

The Yorùbá Poets and the Nigerian Economy

Bunmi Olujinmi

General Studies Department, The Polytechnic, Ibadan, Nigeria

E-mail: bunmiolujinmi@yahoo.com

KEYWORDS Yorùbá poets; Nigerian economy; economic growth and development; devaluation; corrupt practices

ABSTRACT The thrust of the paper is the Yorùbá poets' focus on the Nigerian economy. The paper finds out that Yorùbá poets chronicle the historical development of Nigeria's economy from the period of agricultural boost to the emergence of oil boom that brought about a healthy economy. The economy was however mismanaged by successive governments through obtaining of foreign loans, currency devaluation, fraud, corruption, hoarding of goods and incessant looting of government treasury by officials. The paper submits that poetry is a veritable tool of exposing ills of the society and correcting its anomalies. Poetry is a vital part of the cultural wealth of every nation that can be utilized to bring about growth and development of nations.

INTRODUCTION

The Yorùbá poet, literate or non-literate, is acclaimed and appreciated as a social commentator. The poet is indebted, in his works, to his society as he draws relevant materials from the community. These raw materials can be issues bordering on politics, socials, religion, festivals, events and economy. The poet's major role to his society is to present lucidly happenings in his society in any area he decides to treat. In this paper, the Yorùbá treatment of Nigerian economy is the focus. The first part of the paper dwells on poetry and society. The second aspect treats poetry as social history, while the third segment is devoted to highlighting the poets' comments on the Nigerian economy, using works of selected Yorùbá poets.

POETRY AND SOCIETY

Poetry is a literary genre, which the Yorùbá have enjoyed for centuries. Initially it was oral and later scripted when Yorùbá was reduced to writing. In the present dispensation, there exist oral, written, radio and disc poems in the society. Scholars have also over the years focused attention on its study. Babalola (1966), Abimbola (1969), Olabimtan (1974) and Olatunji (1984) are some of the foremost scholars in this area. For instance, Babalola (1966) focuses on the content and form of Yorùbá Ijala chant; Abimbola (1969) treats Ifa literary corpus, while Olatunji (1984) discusses the features of Yorùbá oral poetry. Since the emergence of scholarship in Yorùbá poetry, substantial studies have been completed

in the area. Other notable scholars are Akinyemí (1986), Aremu (1988), Ogunsina (1997) and Folorunso (1998), among others.

Poetry is in one way or the other the expression of the socio-political and economic realities of its world. Hence the experience of the poet is often a mirror of an aspect of the life and social conditions of the society in which the poem is written. A poem, therefore, emanates from the life and social conditions of the society which produces them, and where it is primarily consumed. Actually, it is also a mirror of its ambient society.

As Ogunsina (1997) adequately asserts, "the sociology of literature postulates that literary works do not exist in isolation of the society that produces it. Neither the artist, his language nor his idea is independent of his society" (78). It follows therefore that a meaningful study of a work of art, be it novel, drama or poetry, should depict the relationship between a work of art, the artist, and the society. Olatunji (1974) observes that a great artist is a fearless commentator on social, political and economic developments and tendencies in his society. Olajubu (1987) also describes the poet as the repository of the collective wisdom of the social, cultural, economic, moral and ethical norms of his society. Hence, the literary artist, globally, is a moralist who adjudges the society. Olajubu, therefore, labels the literary artist as the society's motivator, teacher, preacher and entertainer.

POETRY AS SOCIAL HISTORY

There is no doubt that there is a great affinity between literature and history, for, they both

enjoy a sound interconnectivity. To the literary critic and student of literature, the concept of the text as social history is an indisputable fact, even though the orthodox sociologist may question its appropriateness. Leavis defines social history as:

The daily life of the inhabitants of a land in past ages which includes the human as well as the economic relation of different classes to one another, the character of family and household life, the conditions of labour and of leisure, the attitude of man to nature, the culture of each age as it arose out of these general conditions of life, and took over changing forms in religion, literature and music, architecture, learning thought. (Leavis 1945: 80)

In the light of the above, poetry is perceived as an artistic documentation of the life of the society. It preserves the realities of the day, the social experience, joy, sadness and triumphs for posterity, in much the same way as a carving, painting or picture preserves the moment for eternity. In the view of Akporobaro (1994), poetry is a time capsule for generations to come, to see what the present or past was like. It encapsulates the thoughts and experiences of a particular age for posterity.

Bamidele (2002) correlates history and literature and submits that both disciplines are more than just strange bedfellows. When history starts to examine the complicated structure of society by paying greater attention to the study of social question, the imaginative writer also takes part in such questioning and recording of events. The imaginative writer shuttles between fiction and reality, as he records the events of his society. Hence, without the literary witness, a student of society will be blind to the fullness of that society. Concerning this view, Bamidele (2002:70) rhetorically asks:

How much Greek social life do we know if we do not read Aristophanes' comedies? "How much of Elizabethan social history do we know if we do not read Ben Johnson's play How much of English social history of the 1850s do we know if we do not read Charles Dicken's novels

It follows therefore that much of Nigerian social history would be properly understood through reading Nigerian literary works. It is in line with the above background that this paper surveys the poems of selected Yorùbá poets to highlight the historical documentation of Nigerian economy in their poems. Three Yorùbá written

poetry texts would suffice for this paper, namely: Akinjogbin's *Ewì Ìwòyí* (1969), Adeleke's *Aso Ìgbà* (1997) and Adeleke's *Wá Gbó* (2001) that contains the poems of Adeyinka (2001), Fajenyo' (2001) and Oyerinde (2001).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF NIGERIAN ECONOMY IN YORÙBÁ POETRY

Since its inception as a sovereign nation, agriculture has been the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, before the discovery of oil on the country's shores. The Western Nigerian government in the 1950s under the Premiership of the Late Chief Obafemi Awolowo (1954-1959) used proceeds from the sales of cocoa to build the historic *Coca House* at Dugbe in Ibadan. The Yorùbá poets as a result label the farmer as king in their poems. Afolabi Olabimtan and Adebayo Faleti in *Ewì Ìwòyí*, edited by Akinjogbin (1969), wrote poems on the importance of farmers to the economy of Nigeria and the sustenance of the country's populace in the poems titled "Obalólo" and "Isé Agbè" respectively. Adebayo Faleti in his poem "Isé Agbè" says:

Bágbè bá kò tí kò sàgbè
Tí ará oko kò tí kò roko
Kí ni kí gbogbo wa máa jè
Ebi kí sòré ara
Isé ágbè ló pé, fáàrí kò pé
E jé ká folá feni tí n roko

(Faleti 1969:120)

When the farmer refuses to farm
And the villagers refuse to cultivate
What shall we all eat
Hunger is not friendly to the body
Farming is profitable, bluffing isn't
Let us honour one who farms.

In other words, agriculture, according to Yorùbá poets, was the bedrock of Nigeria's economy before the discovery of oil. There is little wonder, therefore, when we see many of the poems in honour of the farmers in almost all existing Yorùbá written poems. Folorunso (1998) also corroborates this as he discusses extensively the position of the farmer in his doctoral thesis.

The postindependence discovery of oil marked a major turning point in the economy of Nigeria. The Yorùbá poets have not failed to record the event and its attendant problems on agriculture in the country. Adeyinka (2001) records the event in his poem titled "*Epo*"

Omi labù wè, omi la bù mu
 Inú omi lEledáá fepo sí
 Ojó tomo Adámò mò nìbèrè ìròrùn
 Epo de owó dé
 Gbogbo kòkó, róbà, kofí àtèpà dàtepa
 Igi kòkó digi idáná
 Ayé n wówó epo. (Adeyinka 2001:127-128)
 Water is for bathing and drinking as well
 The creator keeps petroleum inside water
 Its discovery marked the dawn of ease
 Oil has arrived money has come
 Cocoa, rubber, coffee and groundnut were
 destructively trampled upon
 Cocoa trunks became fire-woods
 Everyone is searching for oil money.

In the above poem, Adeyinka recounts how farmers abandoned their cash crops in the farm to hunt for oil money. He further acknowledges that the discovery of petroleum in Nigeria enhanced the economy of the nation such that the attention of both government and individuals shifted from agriculture to petroleum. In the present-day Nigeria, however, oil has become the major source of income, and the nation's budget is hinged on the sale of crude oil.

In spite of government's numerous appeals that Nigerians should return to the farm, not many people have heeded the plea. Instead people all over Nigerian cities are clamouring for white-collar jobs. Adeyinka (2001) writes thus:

Kálukú gbasé oba
 Bàbá àgbè yan kòkó lódì
 Epo ló dé tólàjú dé (Adeyinka 2001:128)
 Everyone become civil servant
 The farmer abandoned cocoa plantation
 The arrival of oil brought civilization

The poet indicates that oil boom has direct effect on the upsurge in the search for civil service jobs. Nigerians in effect struggle to enjoy out of the oil revenue that is used in creating jobs in the country.

Yorubá poets also discuss the Nigerian currency in relation to other currencies of the world especially the dollars, pound sterling, Euro and francs. The poets do not fail to place on record the strength of the naira in terms of exchange rate over the years. Oyerinde's poem "Naira N Ra" explains:

Opé Èdumàrè
 Opé re Náírà
 Ò dAmerica o dà wón ká
 O la dólà mólè peregede
 O doko dólà

Ìjà ìwo pèlú pón-ùn lójú oba Gèèsì ni
 O dèrù jèjè lójú pón-ùn
 Títí pón-ùn n sàpónple re
 (Oyerinde 2001: 30-31)
 Thanks to the Almighty
 Thank you Naira
 You arrived in America and scattered them
 You slammed the dollar outrightly
 You became dollar's superior
 You fought pound sterling in the Queen's
 presence
 You became awesome to the pound
 For long the pound regarded you.

The poet recalls in this poem the period when "Naira" competed favourably with the dollar and British sterling in terms of exchange rate. It was the period when the economy was considered strong and virile. In August 1989, the Naira exchanged for seven to a dollar and eleven to a pound sterling (Akinrinade, 1990:22). By May 2005, a dollar exchanged for one hundred and thirty two Naira, while a pound sterling amounted to two hundred and fifty two naira (*Financial Standard* May 16, 2005).

Unfortunately, it is the International Monetary Fund (I. M. F) loan taken by various successive governments in Nigeria that dealt the deathblow on the naira and sunk it to its present exchange rate. Semenitari (2005:13) explains:

Many of the debts were taken during the presidency of Shehu Shagari in the Second Republic although the first borrowings began under the military regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo, who took the first I.M.F. facility of \$1.5billion in the late 1970s. By the early 1980s, Nigeria's debt stock was less than \$5 billion.

The conditionality of the I.M.F. loan stipulates the devaluation of the naira, which spells doom on the economy. Oyerinde poetically draws the picture of the sliding Naira in his poem, titled "Naira N Ra"

Naira mi òwón
 È é se tó o dedun arinlè kalè
 Iwo edun tó n fò fèrè tó n je lókèlókè
 Tó o wa dedun ilèélè tí ò le gungi mo
 O se wá di wápálá
 Náírà kò résè walè mó
 Rírá ló n rá (Oyerinde 2001:29-38)
 My dear Naira
 Why have you become the downtrodden
 monkey
 You used to be the monkey that flies high on
 top

Now, you have become the downtrodden monkey

Why have you become so emaciated
Naira is no more strong again
It only crawls.

Oyerinde depicts the depleting value of the Naira in relation to foreign currencies right from the title of his poem: "Náírà n rà", (Naira Vanishes). He uses the third syllable *rà* in the word "Náírà" to contrast with the verb "rá", "to vanish", to give a picturesque description of the Nigerian currency. This is symbolic because a large sum of Naira exchanges for a small quantity of foreign currencies, especially dollars, pound and Euro. "Rírá ló n rá" which means it is vanishing causes Naira to become *wápálá*, emaciated or dwindled.

Furthermore, Oyerinde's picturesque description of the Náírà is further made succinct through his reference to a verse in Ifá literary Corpus in "Ejiogbe" in lines 3 and 4 above. The Ifá verse explains why "Edun" (the-white-tigh-Colobus monkey) could not climb the tree like its counterpart "Ááyá" (the-Red-thigh-Colobus monkey). In this case, "Edun" represents the Naira, while "Ááyá" stands for the foreign currencies. The myth of Edun/Ááyá in "Ejiogbe" gave birth to the popular Yorùbá derisive phrase "Edun arinlè", the pedestrian Colobus monkey". This phrase is an uncomplimentary expression for a person whose fortunes have turned to misfortune, or who suffered great decline (Olateju 2004:11). Oyerinde therefore poetically draws the picture of a declined Naira in the above poem. He also decries this appalling state of the Naira when he states that:

Naira òròré
Igba won ò tó kan àparò
(Oyerinde 2001: 36)

Naira has become fledgling bird
Two hundred of its type not up to a partridge.

Oyerinde metaphorically compares the Naira to the small tiny bird and likens the foreign currencies, pound sterling, Euro and others, to the partridge. Unfortunately, a pound exchanges for more than two hundred naira in the present-day Nigeria. The poet, therefore, decries the state of the naira.

As social commentators, the Yorùbá poets point to the causes of economic problems in Nigeria. These include hoarding, black marketing, currency trafficking, embezzlement, bribery and corruption. Other causes are fund

mismanagement, over-dependence on importation, advanced fee fraud, otherwise known as "419", oil bunkering, looting of government treasury and lack of maintenance culture. These problems are given a treatment in the poems of Adeleke (1997), Adeyinka (2001), Oyerinde (2001) and Fajenyo (2001).

On fuel scarcity and embezzlement of accrued funds from oil, Adeyinka (2001) writes in his poem, "Epo", "Oil":

Epo ròbì ò déédé wón
Awon ògàálú ló sàfira
Ìjekúje ò jé won ó sohun ó tó
Toga ilé isè la rí là n wí
Taláse gbogbogbò ní kí ní se
Bowó epo ti n wolé ló n wolé
Olórí n fi bílìónù dólà sápo
(Adeyinka 2001: 128-129)

Fuel scarcity isn't accidental
It is the leaders that are not observant
Greediness did not allow them to say the truth
It is the company's boss we lampoon
That of the overall head is overwhelming
As petroleum funds come in they disappear
The head keeps billions of dollars in his account.

The above poem presents the unsavoury state of the nation where leaders embezzle petroleum fund and stash same in foreign accounts. Events of the recovery of General Abacha's loots from foreign nations give credence to the fact that the poet is making. Fajenyo (2001) corroborates Adeyinka's submission as he points to people in authority as the cause of the country's economic depression in the poem titled "Ara ilú Òwónwón" "Citizens of the Country of scarcity".

Events in the nation confirm the poets' submissions. Nigeria has succeeded in recovering several of Abacha's loot stashed away in various foreign countries. The former Inspector General of Police, Mr. Tafa Balogun was indicted for embezzling huge sums of public fund running into billions both in local and foreign currencies. *Tell Magazine* captions Tafa's story as "Fall of the Super Cop" and "The Super Cop Behind Bars" in its January and December 2005 editions respectively.

Many state governors are currently on the list of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) for investigation for money laundering and other

related offences. The former governor of Bayelsa State, Depriye Alamieyeseigha, was charged for laundering one million pounds in London. He jumped bail and was subsequently impeached and imprisoned in Nigeria. Other public officers who were caught in sharp corrupt practices and were sanctioned, removed from office or imprisoned are Sunday Afolabi, the late former Minister of Internal Affairs, Adolphus Wabara, former Senate President, Evan Enwerem, former Senate President, Fabian Osuji, former Education Minister and several others. These cases corroborate what the poets say in their poems that most of the people in authority are those responsible for the nation's economic predicament.

Another group of economic saboteurs pointed out by Yorubá poets are traders and rich business tycoons. In his poem "Àbùkù kan Èwà", Adeleke (1997) gives account of how traders hoard food items such as beans, rice, millet, maize, yams, etc. resulting in hike in prices. The repercussion of hoarding led to the sale of poisonous beans, which brought about the death of many consumers in the country, all in the name of profit making. Adeleke concludes his poem on an advisory note:

E jé ká so fun ìnájà
 E jé ká so fólówò
 Kò pé ká fowó òwón raja òwón
 Kò tònà kólójà maa fa nilórí òyàngbè
 Èrè bínntín tòn tálùbàríkà
 O sànjèrè repete tòn tètè (Adeleke 1997:20)
 Let us tell the traders
 And speak to the affluent
 It does not pay to spend scarce money in
 buying costly goods
 It is improper for traders to cheat unduly
 A little gain with blessings
 Surpasses much gain with curses.

This implies that many traders pay premium to profit making than service and satisfaction to customers. The poet sympathizes with consumers who feel the pinch as he calls on businessmen and women to be cautious in their drive for excessive profit. As social commentators, historical poets and watchdogs of the society, they live up to expectation as they criticize the society by foregrounding its ills and woes in their milieu. As the mirror of the social order, their poems document for both local and international audience to see the cause of Nigeria's economic problem.

In a bid to overcome these economic

problems, the Yorubá poets, in their wisdom, proffer solutions and the way forward in their poems. In the views of Fajenyo (2001) and Oyerinde (2001), government is in the best position to find a lasting solution to the economic problems of the country. Oyerinde, for instance, states that:

Ìjòbà pàà màisàn tó de Náirà nígbèkùn
 Ìjòbà náà ló sì megbògi
 Ìjòbà tètè jí náirà yí díde (Oyerinde, 2001: 38)
 The government knows the sickness that
 ensnares the naira
 Only the government that knows its
 medication
 Government should kindly strengthen the
 naira quickly.

The poet calls on the government to act positively to revive the ailing economy. The Obasanjo-led administration has put in place several machineries to curb the excesses of treasury looters and corrupt officials. These are the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC). These two commissions can be described as a response to the poets' call for revamping the naira and healing of the ailing economy. Ojewale (2006) describes the achievement of EFCC in (2005) in *Tell Magazine* thus:

2005 was a good year for Economic and Financial Crimes Commission as many corrupt public officials and advance fee fraudsters were caught in the web... Balogun, Nwude, Anajemba and Alamieyeseigha were made to pay for their crimes (Ojewale, 2006: 22).

The administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo has also launched a fierce attack on corruption headlong from all fronts. The EFCC has also succeeded in recovering money and properties from corrupt officials to government coffers. For instance, a former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Mr. Julius Mekanjuola, was made to confiscate fourteen houses to government (Semenitari, 2005: 26). According to Ojewale (2006: 22) Mallam Nuhu Ribadu, the EFCC chairman claims his commission makes good catch for government on daily basis. Ribadu explains:

We return up to N2 billion (seized money) to government every week from the cases we handle, from the 419 people, from government officials, from stopping money being taken away... In one case we returned close to N20 billion.

This is commendable on the part of the Nigerian government and a heed to the cries of the Yorùbá poets to government to take steps to revamp the economy. Oyerinde has seen far into the future while writing his poem. It is expedient to mention the fact that as a poet, he proffers a solution as to how to revive the ailing economy of the nation ahead of government's intervention and seriousness in revamping the economy. Apart from government's efforts in recovering stolen money, from corrupt officials, her efforts have also yielded results in the debt relief granted the nation by creditor countries especially the Paris club. The nation received a sixty percent debt relief, about eighteen billion dollars, granted her out of the thirty billion dollars, she was owing foreign nations. The accumulated debt was as a result of several imprudent borrowings taken by successive governments in the country.

Government's efforts in this direction and her successes yet confirm the poets' ingenuity and imaginative thinking as they suggest to government to act positively to address the state of the nation's economy. Government's efforts in bringing back the glory of the nation are a right step in a good direction. We can see through the efforts of government that people in authority are in the best position to rescue the economy as it is being done now. This suggests, according to the poets, that there is need for a change of attitude by citizens of this country. However, government may not be able to revolutionize and sanitize the society alone. The masses themselves, that is the ruled, need to be conscientized by the poets to rise up against misrule and other forms of neo-colonial decadence. This is not to claim that the poets are bad writers. In fact, they display a commendable mastery of the aesthetics of poetry. But their problem centers on their inability to refract the social problems appropriately. A poet who only turns to Government for solutions is an idealist.

In this paper, we are able to argue that the nation's economic woe is traceable to the poor attitude of Nigerians to the natural endowment of fertile land and agricultural facilities that God has given. We are able to note that poor management of the country's mineral resources, embezzlement, corrupt practices and other related crimes are some of the ills of society that are responsible for the nation's economic problems.

Finally, this paper has shown that poetry serves as one of the most satisfying means of expressing personal, social and imaginative

thoughts. The Yorùbá poets considered in this paper provide for us a fluid and lucid account and documentation of Nigerian economy, its development, growth, problems, effects and possible ways of solving the problems. Therefore, poetry, as a vital part of the cultural wealth of a nation, can be used to bring about the growth and development of such a nation.

REFERENCES

- Abimbola, W. 1969. *An Exposition of Ifa Literary Corpus*. An Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Lagos.
- Adeleke, D. 1997. *Aso Igba*. Abeokuta: Visual Resources Publishers.
- Adeyinka, Y. 2001. "Epo", (pp. 127-130) in D. Adeleke (ed.), *Wá Gbó*. Abeokuta: Visual Resources Publishers.
- Akinrinade, S. 1990. "Is the Boom Back" *NewsWatch News Magazine* December 31, 1990, p. 22.
- Akinyemi, A. 1986. *Dénrelé Adéètimikàn Obasa (1927-1945) Akéwì Aláròjinlè*. M. A. Dissertation, Obafemi Awolowo University, (O.A.U) Ilé Ife
- Akporobaro, F. B. O. 1994. *Understanding Poetry*. Lagos: The Lighthouse Publishing Company.
- Aremu, F. B. 1988. *The Content and Form of Olabimtan's Áádóta Aròfo and Ewì Orísirisi*. M. A. Dissertation, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Lagos.
- Babalola, S. A. 1966. *The Content and Form of Yorùbá Ijala*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bamidele, L. O. 2002. *Literature and Sociology*. Lagos: Stirling-Horden Publishers.
- Fajenyo, A. 2001. "Ará Ilú Owónwón", (pp. 80-84) in D. Adeleke (ed.) *Wá Gbó*. Abeokuta: Visual Resources Publishers.
- Faleti, A. 1969. "Isé Àgbè", (pp.119-120) in A. Akinjogbin (ed.), *Ewì Iwoyi*. London: Collins.
- Financial Standard 2005. "Economic and Financial Indicators Overview" *Financial Standard*. Lagos: *Millennium Harvest*, Vol. 6, No 3, May 16, 2005 pp. iii
- Folorunso, A. O. 1998. *The Written Yorùbá Poetry (1949-1989): A Study in the Sociology of Literature*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Dept. of Linguistics and African Languages University of Ibadan.
- Leavis, F. R. 1945. "Sociology and Literature." *Scrutiny*, No 13, p. 80.
- Ogunsina, J. A. 1997. "Gender Ideology: Portrayal of Women in Yorùbá Ijala", (pp. 78-91) in *Inquiry in African Languages and Literatures*. No. 2, October 1997, Faculty of Arts Ondo State University, Ado Ekiti
- Ojewale, O. 2006. "The Usual Crime fighter." *Tell Magazine*. No. 3, January 16, 2006 pp. 18-24.
- Olabimtan, A. 1969. "Obalólo", (pp. 27-28) in A. Akinjogbin (ed.) *Ewì Iwoyi*, London: Collins.
- Olabimtan, A. 1974. *A Critical Study of Yorùbá Written Poetry 1848-1948*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Ibadan.
- Olajubu, O. 1987. "The Voice of the Artist, the Voice of the People." *Inaugural Lecture University of Ilorin*.

- Olateju, A. 2004. "Aré Ló Bédun Nlè, A Linguistic Stylistic Analysis". *Paper* presented at West African Linguistics Congress, (WALC) Centre University of Ibadan.
- Olatunji, O. O. 1984. *Features of Yorùbá Oral Poetry*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd.
- Olatunji, O. O. 1974. "Religion in Literature: The Christianity of J. S. Sówándé (Sobò Aróbíodu) in *Oríta*, Ibadan." *Journal of Religious Studies*, III(1): 3-21.
- Oyerinde, S. 2001. "Náírà N. Rá", (pp. 29-38) in D. Adeleke (ed.), *Wá Gbó', Abe'okuta*: Visual Resources Publishers.
- Semenitari, Ibim 2005. "This President Can Throw Stones." *Tell Magazine* No. 16 April 18, 2005 pp. 20-27.
- Tell Magazine 2005. "Fall of the Super Cop" *Tell Magazine*, Ikeja: Tell Communications Limited No. 5, January 31, 2005 Cover page.
- Tell Magazine 2005. "The Super Cop Behind Bars" *Tell Magazine*, Ikeja: Tell Communications Limited No. 49, December