DISCOURSE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN INTRA-GENDER SUBJUGATION IN SELECTED NOLLYWOOD MOVIES

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Keywords

Subjugation, Inter-tribal, Discourse, Gender, Nollywood movies

Abstract

Research Problem: *Women subjugation, a form of gender study that accounts for women's mistreatment in the society, has been given significant attention by many scholars because of its relevance in human communities. However, research findings of such studies point to men empowered by culture and society as the cause of women subjugation; with little attention on women intra-gender subjugation. This becomes the focus of this study as it investigates women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies by identifying forms of subjugation, the contextual frames they manifest and their ideological implications. This is with a view to correcting such menace in Nigerian society.*
Method Used: *The study adopts Ruth Wodak's Critical Discourse Analysis. The data consist of five Nollywood movies, which were purposely selected for this research, and they are Feast of Love, Paranoia, Victimz, Trial of Ma-pe and Orunsewa.*
Results: *Four forms of women intra-gender subjugation identified in this study are child bearing, boss subordinate, family and connivance. The child bearing related subjugation manifests maltreatment from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law and between co-wives. The boss subordinate form of subjugation reflects maltreatment of co-women who were alleged of being demonically possessed. The family related subjugation manifests three forms of subjugation which are step-mother/step-daughter relationship borne out jealousy and hostility, maltreatment between two sisters, and the maltreatment between a mother and her daughter. The connivance related subjugation reveals how women connived to maltreat another woman.*
Conclusion: *This study concludes that women intra-gender subjugation in Nigeria is mostly in the family affairs, neighbourhood interpersonal relations and work-related. The phenomenon of subjugation among*

women is prominently on childbearing, in-law relationship, wifehood relationships, and boss/subordinate relationships.
***Key Contributions to Knowledge**: This study has brought to the limelight the vices associated with women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies. This depicts what Nigerian women face generally in the hands of other Nigerian women on daily basis. Therefore, this study advocates that women intra-gender subjugation should be curbed.*
***Recommendation**:To eradicate the vices of women intra-gender subjugation, we recommend that the subject matter should be given more attention by creating awareness that it is not just men that subjugate women, but women also subjugate one another. Other scholars should research further on female subjugation, using other textual references as a research instruments.*

Introduction

This study is designed to investigate the discourse representation of women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies. The concept of subjugation, among women in the society, cannot be overemphasized. Women are relatively known in society to be second-class citizens, especially in most African nations. The society and its cultural practices have reduced women to nothing but a common shadow, whose voice cannot be heard in the society due to cultural beliefs since it is highly difficult to separate an individual from their culture. For this purpose, many African writers have painted the pictures of what being a woman in the continent entails because many women have lost their lives due to the unpalatable experience of subjugation. Abubakar (2017:2) opines that Nigerian women in the modern world face several challenges in marriage because they are not given the right to choose who they would love to marry. In society, they are seen as inferior compared with the male counterpart. Their voices are suppressed in a social gathering, they are often raped and abused matrimonially and many have become victims of divorce yet the society feigns ignorance.Experience has shown that women's right is not just denied in the society but also, their personality, as women, is seen as a weaker vessel, whose place is in the kitchen and as a machine for childbearing. However, this issue of subjugation is not exclusive to Africa rather it is a global phenomenon. Rydstrom (2010:3) reports that globally, women are subjected to particular kinds of harm including sexual assault and domestic violence, stereotyping, exclusion from public spheres and the denial of full rights.

As these unwholesome experiences regarding female subjugation are represented in literary works like plays, prose, and poetry, the movie industries are not left out. For instance, the Nollywood industry has taken the subject into consideration by educating their viewing audience via multimodality, the pains the societies have subjected the women into and its consequences. Nollywood has moved to the point of producing movies in native languages, therefore, exposing it to a wider range of people in both rural and urban societies. Through this, the issue of women subjugation is no longer hidden but has been brought to the limelight.

From the movie genre, it is obvious that female subjugation is of different dimensions, that is, it could be inter-gender, men versus women which reflects maltreatment that involves husband and wife, brother and sister, father and daughter, uncle and a niece. The other dimension is intra-gender, involving women versus women (mother-in-law and son's wife,

sisters and sisters) men versus men. However, this study focuses mainly on women intra-gender subjugation as portrayed in Nollywood movies. Many researchers have carried out studies relating to women subjugation, most of them have focused their research on inter-gender subjugation (Karik-Namiji (2016), Ebukue (2017,) Oyewole (2015) Ojarega (2011) Grandy & Williams (2014). Surprisingly, few studies have actually looked at female intra-gender subjugation but not from the discourse perspectives. One of them is Ojaruega (2011) who used Nollywood movies (*Dry*) as a case study to analyse the effects of women intra-gender subjugation. Given the significance of women intra-gender subjugation in Nigerian society. However, this study is aimed at exploring the subject by identifying the form of women intra-gender subjugation as represented in five Nollywood movies selected for this study. It also seeks to investigate the contexts that foreground the identified forms and examine the ideological implications using and analyzing the discourses between the characters.

Karik-Namiji, (2016) is of the opinion that many of the literary texts which explore the condition of women in the African context have laid the blame for the constant and sustained denigration of this gender on men. Women intra-gender hostilities, in most cases, are responsible for denying equal rights to other women and cultivating ill-will among genders. Although men have been held responsible for propagating images and attributions that are favourable to the continuance of their control, but many a time, a woman can be seen working surreptitiously behind these control panels. After all, how can we explain the behaviour of a mother who discriminates against her daughter from schooling to the provision of lifetime opportunities or a mother-in-law who creates biased rules for her daughter-in-law while privileging her own daughter? (Nadia, 2010). Wilson (2017:2) notes that women's intra-gender hostility is related to the unique identity pressure they face as a lower status group. These are factors which reflect and potentially reinforce their disadvantaged position that is sexual competitiveness regarding attractiveness, hostile sexism, and private collective self-esteem.

Statement of the problem

Many researchers have carried out studies relating to women subjugation, most of them have focused their research on inter-gender subjugation (Karik-Namiji (2016), Ebukue (2017,) Oyewole (2015) Ojarega (2011) Grandy & Williams (2014). Surprisingly, few studies have actually looked at female intra-gender subjugation but not from the linguistic or discourse perspectives. One of them is Ojaruega (2011) who used Nollywood movies (Dry) as a case study to analyse the effects of women intra-gender subjugation. Given the significance of women intra-gender subjugation in Nigerian society, however, this study is aimed at exploring the subject by identifying the form of women intra-gender subjugation as represented in five Nollywood movies selected for this study. It also seeks to investigate the contexts that foreground the identified forms and examine the ideological implications using discourse analytic approach.

Aim and objectives

The primary aim of this study is to investigate women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies from linguistic perspective. The specific objectives are to:

i. identify and discuss forms of women intra-gender subjugation in the selected movies, and their linguistics features,

ii. examine the context in which each form of the subjugation manifests,
iii. The ideological implication of women intra-gender subjugation.

The Concept of Gender

Scholars use the concept of gender to denote the perceived differences between women and men, male and female (Rose, 2010:3). It is the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being women and men (UNDP 2014). Stressing this, West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that "it is not something we are born with and not something we have, but something we do". Gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs, and our desires, that it appears to us to be completely natural. (Penelope and Sally, 2003:1).

Gender is shaped by culture, social relations, and natural environment. Therefore, it depends and differs in values, norms, beliefs, customs, and rules in different societies. This implies that gender is culturally constructed. Thus, its practices or beliefs will be different from one society to another. Kabber (1996: 20) states that "not all women are poor, not all poor people are women, but all women suffer from discrimination". The subject of female subjugation is a worldwide problem but its practice is culture-dependent and specific. WHO (2009) explains that gender is a culturally specific construct and there are significant differences in what women and men can and cannot do as compared to another society? For example, in 1908, 15000 women marched through the street of New York asking for shorter working hours, better pay and voting rights. (Reshaping Europe 2015) as at that time, the pay gap was the most intuitive and widely used measure of inequality level between men and women. Also, it is reported in *study.com* (2013) that in the contemporary Iceland culture, there is a remarkable degree of gender equality, meaning that everyone is seen as being equal, none is superior neither is any inferior. However, in Saudi Arabia, women experience significant inequality and are legally dependent on male relatives. And in South Asia, men are usually regarded as important, power figure while women are seen as soft, gentle and relatively unimportant (Pugh, 2005).

In a traditional African society, gender issues solely depend on the state. But mostly in Africa due to its belief in patriarchy and patriarchal family system, habitually the basic rights of women and girls are denied, because men are seen as the head of both the society and family. According to Ferrant and Hamel (2018), the West African countries, especially in Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, and Sierra Leone, have closed the gender gap in primary school enrolment. However, youths from ages 15-24 illiteracy rate in Chad is still twice as high for women than for men. In Liberia, only one-third of girls were enrolled in a secondary school in 2015. Also, women are increasingly represented in the Senegalese parliament, and the proportion of female MPs almost doubled in the last five years, from 23% in 2012 to 42% in 2017. Nevertheless, women's equal political participation remains a major challenge throughout the region. Women in parliaments increased only marginally from 13% in 2007 to almost 16% in 2017, with wide differences across countries ranging from 6% in Nigeria to 42% in Senegal.

In Nigeria, men are attributed with authorities and importance. However, its rate of discrimination and gender practices differs from each state. In the northern part of Nigeria, the women are meant to be in the kitchen. In the Eastern part, the man is the head of the family.

He makes the decision on behalf of his family with or without the consent of his wife, and their women or girl-child are not allowed to inherit any landed property or inheritance from their father. It is believed that the girl-child will be married out to another family where she will cease to bear her father's name while the male child keeps the family tree going. In the western part of Nigeria, women are allowed to be educated, but the men are also seen as the lords of the families. In some religions however, the Muslims among them are allowed to marry more than one wife. This Daily *live.com* (2017) provides evidence to the above claim by stating that at every level, women and girls traditionally have limited access to education, ownership of land and assets in Nigeria. They are denied equal treatment in inheritance rights, human resources development, and sustainable economic growth. The general notion in Nigeria that women are inferior to men was reinforced when the former President Muhammadu Buhari, at a press conference in Germany, said the role of his wife did not extend beyond the kitchen and "the other room" (*dailylive.com* (2017).

According to Khamala, (2009,1) "gender refers to roles attributed to men and women through socialization and the relationship that exists between male and female". It is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, actions beliefs, and our desires; that it appears to us to be completely natural. The world swarms with ideas about gender and these ideas are so commonplace that they are taken for granted that they are true. It is also noted that scholars use the concept of gender to denote the perceived differences between the ideas about women and men, male and female (Rose, 2010,3). Gender may also be viewed in terms of the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being women and men (UNDP 2014). Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) states that labeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision as cited in Penelope and Sally, (p.2) and people tend to think of gender as the result of nurture, as social and hence fluid.

The African woman is a product of multiple subjugations which combine to act against her self-identity, knowledge, and definition. Kolawole (1997:25) identifies some of the limiting factors to women's empowerment such as "patriarchy, tradition, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and gender imperialism". She acknowledges the efforts of African women critics who have responded to Awa Thiam's (1986) call for black women to break the culture of silence.Kolawole further notes that critics and writers like Rebecca Njau, MicereMugo, Nina Emma Mba, Daphne Williams-Ntiri, Bolanle Awe, Helen Kuzwayo, Helen Mugambi, ObiomaNnaemeka, Irene AssibaD'Almeida, AbenaBusia, Siga Jayne and many more others have reacted to the "condition and need of the African woman" from their "different ideological spaces" (Kolawole 1997:4).

OmolaraOgundipe-Leslie (1984, 1990); ChikwenyeOkonjo-Ogunyemi (1985, 1988, 1996); ChionaOpara, (1987,1999); Caroline Ramazanoglu (1989); Mary EbunKolawole (1997, 1999): AkachiEzeigbo (1993, 1994, 1995) Helen Chukwuma (1994); Catherine Acholonu, (1985,1999); Aduke Adebayo (1996. 1998. 1999) Chinenye Okafor (1997,1999); MicereMugo (1998); Ama Ata Aidoo (1999); Marie Eboh (1999); to mention just a few,have done extensive work on the African woman's socio-political experiences. They have examined cultural practices which have aided patriarchal depersonalization and exploitation of women in African society.

Critics have opened up viable discussions on issues concerning women's place in society. They establish the existence of women's

oppression against the backdrop of man's denial of his existence in the African society (Ojo-Ade 1982, Hartman 1993, Oke 1996). Some people, both men, and women, in the African society according to Eboh (1998:14) "pretend that the problem of the subjugation of women is non-existent". She argues that women who have to live within a system that relegates them feel the impact of socio-political and economic discriminations.

The denial of women's expression can be described as a conscious effort at suppressing women's demand for equality. In this regard, Ogundipe-Leslie (1990:68) observes that men accuse the African woman activist of being victims of Western ideas and copycats of white women, claiming that the family is more important than the fate of the individual woman; brushing aside women's concerns with the hypocrisy that national development is greater priority now than women's liberation; asserting that women anyhow do not need to be liberated because they have a compound of historical and sociological falsification, all to the end of frightening women into quietude.

The anti-women activists in Africa argue that the idea that the African women are oppressed, stems from a double consciousness brought about by modernity and education. Sunday Oke (1996:1) denies that women are marginalized in the African society. He argues that the pollution of the traditional African way of life by foreign agencies of civilization is responsible for women's "restlessness" and their perceived oppression. According to this critic,modernization, the proliferation of religions which polluted traditional religion and value systems, coupled with the mad quest for material possession, lack of mutual respect and absolute disrespect for the institution of marriage and loss of past cultural glory, made women to have problems.

The denial of women's oppression in the African environment makes the acceptance of feminism a difficult task. It is seen as a foreign ideology meant for some disgruntled women. The name "feminism" may be foreign, but the concept is not new to the consciousness of the African woman. The African woman's consciousness of oppression and her reaction have not been so recognized because of the absence of documents. Kolawole (1997:43) notes that the African women's mobilization and struggle are older than many scholars acknowledge. History, sociology and oral literature confirm the long-standing nature of these people's rejection of subjugation and dynamic self-assertion and empowerment that have remained largely unnoticed in modern academia.

Nollywood Genres

According to Bitter (1989:150), film making began in the mind of people who came long before the pioneers. As cited in (Kema. 2008,1) the attempt to capture and recreate motion can be traced to the beginning of civilization. (Kema, 2008.P:1). According to Giwa (2014), Nigeria is known as one of the most populous countries in Africa with a population of over 200 million people from 45.2 million in 1960 (Trading Economics). As one of the fastest growing African countries, Nigeria has over250 ethnic groups with over 400 dialects.

The Nigerian movie industry (Nollywood) started in the late 1960s as the business of filmmaking expanded with increased investments in production and intense distribution networks. It was in the 1990s that Nollywood began its rise to recognition across the world. (Giwa, 2015:1) The structure of the film industry evolved from three socio-economic stages. They are the pre-independent, post-independent and the post-indignations

decree.Kema (2008, 9) notes that during the Second World War, movies were used widely by the British government for propaganda effort to make people in the colonies to understand why they should fight in the war.During this period, the films produced were documentaries, the various missionary groups showed biblical/ religious films and also, movies to civilize the audience were equallyshown. Ekwuzi (1987: 1-2) as stated in Kema (2008: p, 10). In the post-independent period, the federal film unit was established by the Federal Government under the division of the Federal Ministry of Information. The new structure of the film industry after independence places the Federal Government at the helm of the affairs. (Kema 2008. P,14).

Nigerian films are produced along the line of major tribal and cultural dichotomyof Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba, and with the broad languages thatare spoken in the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-dialect nation. There are English movies, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa movies with successful plots. Also, movies are produced in Ijaw (Izon) and Efik languages by some filmmakers but this is not very common. Films are done in the three predominant languages because most people speak either of the languages and all the ethnic groups and tribes are divided along the line of these major languages.

Nollywood movies are produced mainly in animation, biographical, documentary, experimental, musical, short film (soap opera) forms.The mood employed in the films are Action, Thrillers, Romance, Mystery, Horror, Adventure, Comedy, Fantasy, and drama. Whiletheir settings consist of crime, historical, science-fiction, traditional, sport, educational, and religious and war. And the age represented in Nollywood comprises of children, teens, youth, and adults. Some films are based on the contents from stories, others are borrowed from literature or from other media while some are performances. (Olushola, 2016).

According to Olushola (2016), Nollywood film genres include Action: it involves drama fueled by intense action. This can include fighting, stunts, car chases, explosions, and the likes. The action typically involves individual efforts on the part of the hero.Its sub-genres of the action film are action-drama which combines action set pieces with serious themes, character insight and/or emotional power. Action-Comedy is a mixture of action and comedy usually based on mismatched partners or unlikely settings. Action thrillers which combines elements of action and adventure and action films. Horror is a hybrid of the elements of horror films with primary action features.

Adventure movies are existing stories with new experiences or exotic locales. Such films deal with travel, conquests, and explorations, creation of empires, struggles, and situations that confront the man character, actual historical figures, and protagonists. They are intended to appeal mainly to men, creating major male heroic stars through the years. These courageous, patriotic, or altruistic individuals or heroes often fought for their beliefs, struggled for freedom, or overcome injustice.

Comedy is another type of film designed to elicit laughter from the audience. Comedies are light-hearted dramas, crafted to amuse, entertain and provoke enjoyment. The comedy genre humorously exaggerates the situation, the language, the action, and the characters. Comedies observe the deficiencies, foibles, and frustration of life, providing merriment and a momentary escape from day-to-day life.

In Nigeria, films are classified along the traditional line of genres categorization namely, tragedy and comedy but more recently, films

with stories that transcend these core or basic differentiations are emerging on the Nigerian film landscape. Today the following genres are identifiable in Nigeria films:Evangelical Genre which deals with plots in which the solution to the dilemma being faced by the protagonist is occasioned by the intervention of a higher celestial power usually "Christian" in nature such as angels, a pastor, prayer power, etc. Oftentimes, evangelical films feature the triumph of good over evil.City Girl Genre showcases the unfavorable change in economic and social conditions in the 1990s which brought about many vices including prostitution and a new wave in women and children trafficking; leading to the movement of many young and innocent Nigerian girls to Italy and The United Arabs Emirates for commercial sex work and forced slavery. In a bid to call society's attention to these ills, this movie genre emerged to create a voice for the victims, and to facilitate the passing of appropriate legislation to mitigate these acts and document the trends.The Ritual Film is about the infliction of bodily harm, physical and spiritual attacks on persons for the purpose of demonic, diabolical and spiritual sacrifices often for money, material wealth or power. Ritual films can be described as Nigerian horror film which mirrors society.It emerges in the early 1990s at the wake of the Otokoto killings in Enugu, Nigeria.

The Romance Films are stories of love usually featuring a man and a woman who face obstacles before they could be together or openly declare their affection for each other. The Comedy Film comprises of a genre of film that humorously exaggerates the situation, the action, and the characters. Comedies deal with stories of human travail and strife which ends happily. Action or Gangster Film is becoming popular in Nollywood. The genre encompasses all those films that revolve around a gang of robbers, a drug syndicate or a human trafficking squad. The Epic and Adventure Film is a type of film which involves stories in traditional locales, ethnic situations and expressing cultural experiences. They also feature local costumes, make-up, props, setting, and fanfare.

The Cultural Film is synonymous with historical films in that they deal with the historical phenomenon. They are produced along with the three main tribes – Yoruba, Igbo, and Hausa. They seek to promote the culture, language,and experience of the people. The Fantasy and Mystery Film deals with speculative fiction outside the realm of reality such as ghosts, witches, wizards, and the stories are often diabolical in nature.According to Ayakoroma (2014), many Nigerian films portray women as a mere sex symbol. They do not play any significant role in the decision-making process in the family. He argued that this has been occasioned by the thinking in traditional African societies that women are there just to procreate and look after the family, in consonance with the dictum that "the place of women is in the kitchen." In most cases, husbands blame their wives if there are problems with their children; but when such children make the parents proud, the father usually takes the credit.

The Concept of Discourse and Discourse Representation

The concept discourse has a multi-disciplinary dimension as it is found in areas such as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, media studies, and literary studies. It means different things to various disciplines ranging from verbal communication, talk/conversation, and a formal treatment of a subject in speech or in writing to a unit of text used by a linguist for the analysis of linguistic phenomena that range over more than one sentence (Mills 1997:1).

From an applied linguistics view, discourse could be conveniently defined as a language in the use of communication (Cook 1989:6). Discourse can also be defined as a series of connected utterances which can be written or spoken. They may be overlapped in utterances especially in a spoken discourse where speakers interrupt and speak over each other. A discourse is a behavioural unit. These are set of utterances which constitutes recognizable speech events. For instance, in conversations like jokes, interviews, sermons, commentaries, etc.

Fairclough (2004:125) sees discourse as ways of representing aspects of the world, the processes, relations, and structures of the material world, the `mental world' of thoughts, feelings, and beliefs, and the social world. Different discourses have different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people. Discourses not only represent the world as it is or rather is seen to be, but they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied to projects to change the world in particular directions. The relationships between different discourses are one element of the relationships between different people. They may complement one another, compete with one another, and one can dominate others. Discourse constitute part of the resources which people deploy in relating to one another, separate from one another, cooperating, competing, and dominating also, in seeking to change the ways in which they relate to one another.

Ruth Wodak's Critical Discourse Analysis CDA, as a theory can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use or in discourse. Most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas's claim that 'language is also a medium of domination and social force'. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power; such that, whenever the legitimizations of power relations are not articulated, language is ideological' (Habermas,1967:259).

CDA sees 'language as social practice.' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). It also considers the 'context of language use' to be crucial, and values discourse, that is, language use in speech and in writing, as a form of 'social practice'. The description of discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular conversational event and the situations, between institutions and social structures, which frame it. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned, that it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people.

Discourse can be represented in different dimensions or forms, likepolitical discourse, social discourse, economic discourse, cultural discourse, family discourse, marriage discourse, academics discourse, children, religious discourse, health discourse, and gender discourse. All the above discourses listed treats different subject matters relating to their context. This study is centered on gender discourse, women intra-gender subjugation which examines the form, context, and ideology of women intra-gender subjugation in the selected Nollywood movies.

These movies are analysed by specifically transcribing scenes or situations that portray the subject matter of the work- women intra-gender subjugation. Each of these scenes is analyzed quantitatively using Ruth Wodak Critical Discourse Analysis. The research looks at the instances of subjugations in the movies, especially those that are frequent in all the movies. All these are classified into forms of women intra-gender subjugation. In addition, it also looks at issues underlining the forms of women intra-gender subjugation and the context in which each of the forms occurs. Finally, it examines the ideological implication of each of the forms of women intra-gender subjugation.

Women Intra-Gender Subjugation in the Selected Movies

The issue of women intra-gender subjugation is analyzed in the five selected movies: *Victims, Feast of Love., Orunsewa, Paranoia and Trial of Ma-pe,* which serve as our primary sources of data collection. All these five movies were produced by different directors in 2018. These movies are selected based on the manner each of the movies intentionally portrays the subject matter- women intra-gender subjugation. We understand that the issues of women intra-gender subjugation include conflicts between two women. For instance, we have conflicts between two mothers-in-law; mother-in-law and wife, Esenga and Oke, and between two sisters, (Trial *of Ma-pe*). It could be between mother and daughter and between stepmother and stepdaughter (*Victims*); between the housewife and house girl, women in authority and a common woman, (*Paranoia and Feast of Love*) and also between co-wives (*Orunsewa*). Different forms of women intra-gender subjugations identified in this study are: childbearing, boss subordinate, connivance, and familysubjugations.The discourses of some characters in different situations that depict women intra-gender subjugations are analysed as grouped into various forms of women intra-gender subjugation.

Childbearing Subjugation

This describes unpleasant experience women go through in the hand of other women when they have difficulty in childbearing. In African society, the inability of a woman to conceive and bear a child is one of the reasons why she is often subjugated. Such a woman is often blamed and victimized, surprisingly, in most cases, not by the opposite gender but by fellow women. This is usually done through verbal abuse, emotional abuse and physical attack. It manifests between the mother-in-law to the daughter in law. It breeds discrimination, hatred and jealousy from both the mother-in-law and the co-wife and the barren woman.

In-Law Subjugation

This form of subjugation, which is also linked and classified under childbearing subjugation, can be traced to the situation whereby the in-laws inflicts pain on the wife when she cannot conceive or fails to act according to the way she is expected to act by her mother in-law. In Africa, children are seen as the main heritage of marriage. So, in every marriage, every grandmother expects grandchildren from her daughter-in-law. This form of abuse often leads to physical and verbal abuse, emotional trauma and psychological disorder. This is captured in the discourse below where it is revealed that it has been five years since Orunsewa had a miscarriage of her first baby. The miscarriage is due to the sacrifice she made for her husband and the people of Ayedele village. The sacrifice which is kept secret from the people. Iyaoba, who is the mother-in-law of Orunsewa, has been waiting for a long time for an heir to the throne. She, therefore, threatensto

marry a second wife for her son to replace Orunsewa.

> **Iyaoba:** How long is it going to take Olori to get pregnant?
> **Oba:** Is it, not the gods that give children?
> **Iyaoba**: Then let her go and meet the gods and talk to them so that they can give her children. Have I not waited enough? Since
> five years ago, through miscarriage, shehas not gotten pregnant again… it shows that my son the king can actually get a woman pregnant, she should ask herself why she cannot carry that pregnancy till today?
> **Oba:** Iyaoba, please…
> **Iyaoba:** Don't please me oh…It is not me you should plead with, go and beg her.
> end of this month. If I do not see the sign of pregnancy in her, I will go and get a junior queen for you who will give me grandchildren.
> **Oba**: I don't need a junior queen. At the right time the gods will give us our prince.
> **Iyaoba**: I repeat, at the end of this month, if her womb cannot germinate the seed that you put in her, I will go and get another woman,
> younger person, with a fresh womb and a well fertile one thatwill germinate the seed that you will put into her, give her the message! Kabiyesi. END OF THIS MONTH
> (***Orunsewa***)

The above conversationreveals the absolute power of dominance and discrimination of a mother-in-law over her daughter-in-law. Culturally, a king is expected to have the heir to his throne, else, he will be replaced by another family.In most cases, it is the king himself that is troubled if his wife is unable to conceive, and not the mother; although she sometimes shows concern towards the situation and gives possible suggestion to solve the problem of bareness. This is depicted in theactions of Iyaoba where she becomesforceful as seen above. She becomes too domineering, to the extent of dictating to her son on the need to have a second wife. The culture empowers a mother to have some level of influence over her son, about his wellbeing, but not his family matters. Therefore, over-exercising her power by giving her son's wife a specific time limit to conceive is an abuse of power leading to dominance. Again, her use of metaphor, like (womb cannot germinate the seed) to describe her daughter-in-law's condition is unethical because it is a form of verbal abuse.

Analysing this discourse constructively, the utterance said by an 'agent', the mother-in-law, to the 'patient' her daughter-in-law, through her son the 'experiencer'.The word "germinate" is a verb which means to develop, grow, and expand. It is also a process or an act. Thus, the mother-in-law's utterance refers to the process of conceiving and giving birth, and the information transferred from the mother-in-law- theagent to daughter-in-law through herhusband, the experiencer. The use of "if" places a condition on the patient, signifying that if she is unable to conceive, and bear a child then her mother-in-law- the agent, will marry another lady for her son. This means that the womb of the patient cannot germinate the seed the experiencer puts in her. By claiming that she will look for another woman as a replacement, with specific quality, like "*younger, with a fresh womb, and a well fertile one"* shows that Orusewa lacks those qualities as she cannot germinate the seed put in her. Thus, the goal of getting another younger woman, whose seed can germinate is conceived and give birth for the king's heir to the throne, hence, both the agent and the experiencer, become beneficial from the decision of the agent, because a king without an heir will be overthrown by other royal families.

Therefore, one could denote the reason behind the decision of the agent to replace the daughter-in-law before her son the king is replaced because of his inability to produce an heir to succeed him.By implication, her words

like "younger, fresh womb, well fertile womb, implies that the daughter-in-law is not young, unfertile enough and that her womb is too old to reproduce as a woman. Hence, she is no longer fit and needs a replacement. And this replacement must have all the qualities Orunsewa does not have. This is a high level of discrimination and verbal abuse from the agent-the mother-in-law; Iyaoba to the patient, the daughter-in-law Orunsewa.

Another example of childbearing subjugation is the discourse between Kajuwe, Oke and Esenga in(***Trial of Ma-pe***). Kajuwe is informed that his mother Oke has thrown his wife's properties out of his house for not giving birth. He runs back home to stop his mother from the act as captured in the discourse below.

> **Kajuwe**: What level of embarrassment have you hit into?
> **Oke:** KAWEJU, the time has come, it has gotten to the level where owners, tell me, WHAT IS THIS WOMAN DOING IN YOURHOUSE? ((pointing at Esenga))
> **Kajuwe:** ENOUGH!! I understand, the implication of our predicament, but it should be left to me and my wife to resolve it. And whatever it is that we have to do, my wife must give consent to it.
> **Oke:** KAJUWE! WHAT HAS THIS WOMAN GIVEN TO YOU THAT HAS MADE YOU NOT TO KNOW THAT SHE HASTRAPPED YOU? YOU STAND THE CHANCE OF LOSING YOUR INHERITANCE, LOSING YOUR PLACE AMONGTHE KING'S MEN. (KAJUWE) ALL BECAUSE OF YOUCHOOSE TO END YOUR LIFE WITH THIS ((point toEsenga)) WOMAN WHOSE FUTURE HAS NO SEED OF PRO-CREATION. HEED TO THE VOICE OF YOUR MOTHER AND ENSUE YOURSELF OF THIS SHAME OFBARRENESS.
> **Esenga:** (kneeling and begging.) Oke please lower your angeron me and take me as your daughter. Truly the gods havedeprived me of the fruit of the womb but please do not deprive me ofmy place by my husband. (sobbing and pleading).
> **Oke: Y**ou have no place here anymore! Since you have failed to give this household a child! My son's name inheritance must be restored.WOE UNTO YOU BARREN WOMAN! YOUAFFLICTED DAUGHTER OF MANGASTA, I CURSEYOU! LOSE YOUR HOLD ON MY SON AND ALLOW HIMTO GET A SEED OF INHERITANCE FROM ANOTHERFEMALE, HEALTHY, AND GOOD-LOOKING WOMAN WITHOUT BLEMISH.
> **(*Trial of Ma-pe*)**

This scenario above depicts extreme asymmetric power display of Oke against Esenga. She does this through verbal abuse and physical assault. The physical attack as stated above manifests in the entire scenario. The decision on how to solve the problem should be left to the husband and wife to resolve and not the mother-in-law. Due to Esenga's fear of been sent out of her husband's house, she pleads with her younger sister to marry her husband and her sister eventually gives birth to a male child for Kajuwe.

Co-wife Subjugation

This normally transpires in a polygamous family between two or more co-wives, where one begins to find fault in the other. This is mostly as a result of envy and resentment between them, especially when one is pregnant and the other is barren. The preferential treatment such woman receives at this time stares up jealousy in the other wife and could provoke her into subjugating the pregnant wife as a result of rejection and frustration she feels at that moment. An example is seen in *The Trial of Ma-pe,* When Esenga comes back from the shop, still angry with the development))

Ma-pe: Sister you are back
Esenga: Yes,
Ma-pe: Did you get me fruit?
Esenga: NO! I did not, that the gods chose to favour you with a child,does not give you the right to send me on an errand, NO I DID NOT.
Ma-pe: Eh sister, did I wrong you?
Esenga: Hmm, hmm, you did not wrong me, it is me that did wrong bybringing you into my home, and now you want to enslave my husband and win his heart! That is what you want to do!
Ma-pe: Okay, okay, I think you have had so much to drink.
Esenga: (Slaps Ma-pe))
(*Trial of Ma-pe*)

In an African setting, and by extension, in every polygamous family, the first wife is regarded as the senior of every other wife married into that family. Thus, she is expected to be respected by other wives in the family and given some levels of regard as the senior wife. From the above, the interaction between the senior wife Esenga and junior wife Ma-pe depicts who is pregnant and shows that Esenga is barren. The subjugation is revealed after the conception by Ma-pe. Before then, everything goes smoothly in the family.The conception of Ma-pe and her constant relationship with their husband triggers jealousy, frictions and hostility between Esenga and Ma-pe. Esenga, due to the loneliness and rejection she feels, she becomes a drunkwhich leads her into subjugating her co-wife, Ma-pe.

Boss-Subordinate Subjugation

This form of subjugation takes place among women where we have the superior and the subordinate, whether in the place of work, business setup, an institution or at home. Abuse occurs in this type of relationship where the superior, without human feelings, constantly inflicts pain on the subordinate, mostly inform of physical and verbal abuse. This is exemplified in *Paranoia*where Pamela, the boss, comes into the house, sees her baby with Ngozi, the housemaid. She hears the child crying, and she becomes furious towards Ngozi for touchingher daughter.

Pamela: What are you DOING?
Ngozi: She was crying, so I carried her.
Pamela: You carried my baby with your filthy hands?
Ngozi: No ma, I washed my hand with soap before…
Pamela: Shut up, you are still talking, (gets her child fromNgozi) give me my baby. You insignificant WITCH! Oh, you want to initiate my baby
The God I serve will not let yousucceed, same as your ancestors and your next generations to come. Kneel down! Kneel down there! Raise your hands, close your eyes and open your mouth! Shut up, am coming back to deal with you. Let me go and keep my baby. (She leaves with her child and Ngozi is left alone crying.)
(Paranoia)

Another instance is when Pamela tells Ngozi to prepare her baby's food and she mistakenly spills the baby's milk.

Pamela: Why did you spill my baby's milk?
Ngozi: Aunty it was a mistake. (Crying and sobbing) I did not do it intentionally please ma.
Pamela: Okay. You want to use the spilled milk as a connection to the witchcraft.
Ngozi: No ma, I swear ma…
Pamela: I will do you a favour, Ngozi, I will iron out that demon in youTODAY!(she carries a hot iron, Ngozi screams, the husbandruns in and sees his wife with a hot iron, husband holding her)
Pamela: (To husband) You again! Don't come close. I am about to deliver this girl from a real demon. I have to deliver her.
(Paranoia)

A maid issocially not an integral part of the family because there is a limit to her freedom in the family.She is expected to perform duties assigned to her by her boss; such duties like cleaning the house, doing laundries, washing the dishes and taking care of the children. She takes charge when the boss is out of the house in making sure that everything in the house is in order the safety of the children. The scenario above between Ngozi, the maid, and Pamela, her boss, pictures Pamela's abuse of power. She verbally and physically abuses her maid for taking care of a crying child. It reveals abuse of powerand dominance over the same gender. Maltreating her for doing what is her duty as a maid and tagging her a witch with a filthy hand shows social discrimination, a form of intra-gender subjugation. Tobe called a witch could make others to isolate her, which invariably could cause her emotional trauma. Therefore, Pamela is wrong by rebuking and punishing her maid, Ngozi.

Another instance of the boss-subordinate subjugation is seen where the Princess is seen beating Urema, with a cane for washing her cloth last. ***(Feast of Love)***

> **Uremma:** (Screaming at the top of her voice in pain)
> **Queen:** PRINCESS! PRINCESS! Why are you flogging her way? What is her offence?
> **Princess:** Mother, I sent this girl to wash my cloths, the very cloth that
> on the day that the prince of Esiama will
> Instead of her to wash my very special cloth first, SHE CHOSE TO WASH IT LAST, after she has washed the rest of the other cloths. Can you imagine that mother?
> **Queen: I**s that the only offence she committed?
> **Princess:** Is that not enough?
> ***(Feast of Love)***

The foregoing scenario shows how the abuse of power is manifested between the princess Ujunwa and her maid Uremma. Ujunwa has inherited some privileges over Uremma culturally and socially. Therefore, asking the maid to wash her cloth is within her power but flogging for not doing the work in the way she prefers is infringing on her rights. So, beating her is inhuman., and this is evidenced in her mother, the queen's response to her "is *that the only offence she committed?*" This shows that what the princess sees as an offence that leads to the subjugation is not enough reason to subjugate the maid.This unequal power relation between the Princess and the maid is what the Princess capitalises on to oppress the maid who is of the same gender with her.

Step-Family Member Subjugation

This occurs where the wife maltreats the step-daughter either verbally by saying words that trigger negative emotions in the stepdaughter or by physically maltreating through beating and punishing the child or denying the child food. This type of abuse has constituted nuisance in the society as so many children have been pushed into the streets, crimes and some have been dragged into premature and unplanned marriages with beast-likehusbands. For instance, Chioma comes back from Adaku's house, and finds out that all the food she cooked has been eaten:

> I am meant to wear
> come!
> **Chioma: G**ood evening ma. I... I… I prepared some rice before I left the house, this morning and the pot is empty, so, I just wanted to know if there is any left for me to eat.
> **Stepmother**: You need to wake your stupid mother, from the grave and ask her that stupid thing! WHO IS YOUR SLAVE? EEH! WHO DID YOU KEEP IN THIS HOUSE, THATWILL BE KEEPING YOUR FOOD AND YOURTHINGS. WHO?

Chioma: I…I only asked if there is any left for me to eat because I am hungry.
Stepmother: You're hungry.Why didn't you eat where you went to? EEH, WHY DID YOU NOT EAT THERE? DIDN'T THEY GIVE YOU FOOD, WHERE YOUWENT TO?
Chioma: I… I went to Adaku's place.
Stepmother: You went to Adaku's place?
Chioma: Yes.
Stepmother: Eeeh? So: you now think am a fool. You now think I don't know how you go around, in thisvillage, SLEEPING WITH EVERYMAN, THAT COMES YOUR WAY. YOU THINK I DON'T KNOW
Chioma: ME?
Stepmother: NO, ME. ME
Chioma: Ha! Where's this coming from?
Stepmother: From your mother's grave. It is coming from hergrave. Ewu.
Chioma: Okay, there is God oh.(Shakes her head and leaves) There is God.
Stepmother: There is God. Go and ask that to your stupid mother, if you go to her grave TELL HER THERE IS GOD AND SHE WILL ANSWER YOU. If you like don't go and wash the plate, that I packed outside for you. Anu npama stupid girl, you're looking for food to eat. Bia, Emeka eat! Eat! Eat! Don't remain any for her.
(Victims)

Usually, the relationship that exists between a child and the mother is asymmetric, also, is the relationship between a woman and a stepdaughter. This unequal power relationempowers the mother to have control over the child, but witha limit. Therefore, for Chioma's step-mother to deny her food is maltreatment. Also, making reference to Chioma's dead mother to re-conjure the sad memory in Chioma is a form of psychological subjugation.In every family, it is the responsibility of every parent to feed their children irrespective of how they are related. Therefore, starving Chioma with the food she cooked as it is required of her by culture as a child, by her step-mother means that the step-mother has failed to perform her duty as a mother. This is corroborated with her abusive words: "Anu mama, stupid girl". The use of the Igbo word "Anu", which means animals to qualify her, indicatesthat she sees her as nothing but an animal.

Female Siblings Subjugation

This happens in a situation where two sisters are in combat about something.It could be due to jealousy, anger or hatred. There could be physical abuse, verbal abuse, and emotional abuse. It could happen to two sisters living together or who is married to one man. This could lead to emotional trauma.An example is the situation between Esenga and her sister, Ma-pe where Esenga begs her younger sister Ma-pe to marry her husband so that she could help him conceive and give birth a child so that her mother-in-law will not send her out of her husband's house. After some months, the sister conceives and this triggers jealousy in the elder sister, seeing her husband with her younger sister.

In some families, sisters are always known to be at loggerheadseven as children, but still, the elder has more power than the younger one. An elder sister is not expected to slap her pregnant younger sister, even if she is wrong. Ma-pe's condition as a pregnant woman should have prevented Esenga from slapping Ma-pe, because a pregnant woman should not be beaten, but cared for. So slapping Ma-pe is inappropriate and a show of dominance and an example of intra-gender subjugation.***(The Trial of Ma-pe)***

Mother-Daughter Subjugation

This type of subjugation occurs between a mother and her daughter which may be as a result of a misunderstanding, selfishness,

preservation of societal self-status, or an act of correction. This occurs mostly in verbal form which can lead to mental and emotional disorder.Adaku's mother who has abandoned her with her grandmother, after her mother's boyfriend rapes and impregnates her. To cover up the shame of facing the truth of what has happened to her only daughter, she abandons her only daughter with the grandmother for years. which makes her daughter Adaku to hate and despise her mother. The mother comesback to reconcile with Adaku after the death of her grandmother. The intra-gender subjugation occurs within the three women when one (the mother) neglects her duties to her daughter, (Adaku), in the process, she gets raped, and the other woman, (grandmother) helps to cover it up secretly at the detriment of the innocent girl. No wonder, Adaku refuses to forgive her mother for abandoning her at tender age when she needs motherly care, attention and protection.

> **Mum**: Adaku, Adaku please listen to what I want to say, please!
> **Adaku**: (Walks past her without saying a word, but she focuseson the door she is trying to open) Please…give me one reason why I should listen to what you have to say.
> **Mum:** Biko, because am your mother.
> **Adaku:** Ha, you gave birth to me, but you are not my mother.
> **Mum**: Ada, I understand how you feel (crying) I haven't been a goodmother, I have not been a good mother and I know, it takes a brave and Strong woman to take care of a child. To raise a child, it takes a special person to love another person other than themselves, and I haven't been any of this thing (sobbing) so please, bikonu, I just want to …
> **Adaku:** (Crying) I wanted you to protect me, and you were neverthere.
> **Mum:** I am sorry (crying) I was selfish.I was very selfish, blinded by my selfish ambition, I almost threw away the only greatest thing, the thing that God gave to me. Ada, I'm sorry, I'm sorry. Just tell me what to do (Sobbing) if I can do it, I will do it.
> **Adaku:** I DON'T WANT ANYTHING FROM YOU, I DON'T WANT ANYTHING FROM YOU.I want you to experience the shame, the pain, everything. I WANT YOU TO FEEL LIKE YOU NEVER EXISTED.
> **Mum**: Please, biko biko zi na nu. (Adaku walks out of her mother and slams the door on her face while her mum stays outside andcries to her to open the door) Two wrongs don't make a right. (Sobbing)
> ***(Victims)***

The feeling of being abandoned and alone leads to emotional distress and trauma.That is the reasons why it takes her a long time to forgive her mother. The power relationship here is asymmetric, it gives the mother the right to be in total control of her daughter's wellbeing and also, it equally gives her the control to decide for her daughter after the incident.Abandoning her is a way of saying that she is of no importance at that moment, this could make a child to feel rejected. This is a form of discrimination. The mother chooses to cover up her own shame by abandoning the daughter who is carrying the shame caused by the mother. A mother is expected to be selfless and sacrificial for their children. So the above phenomenon depicts the manifestation of women intra-gender subjugation though discrimination and dominance among female characters.

Connivance Subjugation

This situation occurs where two women are in agreement to set up another woman through conspiracy for their selfish interest and eliminate anyone who is perceived to be a stumbling block to their devilish plans. Most of these abuses are mostly done in an emotional and verbal means, which can also manifest through physical attacks. For example, in *(Paranoia),* Ngozi runs

to a neighbour's house for her safety. When Pamela realises that, she calls the police on her neighbour alleging that her maid has been kidnapped by her neighbour.

> **Neighbour**: I did not kidnap her. She was only taking refuge in my house.
> **Police:** You are under arrest for kidnapping. You will have to come withus.
> **Neighbour:** Excuse me officer, I called you people on this case.
> **Inspector** 2: Useless kidnapper, keep quite there and come with us.
> **Pamela**:(Dragging Ngozi from the side of the neighbour to her side)
> Ngozi my darling come, hope she did not injure you.
> **Neighbour**: Pamela, I am disappointed in you.(To the inspector 2) Come, are you sure you are not the one behind all this?
> **Inspector**: Young woman, you talk too much.
> **Police**: Officer, handcuff her.
> **Neighbour**: I am innocent, what is going on here?
> ***(Paranoia)***

A police is supposed to stand for the truth and fight for injustice, defending innocent people like Ngozi. The person who renders assistance to rescue Ngozi from her oppressor, gets locked up in police station, through the connivance of her boss, the oppressor, and the inspector who should have fought for her right. At this point, the good becomes evil, while the evil becomes good. The power relationship here is asymmetric power relation, the inspector has unequal power, because she has more power and authority to investigate and stand with the truth, but she decides to connive with the oppressor and turns the case against the innocent. This is unacceptable. It is a form of dominance and discrimination against the good neighbour, who tries to help Ngozi. This is a form of verbal abuse. Once again, the characters here are females. Ideologically, telling the neighbour that, "young woman you talk too much"shows that the inspector knows that she is innocent, but she wants her to ask like a fool and follow them to the station and pay for what she has not done, thereby, letting the wrong person whom she connived with to subjugate a good neighbour, who is called to report the case, but the table turns against her.

Another example of connivance subjugation is the banishment of Orunsewa from the palace. The Kabiyesi is troubled that he sends his guides to look for and arrest the man who is caught sleeping with his wife.

> **Servant**: Kabiyesi we have caught him.
> **Odekunle:** Kabiyesi, I'm sorry.
> I am from Alaro village. Your mother and Olori Tejumade paid me to do this. (Crying) It wasn't intentional, Kabiyesi, I am very sorry…
> **Kabiyesi**: So, mother, you conspired with this devilish woman to bring a man tor
> **Tejumade:** Kabiyesi, it was not me, it was Iyaoba that….
> **Iyaoba:** Will you keep quiet?
> **Tejumade:** It was Iyaoba's idea.
> (***Orunsewa)***

The above excerpt shows how the Queen-mother, connives with her son's (the king) second wife, Tejumade, to eliminate the first wife, Orunsewa.After imposing on her son, Tejumade a new wife, and seeing Orunsewa as a hindrance between the new bride and her son, they make a plan, and this plot leads to the banishment of Orunsewa. Orunsewa is deceived by the Iyaoba that she should sleep with another man in secret so that she can get pregnant and secures her place in the palace, not knowing that it is a trap set for her. Iyaoba pays the man for the act and equally sets up palace guards to catch the man sleeping with the king's wife, Orunsewa. The power relation among women that will lead to the banishment of another woman from her husband's house is unethical and this shows a form of dominance and abuse of power on the part of Iyaoba and Tejumade.

The table below presents the summary of the forms of intra-gender subjugation as analysed.

Forms of subjugation	Language use	Nature of language	Sub-forms of subjugation	Context	Ideology	Sub-forms
1.Child-bearing	Declaration	Authoritative	1.In-law subjugation	Marriage Spirituality	Emotional	Emotional
	Interrogation	Abusive	1. Co-wives subjugation			
	Repetition	Asserting Authority				Attitudinal Behaviour
2.Boss-subordinate	Command	Authoritative	spirituality subjugation	Spirituality Slavery		
	Declarative	Abusive			Superiority	Cultural superiority
3 family related subjugation	Interrogative	Authoritative	1. Step-family	Marriage		
	Declarative		2. Siblings subjugation			
						Social superiority
	Declarative		Mother-daughter subjugation			
4 Connivance	Declarative	Abusive		conspiracy		
	Command	Authoritative				

Conclusion

Based on the foregoing findings, this study concludes that women intra-gender subjugation in Nigeria is mostly in the family affairs, neighbourhood interpersonal relations and work-related. The phenomenon of subjugation among women is prominently on childbearing, in-law relationship, wifehood relationships, and boss/subordinate relationships. Therefore, the study submits that women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies can be best understood under four major contexts. These are the context of marriage, spirituality, slavery, and conspiracy. Also, we get to establish that women intra-gender subjugation is usually triggered by emotional ideology and superiority ideology as premised in the cultural communicative behaviour of Nigerian women. This paper reveals the vices associated with women intra-gender subjugation in Nollywood movies, which is quite different from the previous studies carried out. This depicts what Nigerian women face generally in the hands of other Nigerian women on daily basis. Therefore, this study

advocates that women intra-gender subjugation should be controlled if not totally eradicated.

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