

Applying the Stockholm syndrome Phenomenon in Osofisan's Morountodunto Leadership in Africa.

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Abstract: *The phenomenon known as Stockholm syndrome refers to a paradoxical relationship between a captive and a captor in which the captive displays a strong sense of bonding to his/her captor in such a way that he/she is willing to help or protect the captor even from law enforcement agencies who might be on the trail of the captor to bring him /her to justice. In this study, we have used the story of Titubi in Femi Osofisan's play Morountodunto to explain this phenomenon. It is interesting to note that Titubi, in her effort to help the police wipe off the Farmers' Movement, allowed herself to be captured by them but ended up becoming converted to their cause as she lived with them and witnessed their systematic decimation and brutal annihilation by government forces. She learnt to love the poor farmers and even empathize with their plight so much that she went to the war front with them as they combated the law enforcement agencies. The implications for this on leadership in Nigeria can best be understood from the tacit suggestion in the play of the effort by leaders to submit themselves to the people by deliberately availing themselves like Titubi did, albeit unwillingly. Therefore interacting with the people is probably the only way leaders will get to understand and empathize with them like Titubi did in Morountodun.*

I. Background: Understanding Stockholmsyndrome

Stockholm syndrome is a "psychological phenomenon in which captives express empathy and sympathy and have positive feelings towards their captors, sometimes to the point of defending them" (Wikipedia). The Federal Bureau of Investigation in America considers it as "a paradoxical psychological phenomenon wherein a positive bond between hostage and captor occurs that appears irrational in light of the frightening ordeal endured by the victims" (De Fabrique et al 12). This syndrome is also identified as "a psychological defence mechanism often seen in abuse victims, battered wives, incest victims and cult members... an unusual but broadly accepted psychological condition born of extreme circumstances" (Iminds 3). Brown and Muscari simply summarize the phenomenon as "a psychological state in which victims identify with their offenders" (93). According to Kuleshnyk, three things manifest to indicate the presence of Stockholm syndrome. These include: positive feelings by the captive towards his or her captor; negative feelings by the captive towards police and authorities trying to win his or her release and positive feelings by the captor towards his or her captive (Quoted in Graham 31).

This therefore presupposes that some kind of bonding unites the captor and his victim. No wonder Stockholm syndrome is also known as capture- bonding in which the hostage develops a strong attachment to his captor/intimidator. However, while a number of writers associate this with kidnap victims, another understanding of this phenomenon, which may not necessarily involve a hostage situation, describes a situation of "traumatic bonding" between people one of which suffers perpetual harassment or threat or intimidation from the other whether physical or psychological. Examples of this include:

- i. Abused Children
- ii. Battered Wives
- iii. Prisoners of War
- iv. Cult Members
- v. Incest Victims
- vi. Criminal Hostage Situations
- vii. Concentration Camp Prisoners
- viii. Controlling/Intimidating Relationships. (Carver par 5)

However, Graham further suggests that the phenomenon of Stockholm syndrome is not unique to humans alone but that "even infant nonhuman social animals such as birds, dogs and monkeys were found to bond to their abusers" (31). This is attested to by Thims who suggests that:

In animal psychology, the theory of capture bonding is used to explain various situations of infanticide, such as in lion and gorilla social systems, where a new alpha male takes over the troop and in doing so kills off all of the offspring. The females then, invariably bond to the new male and reproduce a new litter with him (Thims 605).

Thims further asserts that the same situation exists among gorillas where the killing of a baby by a "bachelor male" gorilla makes the mother of the slain baby to be bonded to the male gorilla by abandoning her 'husband' to the new one who had killed her baby but who she thinks can better protect her (605).

The conditions for this situation are best illustrated by some incidents in time. The first, happens to be the one after which the name Stockholm syndrome was coined by a Swedish criminologist and psychiatrist named Nils Bejerot. The particular incident, itself, happened in a Stockholm bank in 1973 when two bank robbers identified as Jan-Erik Ollson and Clark Olofsson held four of the bank employees at gun point for six days in the bank vault. The story has it that "when the victims were released, their reaction shocked the world: they hugged and kissed their captors, declaring their loyalty even as the kidnappers were carted off to jail" (Fitzpatrick par 2). Wikipedia suggests that one of the captured women even broke her engagement to her former lover and "remained bonded to her former captor while he served time in prison" (Quoted in Thims 602). Yet some other writers even suggest they went beyond that when they tried "to thwart rescue attempts. Even after the kidnappers surrendered and were sentenced to imprisonment, the captors tried to save them. They tried to raise money for the court proceedings and save their kidnappers from harsh sentences" (primehealthchannel par 3).

Other Manifestations of Stockholm syndrome

Aside from the incident of the bank vault in Stockholm where the syndrome, itself, was coined, other manifestations of this phenomenon have been identified elsewhere.

There is the case of the of an Austrian girl by the name Natasha Kampusch who was captured at the age of ten in 1998 and held for eight years in a windowless cellar before she escaped in 2006. She was, however, said to have bursted into tears when she was told that her captor had thrown himself in front of a train. She had a lot of pity for her captor saying that she felt "sorry" for him (Fitzpatrick par 6).

Yet another example of Stockholm syndrome involved the heiress, Patty Hearst who was kidnapped by some people from one liberation group known as the Symbionese Liberation Army in 1974. Two months after her abduction, she was sighted participating in a bank robbery with her captors. Some days later she released a tape where she voiced her support for the cause of the SLA (Montaldo par 6).

II. Psychological Explanation for the Captor/Captured Bonding Phenomenon

So what is it that makes people to come to the point of sympathizing and even empathizing with their aggressors? What makes them to pity those people who have brutalized them and manhandled them? It is interesting to note that in some of these capture-bonding cases these victims have been raped, tortured and undergone some of the most inhuman and degrading treatments that can be meted out to any human being. Yet they come out strongly in defence of such bestial characters. Like the case of the victims of the Stockholm bank robbery who became so bonded with their captors that they were willing to even contribute money so as to defend them in a court of law. This attitude defies rational human reasoning.

According to psychologists, this phenomenon is caused by a "cognitive consistency and our drive to avoid anxiety and distress" This defence mechanism in man is activated in unpleasant and hostile situations. The victim therefore learns to accommodate his/her captor. He /she does so by:

Adopting a positive attitude towards the one on whom your life now depends will serve to relieve the fear and distress, as well as insuring survival. The perpetrator becomes an ally, rather than an enemy. The relief from fear serves as a powerful reinforcement for the change in attitude, making that cognitive adjustment a real personal transformation, rather than just a contrived presentation (Emphasis supplied) (Mattiuzzi par 5).

Four co-existing conditions are suggested that may bring about this phenomenon by Graham:

- Perceived threat to survival and the belief that one's captor is willing to act on that threat
- The captive's perception of small kindnesses from the captor within a context of terror
- Isolation from perspectives other than those of the captor
- Perceived inability to escape. (Graham 33)

A cursory look at some of the conditions outlined above indicates that the factors themselves are not one homogenous unit which manifest in every hostage situation. Each situation may determine what engenders the capture-bonding phenomenon. In other words there may arise a situation where a hostage who suffers physical abuse and mental torture by his captors may still end up becoming bonded to the captor/s because of the fear of what he/she perceives will happen to him/her when law enforcement agents come crashing in. On the other hand, acts of kindness by the captors to their victims can go a long way in projecting the humanity of the assailants to the victims who might come to sympathize with them like we have seen in a number of cases. One thing, however, stands out, and that is the survival instinct in the captive makes him/her to do anything that will ingratiate him/her to the captor. Graham captures the state of mind of the victim thus:

To determine what will keep the abuser happy, the victim tries to get inside the head of the abuser, that is, to think and feel as the abuser thinks and feels, thereby taking on the abuser's worldview. Because the victim's very survival is at stake, she or he becomes hypervigilant to the abuser's needs, feelings and perspectives. Thus, not only is the victim compliant, but actively working to anticipate the needs of the abuser (38).

Graham argues further that because of this desperate drive by the bonded victim, the tendency is to get to the point of actually empathizing with the captor. Whereas it might have started as an effort to satisfy the captor so as to reduce the incidence of body harm, it gets to a point that the victim actually get to start sympathizing with the plight of his/her captor and is willing to even participate with them in their activity like we see in the case of Patty Hearst.

However, critics of Stockholm syndrome insists that the issues involved are much more complicated than they appear to be. Lines aver that most of these victims may only be pretending to believe in the cause of their captors because of the threat to their lives and so they feign "support and loyalty in order to escape harm" (Lines 91). Wright and Cummins on the other hand suggest that abused victims who continue to defend their abusers do so by way of covering their own wrong choices. And so they invariably are not defending their abusers but themselves. This is especially so in the case of battered wives who have abusive partners who may also be the fathers of their children. They continue to put up with the brutality of their partners and even defend it as a way of covering for the mistake of such a "choice"(Quoted in Lines 91-2).

The Stockholm Syndrome and Osofisan's Theatre.

Understanding the relationship of the Stockholm syndrome with Osofisan's theatre can only come when there is a proper understanding of the utilitarian dynamics of his theatre. It is a theatre that is rooted in consciousness raising. It is also a theatre that is not bourgeois in nature-cut off from the people and only serves to further enslave them. It is a theatre that seeks to shock the audience and rouse them from their state of inactivity. It seeks to move them from the state of powerlessness to power; from the margin to the centre. It is a theatre that has "sympathies...to those confined to the margin of (official) history" (Osofisan 7).

It is instructive to note that Osofisan's theatre broke away from the dominant ethos in Nigerian playwriting which had romanticized tradition and myth. This old order of playwriting was according to Gbilekaa "static and bizarre...peopled with desperado protagonists, helpless victims of fate who cannot deliver themselves" (Gbilekaa 1). Osofisan refuses to replicate this tradition but rather chooses to refine, modify and reconstruct it to suit his purposes. Therefore, he does not portray man as a mere pawn in the hands of capricious and whimsical gods as was the case in most of the earlier plays. Neither does he project a helpless and hopeless situation that cannot be remedied.

On the contrary Osofisan portrays man as capable of shaping his own destiny. The themes of revolution in his works, questions, analyses and dissects the existing unsatisfactory situation and calls for a better deal. This is exemplified in *The Chattering* and *the Song* where Alafin Abiodun is violently overthrown by his people. In *No More the Wasted Breed*, he questions the stranglehold of the gods on the people. Through the character Biokun, Osofisan exhibits his disdain of the ancient parasitic cult that has continued to prey on the people's ignorance and superstition to wreak havoc and exploit them. That is why he maintains that "I borrow ancient forms to unmask them, to use theatrical magic to undermine the magic of superstition. All these gods and their pretended inviolability, one is tired of them we have heard of them for too long" (qtd in Dauda).

This de-mystification of the gods serves to radicalise the plays of Osofisan. He does not believe in the art for arts sake syndrome so much bandied around. He sees drama as possessing the ideological outlet for sensitising people especially more so that he sees himself as a member of the "educated elite" on whose shoulders this work of transformation rests. Osofisan's plays are highly thought provoking and didactic. They help to immerse the audience in a kind of introspective analysis of themselves. The objective is to help them question their situation.

He succeeds in doing this through his theatrical *modus operandi*. He blends the African story telling performance to Bertolt Brecht's Epic Theatre. He tampers with myths, legends and history in his effort to always identify with the "underdog" by giving them a better deal. He strives to rouse people from their despondent resignation insisting they can have a better deal if only they can unite to fight the common foe. This is what we believe also obtains in the case of the Stockholm syndrome projected in his play *Morountodun*- the play that forms the basis of our discussion in this work. It is our view that Titubi's initial uppity attitude and her subsequent adventure in the Farmers' Movement which engendered the capture-bonding situation is Osofisan's way of identifying with the downtrodden masses of the people as we see the transformation of Titubi from that uptown girl to plain emaciated peasant suffering the vagaries of life.

Titubi: From Rich Uptown Girl to Peasant Guerrilla Fighter.

Titubi is the heroine in *Morountodun*, a play that celebrates the strength and resilience of women and womanhood. It combines myth and history to espouse the virtues of women and project them as not just the sex and docile objects they have been reified in most early Nigerian plays. Osofisan fuses the Agbekoya uprising of 1969 with the myth of Moremi of Ife to celebrate these virtues of womanhood. The Agbekoya uprising, itself started in 1969 in the then Western region when poor cocoa farmers had a running battle with government forces as they protested the exploitation they suffered in the hands of government officials who bought their cocoa at very cheap rates but taxed them heavily.

The play opens in a rowdy chaotic situation. The Director of the play within a play, is about to introduce the performance when commotion in the auditorium arrests his attention. As he moves to find out what is going on, he is literally bounced back on stage and molested by an angry crowd led by Titubi, a vivacious but haughty daughter of Alhaja Kabirat, the leader of the market women. She is obviously aware of her effect on the people around who are gawking at her resplendent appearance which she flaunts very well. But importantly, she hates the uprising orchestrated by the Farmers' Movement. She does not mince words as she describes them thus:

Titubi: So in what way are we responsible for the farmers' uprising? Ehn? What does our being rich have to do with it? Or is it only when we wear rags that we qualify to breathe the air? (p. 9)

This dazzling appearance she put on even ended up misleading the police who had come to arrest those who were disrupting the play performance. Thinking that she was the complainant, the Superintendent accosted the director and almost whisked him away.

Titubi views the farmers as parasites who depend on rich hardworking people like her who are engaged in decent business and putting their best but who are being ravaged by these illiterate farmers who are jealous of their success. At this stage, and as a girl from a rich background, ensconced in her high society world and literally cut off from the realities of the larger society, Titubi could not have understood what the poor masses of the people were going through. She did not know what hunger was like. Unknown to her, the brutal wheels of exploitation was what ensured the comfortable life she enjoyed to the detriment of the poor farmers.

What we see of this girl at this stage, therefore, was a bitchy uptown girl but who at the same time was also naïve. She saw the farmers as vermin who should be stamped out of existence because they were a threat to the rich and hard working people like her mother

Typical of the Nigerian ruling class who always feels and acts above the law therefore, she comes into the theatre to stop the play performance because she feels the actors and actresses are in tandem with the insurgents. She could not even wait for the police to take charge of the situation. She had her bunch of henchmen who are willing to do any of her bidding. Even when the policemen tried to intervene by informing her that the actors and actresses have been permitted by law to perform, she could not hear any of that. She proceeded to disrupt and dismantle the performance.

However, Superintendent Salami is able to beat her to her game by getting her to fight the people that she hates so much.

Superintendent: ... So you are Titubi, the Amazon going to war! You're wealthy and your mother owns most of the town, and you are going to defend with your very life all that possession. But tell me, if you are really serious, if you really want to save your fat-arsed class, why have you not offered your services to crush this peasant revolt? (p. 14).

This challenge galvanizes her into action. Impulsively, she agrees to be captured by the rebels so as to help in compromising their leader. In her naïve state, her thinking is that anything she wants she can get. She therefore saw the struggle by the farmers as some kind of adventure where she can just go and order the poor folks the way she orders Superintendent Salami and everybody else around her. She did not reckon with the brutality that she was to witness out there. Falling back on the exploits of Moremi she drew strength from her courage and intrepid spirit to take on the Igbos when they posed a threat to the Ife people. In one of their brutal adventures to Ife, Moremi allowed herself to be captured by their rampaging throng and carried off to their city. Her stay there helped her to study the secret of their fearsome costume which they used that gave them the terrible look they had whenever they invaded Ife.

It was in this reverie that she was carted off when the farmers attacked the prison where she was 'detained'. As the farmers storm the prison, Titubi experienced her first shock at their conduct. Unlike what she was made to understand about them, she did see a band of marauding cut-throats or some unruly illiterate loudmouths. Bogunde's first words, spoken with compassion arrested her attention:

Bogunde: Free the woman! You see how these animals behave, to keep a woman in this odious place! I am sorry for our brothers who have been languishing here all these days. Woman, you are free. We the farmers from the village release you. Go home and tell your friends. Good bye. (p. 39-40)

This was unlike what she thought these people would do. Her thinking that they would jump at the prospect of taking with them as many prisoners as possible that they will go and torture. This side of their humanity was a surprise sprung on her. But that was not enough because the next time we see her, the sophisticated, uptown girl has been replaced with a peasant surviving on the edge wracked by disease and want. She has lived with the farmers for some time. She has experienced firsthand what they go through. The raids by the government troops using sophisticated weapons almost on a daily basis on poor defenceless men and women who could boast of just a few crude fighting weapons to protect their community. In spite of this brutality, we witness the sheer resilience of a people under siege.

Titubi came to the realization that all she had been thought to believe is a lie and that these poor folks were the ones suffering the brunt of the brutal machinery of oppression by government and their collaborators. Therefore, her proud uppity attitude was replaced with a humble disposition towards the people. Marshall, whom she had been commissioned to help arrest, became a hero to her and she ended up falling in love with him and marrying him.

III. Titubi and the Farmers' Paradoxical Relationship.

This brings to mind some of the Stockholm syndrome causes that we identified above one of which is that when kidnap victims are treated in a sympathetic manner and are given a good living environment, the tendency is for them to start viewing their captors in a new light. Titubi expected harshness from the farmers. She, however, got kindness, consideration and friendship from them. Even when Alhaji Buraimoh and Lawyer Isaac were apprehended and sentenced to death for betraying the cause of the farmers, Titubi once again witnessed the magnanimity of the farmers who demonstrated a spirit of tolerance towards their avowed enemies. They refused to waste life like the government, the protector of the people was doing.

Another cause of Stockholm syndrome suggests that when a kidnap victim is isolated from the outside world, this helps him/her see the point of view more clearly and why the kidnappers must have been forced to what they did. This results in them even helping the kidnappers. Titubi, having lived with the farmers, understood why they acted the way they did. She realized that they all along suffered injustice from government who failed to protect them from the exploitation of its officials who extorted fantastic taxes from them, bought their cocoa at very cheap rates only to turn back and resell the same to the Oyinbo at exorbitant prices. She sympathized with this situation so much that she jettisoned her earlier arrangement with Deputy Superintendent Salami. She became an active member of the Farmers' Movement. She believed their cause as just in fighting government. Just like the rich Patty Hearst, who on living with the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army who had abducted her in 1974, but who ended up participating with them in bank robberies, Titubi turned her back on the highbrow and manipulative machinery of government which had all along misled rich but illiterate people like her mother and her concerning the issue of the Farmers Movement. She "renounce(d) her bourgeois heritage and became ideologically transformed to the farmers' cause" (Awodiya 168). Osofisan pens it thus:

Titubi: That was when I began to ask questions. Questions. I saw myself growing up, knowing no such suffering as these. With always so much to eat, even servants feed their dogs... Yet here, farmers cannot eat their own products, for they need the money from the markets. They tend the yams but dare not taste. They raise chickens but must be content with wind in their stomach. And then when they return weary from the market, the tax man is waiting with his bill... It could not be just... In our house, Mama, we wake to the chorus of jingling of coins. And when we sleep, coiled springs, soft foam and felt receive our bodies gently. But I have lived in the forest among simple folk, sharing their pain and anguish (p 66).

Living among the farmers had finally radicalized Titubi. The raw deal she experienced from the government's forays into the camp of the farmers brought her face to face as to who the real aggressor is. Like shifting currents, her whole perception of life dramatically changed. She saw the injustices meted out against this poor simple folks. This was only possible because she was isolated and forced to live among the people, who at the beginning of the play she branded as a bunch of cut throats and lazy indolent people who were only jealous of the successes of the rich folks like her. She is to learn the bitter way that certain things are better experienced than just heard. Her life of wealth had insulated from so many unpleasantnesses and discomforts. She could not have imagined that people could be so deprived and survive in such a desperate state and yet still have the courage to do what these people did. It won her over to their cause. Subsequently, she took on the cause of the farmers by becoming a full-fledged member. She did not scuttle away in fright even when the police came in their regular raids to the farmers' enclave. She was sighted severally with the farmers in the frontline, treating wounded soldiers and helping out in duties.

IV. Stockholm syndrome and Leadership in Africa

Metaphorically speaking, unless leaders allow themselves to be 'kidnapped' by the people, they will continue to mis-understand the people. They will continue to be suspicious of every criticism coming from them, attributing such to political enemies. Invariably, they will continue to treat the people with disdain like Titubi did with the farmers until she lived with them and understood their problems. African leaders must learn to commit class 'suicide' by deliberately submitting themselves and availing themselves to the people. They will do so by coming down from their 'Olympian' heights of power they have placed themselves presently, out of reach of the people. In Greek ontology, the gods always have always had to descend from the mountains to solve intractable problems that humans are unable to address. Confusion and disorder continues to reign as long as they do not intervene. They do so by physically manifesting within the human community. They avail themselves to the people.

The dominant ethos in many African countries clearly portrays a disconnection between the leaders and the led. This has continued to fuel the suspicion and acrimony on both sides, each sizing the other up and suspecting every move; every utterance and every motive. Unless leaders come to the people, they will not understand the state of poverty in their countries. Unless the political class learns to mingle freely with the people, they will continue to delude themselves of their successes and breakthroughs given the 'fantastic' development strides in their communities. The irony is that most of development in Africa is "not inclusive because it does not reach people at the grass-root" (Udeme). This is because most of these projects were embarked upon without recourse to the people's input but because they are grandiose, they are used as indices of development but in the meantime the people continue to wallow in poverty, illiteracy and want. For example in Nigeria, illiteracy stands at a horrendous 80% (Aba 4). There is infrastructural collapse in all fronts. Meanwhile, the mass populace is under the stranglehold of a vicious circle of corruption. It is observed that "powerless in front of the State ...and unable to influence social, political and economic factors that determine their wellbeing, communities become victims of both corruption and arbitrariness of the government" (<http://www.stakeholderdemocracy.org/context.html>).

Still in Nigeria, unemployment figures stands at 23.9 percent or roughly 20.3 million Nigerians roaming the streets with no concrete jobs to hold on to. More than 10 million children of school age are out of school or have never even registered. The healthcare is in complete shambles with people flying out to India, Egypt and Saudi Arabia for better treatment (and that is for the tiny minority who can afford it). However, on a daily basis, government officials go on air to talk about giant strides and successes realized by government.

V. Conclusion

This study has tried to identify the phenomenon known as Stockholm syndrome in the play *Morountodunby* Osofisan. The historical antecedents of this phenomenon were identified leading basically as related to a captor-captive situation in which case the captive ends up identifying with his captor in a positive way. This was demonstrated by the story of Titubi, the heroine of the play who, having been captured by the members of the Farmers' Movement, settled among them but ended up converting to their cause as she came face to face with the reality of their situation. She saw their daily toil and moil as they laboured to make ends meet. She partook of the ravages of poverty and brutalizing effects of the government attacks into their camp that normally left behind their wake death, destruction and further destitution. The stark reality of these people's helplessness in the face of the systematic decimation unleashed on them by government broke through the proud uptown upbringing of Titubi. She had never tested what hunger and want were but for the first time in her life, she lived in abject squalor, surviving on the ascetic life of the people. She was humbled. But beyond being humbled, she became extremely bonded to the members of the Farmers Movement. She came to love them. She also fell in love with Marshall, the person she had been commissioned to help lure to the police so as to be apprehended. She came to believe in the cause of the Farmers Movement. Not only did she believe in this cause but like Patty Hearst, the heiress who helped her abductors, the members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, Titubi also participated in trying to free the members of the Farmers Movement. Osofisan demonstrates this succinctly when Marshall is handed a gun by Titubi in the presence of the Superintendent.

In concluding this work therefore, it is pertinent to note a number of issues that the playwright appears to be suggesting which we link to Stockholm syndrome:

- It is wrong to make sweeping generalizations about issues that one knows pretty little about. This is evident in the attitude of Titubi towards the farmers. In the beginning of the play we witness her pour vituperations and diatribe against them because at that time, she saw them only as a band of miscreants and societal vermin. But after she lived with them, she had a change of heart as she understood them fully as exploited, denigrated and suppressed folks. Just like in the case of Patty Hearst, the heiress, who came to believe in the cause of the Symbionese Liberation Army belligerents. That would probably have been an unthinkable thing to do by her a few weeks earlier. However, having lived with

them after being captured by them, she came to not only sympathize with them but empathize with their lot which galvanized her into action of following them on robbery operations.

- One should not underestimate his/her potentials. This is directly related to the heroism of Titubi, who discovered that indeed she possessed the strength and resilience to engage in daunting tasks, in spite of the soft life she was used to. Her ability to settle down among the farmers and adjust to their life of penury is a clear demonstration of the complexity of the human mind which has the capacity to disclose that which hitherto one would have thought he/she is incapable of.
- Titubi's adventure is an example of how leaders must learn to address the yearnings and aspirations of the people by descending from their 'Olympian' heights to interact with them and understand them better. The situation where the people seem to be bonded to them might just be indicative of the pathological fear of antagonizing the powers that be who might be oppressing them but whom they inextricably find themselves bonded with in order to escape the resultant intimidation, harassment and brutality- a phenomenon that appears to be a recurring decimal within the polity.

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