Sexual politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). Situating anti-oppressive theories within critical difference centered perspectives. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-oppressive Approaches* (pp. 37-72). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Nfah-Abbenyi, J. M. (2005). Calixthe Beyala's "femme-fillette" womanhood and the politics of (M)Othering. In N. Obioma (Ed.), *The politics of (M)Othering womanhood, identity, and resistance in African literature* (pp. 102-114). London: Routledge.
- Obioma, N. (Ed.), (2005). *The Politics of (M)Othering womanhood, identity, and resistance in African literature*. London: Routledge
- Palmore, E. B. (2001). The ageism survey: First findings. *The Gerontologist*, 41(5), 572-575. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/41.5.572>
- Pilcher, J. (2004). *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. New York: Sage Publication
- Rich, A. (1986). *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Saxe, A. (2017). The theory of intersectionality: A new lens for understanding the barriers faced by autistic women. *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies*, 6(4), 153-178.
- Shaka, F., & Uchendu, O. (2012). Gender representation in Nollywood video film culture. *The Crab: Journal of Theatre and Media Arts*, 7, 1-30.
- Shimmin, C., Wittmeier, K., Lavoie, J., Wicklund, E., & Sibley, K. (2017). Moving towards a more inclusive patient and public involvement in health research paradigm: The incorporation of a trauma-informed intersectional analysis. *BMC Health Services Research*, 17(539), 1-10.
- Simpson, J. (2009). *Everyone belongs: A toolkit for applying intersectionality*. Ottawa: CRIAW
- Steinmetz, K. (2016). She coined the term 'intersectionality' over 30 years ago. In Crenshaw, K. *The urgency of intersectionality Video*. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality?mc_cid=cbd8f657c7&mc_eid=70aab61bd7.
- Tomlinson, Y. (2013). *Framing questions on intersectionality*. US: US Human Rights Network.
- Umukoro, J. (2022). SHE-menism: Girl-trafficking and the gendered experiences of forced migrations in Soji Cole's *Embers*. In S. Brownlie & R. Abouddahab (Eds.), *Figures of the migrant the roles of literature and the arts in representing migration* (pp. 149-166). New York and London: Routledge.
- Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple inequalities in social theory. *Sociology*, 46(2), 224-240.
- Walker, A. (1998). Age and employment. *Australasian Journal on Ageing*, 17(1), 99-103. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-6612.1998.tb00876.x>
- WHO Global Report (2021). Ageism. Retrieved from <https://www.ageism.org/2021-world-health-organization-global-report-on-ageism/#:~:text=2021>.
- Yerima, A. (2017). *Jakadiya*. Ibadan: Kraft Books Limited.
- Zack, N. (2005). *Inclusive feminism: A third wave theory of women's commonality*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Ltd.