Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
Ben Binebai’s *My Life in the Burning Creeks* and Oil’s “Refuse of History”

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Crude oil was a mix of hydrocarbons and impurities ill-suited for most purposes: it burned unsteadily, released large amounts of soot, and often smelled foul.

—Christopher F. Jones, *Routes of Power: Energy and Modern America*

Joshua Esty has coined the term “extremental postcolonialism” to trace the significance of scatology in the emergence of first-generation African writing and to extensively theorize the artistic imagination of dystopia that heralded the postcolonies. To be sure, Esty’s figuration of scatology productively gestures toward the ways that postcolonial discourses are extended to implicate different forms of power formations—including the power of odor. Drawing on Dain Borges’s phrasing of “belly politics,” which anticipates Achille Mbembe’s “aesthetics of vulgarity” in which the postcolony is described as a site of obscene magnificence, Esty notes that “the remarkable currency and symbolic versatility of excrement in the postcolony” is an affirmation of failed or flawed postcolonial nationalism. To invent shit as a conventional portrait of damaged nationhood, therefore, is the product of a cultural response to politics that dates back to postindependent African writing. Indeed, Mbembe finds the operations of vulgarity in the postcolony to be “intrinsic to all systems of domination and to the means by which those systems are confirmed or deconstructed.” Not surprisingly then, succeeding generations of African writers have continued to invest in the language of shit to deconstruct the rapacity of postcolonial plunder. In particular, writers imagining the pollution of the landscapes of the Niger Delta through extractive activities have drawn readers into varied contexts in which the environment is rendered in
the form of material excrescence. In their exploration of the ecological devastation of oil modernity in the region, these writers perform the task that Rachele Dini describes as telling “stories in which human beings are classed as worth less than trash.”

In this chapter, I argue that oil tropes in literature are found with a particular kind of dystopia in Nigeria and thus foster a new epoch of politics that announces state failure most evidently through the manifestation of ecological desecration. In other words, I suggest that rethinking scatology in the expanded time and era of petro-politics works to mirror the sense of failure and violence that the circuits of extraction make possible.

It is Amitav Ghosh, in ”Petrofiction”—his well-known review of Abdelrahman Munif’s novel *Cities of Salt*—who first indicates how the material abstraction of oil culminates in a kind of putrefaction. In setting out to examine why the bourgeoning economic and political value of oil in the twentieth century has failed to nurture great fiction—in comparison with the spice trade, which demonstrated equivalent historical significance in the sixteenth century—Ghosh identifies the central reason as the manner in which oil resonates in the system of global capitalism. On the question of oil’s implication in culture, he asserts that “the smell of oil gets a lot worse by the time it seeps into those rooms where serious fiction is written and read. . . . And to make things still worse, it begins to smell of pollution and environmental hazards. It reeks, it stinks.” Although Ghosh theorizes that the experience of oil reproduces a sense of placelessness that accords with physical absence, the scatological imagination that he inaugurates is useful in addressing the character of oil in material terms. In other words, an important aspect of measuring oil’s relation with culture is to acknowledge its physicality rather than its invisibility—an acknowledgment that speaks to the reality of oil’s presence at the site and environment of extraction. The Nigerian scholar Philip Onoriode Aghoghovwia coined the phrase “poetics of cartography” to register the effect of oil encounters on the local ecology of the Niger Delta, arguing that the geographic particularities of resource extraction and distribution are significant in coming to terms with the ontology of oil. In his view, the literary response to oil culture in the Global South considers “the material texture of the oil’s presence in the local communities.” Amy Riddle has argued that the detailed physical description of oil is central to its contemporary representation—in contrast with earlier times represented by *Cities of Salt*—of what underscores the growing experience of globalism. To put it another
way, oil’s registration in human culture is framed by different historical circumstances that manifest themselves in the Global South in the framework of what Aghoghovwia describes as “physical, spatial intrusion.” Indeed, the physical form of crude oil continuously forces its visibility in the landscape of extraction to reveal tendencies that define different shades of cultural imagination. As Riddle acknowledges, “The supra-objective qualities of oil as both fuel and plastic, earth and air, subject and system, distinguish it from earlier commodities in literature, like coffee, spices, or sugar.” In an effort to depart from the notion of oil’s invisibility by emphasizing its physical character in the landscape of extraction, I argue here that this distinctiveness finds expression in how tropes of waste and decay of crude oil matter are imagined and performed. How might one understand the artistic imagination of decay implicit in oil’s physical properties as a kind of violence and resistance against the oppressive protocols of multinational oil corporations?

Reimagining a geographical violence through the lived cultures of oil in Nigeria’s Niger Delta, Ben Binebai’s stage play My Life in the Burning Creeks (2010) presents the frictions within petromodernity that echo “oil’s dirtiness and fecal qualities.” Drawing attention to instances of state repression and securitization in oil-producing communities, the play highlights the creeks of the Niger Delta as landscapes of intense dramatic action, particularly as the fulcrum of the region’s history of petro-violence. It registers the land in which oil was discovered as a landscape of material waste and rot, one that is constantly violated with consequences of underdevelopment and destruction of living environments. To put this into context, when the Nigerian Conservation Foundation convened international experts to assess the damage caused by petro-extraction in 2006, the report emphasized ecological desecration of the Niger Delta, noting that the region is “one of the world’s most severely petroleum-impacted ecosystems and one of the top five most polluted places.” This notion of pollution in the Niger Delta is imagined in ways that describe the ruin of a “land of beauty” through oil spillages by multinational petroleum corporations. The play’s eponymous narrator, Pereware, echoes thus in the play’s prologue:

Our generation has risen against the
Continuous oil exploration without
Corresponding development of our land.
The struggle against corporate irresponsibility,
State corruption, balkanization, poverty, Neo-colonization and bio-regional damage Has transformed our land of beauty Into a roaring and burning Zone.¹⁵

The play opens with an air strike on Gbaramatu Kingdom, one of several oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta. The region is reproduced as a “theatre of operation” in which the Nigerian security system wages wars on the local inhabitants. Binebai grounds the plot in a real-life event that occurred in 2009: air bombardment of the palace of the Gbaramatu Kingdom by the Joint Task Force (JTF). The bombardment was ordered by the Nigerian federal government in connection with the hunt for some members of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND)—one of the insurgent groups that operated in the region during the period. The journalist Simon Ebegbulem, reporting the event as a manifestation of the politics of oil and terror, compared the offensive with other familiar instances of violence and precarity in petro-states. He wrote that “the Gbaramatu invasion by the JTF was similar to the operation Desert Storm of [1990–91], when American forces launched an attack against Iraq for invading Kuwait.”¹⁶ The bombing is evocative of a pattern of reprisal attacks on some Niger Delta villages, such as in the case of Odi town, in which hundreds of people were massacred in 1999. In reporting the Odi Massacre, the British writer Michael Peel observed that the Nigerian president at the time, Olusegun Obasanjo, “showed no signs of outrage at the action and others like it”¹⁷ but rather boasted that the vengeful massacre by security forces is a typical example of how cause and effect function in human societies. Such is the violent strategy that frames the politics of oil in the Delta, a pattern of normalized securitization that the play orchestrates. As Frederick Buell writes, “Oil has become an obsessive point of reference in and clear determinant over the daily lives of many, either victimizing them directly and cruelly . . . or making them increasingly feel that their developed-world normalities are a shaky house of cards.”¹⁸ The play’s narrator relives these cruel experiences not only to illustrate the exclusion of the oil-bearing communities from social and economic development but also to highlight ways in which they are exposed to what Rob Nixon describes as “modernity’s false dawn.”¹⁹ It captures the narrator’s life several years after university graduation—although he has a degree in petroleum engineering, he is unable to secure gainful employment in any of the multinational oil
companies based in his native oil-producing community. He asks, “Is it not sad that after a decade / Of graduation from one of the most prestigious Nigerian universities / One remains unemployed?” The narrator’s life contrasts sharply with that of his friend Abubakar from the northern region of Nigeria, who got a degree in Islamic and Arabic Studies yet easily secured a place at the public and corporate affairs unit of Escravos’s Chevron, one of the top oil companies in the region. The story resonates with what scholar James Tsaiaior describes as a “decimal of a tissue of paradoxes” in which indigenes of the oil-rich Delta live “on the margins or fringes of Nigeria’s national life courtesy of perennial institutional and state neglect.” This “idiom of north/south dichotomy” has become an important reference point in the discourse of oil culture in the Niger Delta literature, as it articulates a broad set of power relations useful in thinking about the geopolitical circuitry of production and consumption of oil in Nigeria. Drawing on the production sites of the American mid-Atlantic region, Christopher F. Jones gives further insight into this geopolitical perspective of oil:

The production of oil came at great environmental cost. But users who lived hundreds and even thousands of miles away did not need to worry about oil flowing into their streams or ruining their soil. They had little personal connection to the massive deforestation of large regions in pursuit of liquid gold. Even if they experienced some soot and odor from the burning of kerosene in their homes, it was likely cleaner and more pleasant than candles or camphene. For the most part, the users of oil gained the benefit of cheap energy without assuming responsibility for its environmental damage. One of the reasons that fossil fuel energy production has been so environmentally destructive is that those who benefit from energy sources rarely have to live with the environmental damages associated with its production.

In the Niger Delta scenario, the geopolitics of oil is further exacerbated by the minority status of the oil-producing region within the larger Nigerian state. In this light, the struggle for resource control is undertaken not only to instrumentalize fiscal federalism, which is skewed by the systems of power that control the rentier economy of oil, but also to serve as a strategy to redefine the protocols of resource entitlement. Not surprisingly, then, the play instantiates a heightened sense of artistic aggression that recognizes and echoes the campaign for self-determination by the Niger Delta youth militias: “The militants face the oppressors / Face to face, hand to hand and / Dance their smothering

Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
and vicious guns / To stillness.” When the air raid occurred—in the form of a reprisal attack—Pereware is still hunting for a job and is trapped in the mass of displaced and dispossessed people in the creeks. His lament resonates with the abjection and bare life to which Deltans are reduced:

PEREWARE: But Abubakar, how do I make it
When I don’t have a Godfather?
I need the job, would you take me
To a godfather who can offer me the job?

PEREWARE as ABUBAKAR: The bitter truth is that you
Need to become a Muslim
And truly bear a Muslim name before
The assistance can come.

PEREWARE: What? I did not bargain in life
To change my religion
And biological identity because of a job

Given the play’s emphasis on the ruination of the Delta landscapes through the activities of the Nigerian state and multinational petroleum companies, Binebai is revealed as a dramatist whose artistic logic is defined by the material consequences of petro-violence on the natural environment. He stages conflicts that acknowledge the centrality of the natural environment in the precarious conditions of devastation and pollution. These conflicts invoke the landscape in order to expose the realities of petro-violent predation by the Big Oil corporations and to reflect on the contrast with the premodern period, during which the landscape was the source of the Delta’s economic and agrarian livelihood. The play’s revelations about the destruction of the region’s landscapes and about Pereware’s quotidian travails demonstrate a tragedy common to man and land in the context of decay. The idealization of the pre-oil Delta as evident here in the narrator’s appellation offers insight into the degree of tragic transformation that the oil encounter wrought in the Delta region.

The king without a crown
The emperor without clothes,
The peacock without feathers and like a
Bloated cash cow in the trade

Oil Fictions
Garden of some capitalists
This land of mine hosts fishing grounds
And farm lands that diminish everyday as
The liquid gold slicks flicker the creeks
And rivers burst into
Dazzling and deafening flames²⁶

The play points to the ways in which the impact of oil extraction subjects
the creeks of the Niger Delta to a bare life of destruction, offering a story about
Indigenous people in a fractured seascape and the complex overdetermi-
nation of resistance that emerges from the relation to state terror. Turning the
region into a wasteland of detritus and encompassing all sorts of spatial cri-
ses, oil extraction inscribes material destruction in the waves of petromodern
activities in the region. To be sure, the creek is the agricultural heartland of
Nigeria, imagined in popular culture as the food basket of the nation, such
that subjection to resource extraction instantiates crude violence and dispos-
session. In this context, the creeks reflect the complex ways in which a sus-
tainable livelihood, the natural environment, and toxic politics reinforce one
another while projecting new ways of aestheticizing the political ecology of
oil. The evident dramatization of the culture of waste and pollution in what
underwrites a poetics of scatology dominates My Life in the Burning Creeks,
culminating in a spatio-material framework in the play’s enactment of petro-
violece. In other words, Binebai makes the creeks the melting point of differ-
ent kinds of pollution that are traceable to the culture of oil:

This oil that has polluted
The burning creeks
Has also polluted politics and democracy
It has polluted national unity
It has polluted the lives of youths
It has polluted our rulers, elders, girls
And has turned into a colossal catalyst
For crooked politicians and mercantilists.²⁷

In A Swamp Full of Dollars, Michael Peel gives an account of his visit to the
oil communities in the Niger Delta and notes that infrastructural decay and
abandonment is an important lens through which to view Nigeria’s lopsided

Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
Oil Fictions

federal system. His description of Oloibiri, the historical town where crude oil was first discovered in the region in 1956, particularly elaborates on the overarching culture of deprivation in Nigeria's petrocultural modernity. Ike Okonta and Oronto Douglas also observe Shell's culture of ecological pollution and devastation of the Delta region's biodiversity through practices ranging from the unregulated use of dynamite to prospect for oil to the "obnoxious practice of gas flaring and the oil leakages of Shell’s old, rusty and corroded [pipelines]." Environmental movements have blamed pipeline fire disasters on the poor condition of oil facilities in the region and on technologies of oil that are in various stages of disrepair, rusted and corroded. In the words of the environmentalist Nnimmo Bassey, Shell is renowned for its global indifference to the territories of host countries and has a history of turning “pristine wetland into wastelands.” Peel’s reflection on Oloibiri offers important insight into the condition of local ecologies that are rendered bare after extraction:

As I approached Oloibiri one typical Delta morning already thick with sticky heat, I passed an anonymous-looking clearing hacked from the jungle. A rusty barbed wire fence surrounded an equally dilapidated oil-wellhead, known in the industry as a Christmas tree because of its branching network of pipes and valves. The accompanying signboard, rendered barely legible by corrosion, was as understated a historical landmark as you could wish to find . . . anywhere: “Oloibiri: well number one,” it read. “Drilled June 1956. Depth, 12,008 feet.”

Binebai echoes this narrative of decay and abandonment to suggest ways in which the material presence of oil brings about rust and corrosion that erase the historical landmarks of the region. In other words, oil’s physicality is evident in the destructive sense that reveals lack of careful and measured production that is eventually submitted to disuse. This fact resonates with Christopher F. Jones’s reflection on the liquid nature of oil, in which he illustrates the difficulty of controlling the flows as it “seeped out of wells, ran into streams, and leaked out of wells.” He notes that “the materiality of oil, combined with human disregard for spills, played a significant role in the sacrifice of the environment of the Oil Regions.” Considering the rust that attends to signposts of oil in Oloibiri (“the sorry state of the signpost: the fast fading inscriptions, the rusty board”), Aghoghovwia suggests the consideration of rust and decay as a metaphor for invisibility: “Isn’t this symptomatic of the invisibility of Oloibiri—and perhaps the entire Niger Delta—in the context of
social development?" If, as Bruno Latour has argued, “visibility is the consequence of lots of opaque and ‘invisible’ work,” then the condition of invisibility to which the Delta is subjected suggests greater opacity embedded in political conspiracies in the region. In presenting the trope of decay, *My Life in the Burning Creeks* appears to use the narrative strategy that Walter Benjamin styles as “literary montage” to ask questions of the broken territories and silent topographies of the Delta. In *Arcades Project (Passagen-Werk)*, Benjamin deploys the theory of montage as a methodology of historical writing. He explains the technique thus: “I have nothing to say. Only to show. I will steal no valuables, nor appropriate any clever turns of phrase. But the rags, the refuse: not in order to take stock of them but to use them—which is the only way of doing them justice.” To be sure, Benjamin’s obligation to merely show the rags and “the refuse” of history as a way of seeking justice parallels Binebai’s dramatic representation of the ruination and despoliation of the Delta landscape. Although Binebai indulges in “clever turns” in which he romanticizes the Delta landscape in order to hold the mirror up to the refuse that history has made of the region, the suggestion of the theatrical details through which the play turns its gaze on the ruination underscores a quest for environmental justice for the predation wrought by petro-capitalism. Hence, when Pereware invokes imaginations of environmental history to tell stories of the decay and death of place and geography, it is to provoke what Benjamin ascribes to the montage methodology as “the technique of awakening.” Such an assumption of the audience’s socioenvironmental awakening finds expression in the play’s reinstatement of the geophysical and spatial affect of the oil experience as shown in the narrator’s lamentation:

I went dry like Oloibiri, Burutu, Ganagana
And Forcados, prosperous ancient communities
In the burning creeks, used and
Dumped by the European traders in the 20th century
I attended primary and secondary
Schools at Burutu, fondly called
The Island of No regrets.
It was home to all Nigerians
For more than seventy years
This Island town was the nerve centre
Of commerce and industry throughout

Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
British West Africa
Burutu the Island town, the port
Town with the largest slipways,
The Island that is designated as the ideal base for
The largest ship building and
Repairing centre in Africa,
Is now a shadow of its old self like
Forcados which served as the first capital of
Colonial Southern Nigeria.
The death of these towns of industry and
Economic hub is a monumental blow to
Our hopes of survival in the burning creeks.36

The emphasis on the history of the major towns in the Niger Delta, a place that was geostrategically part of, and later not part of, the Anglo-American relation with its natural resources, makes this play a remarkable geopolitical drama. It unmasks the European interest in a basic question of resource exploitation in which the lands are the material victims. In fact, this geographical mapping of historical Delta towns that are forgotten soon after they are drained of natural resources brings to the play a concrete sense of land politics and underlines its gesture toward an account of the region’s environmental history. It seems significant that the play speaks about “the death of these towns,” which suggests thinking of tragedy in spatial and territorial terms. *My Life in the Burning Creeks* articulates this notion of landscape death by deploying the trope of decay and rust, a way of confronting the materiality of petroleum in the region with myriad forms of planetary loss and desecration. It might be supposed that what Binebai has done is to draw from the destruction of the oil landscapes and project it into a narrative idiom of scatology. Through Pereware’s constant references to excrement in relation to life in the Niger Delta, Binebai appears to echo the former president of Venezuela who famously termed oil as “the devil’s excrement.” Michael Watts describes this more elaborately as “the popular understanding of petroleum as socially polluting,”37 which underscores its material effect on the oil-bearing communities “with its power to tarnish and turn everything into shit.” Stephanie LeMenager has noted that this character of oil that derives from “the primal association of oil with earth’s bodies” often poses representational crises. Binebai’s play

Oil Fictions
appears to be a good example of LeMenager’s argument about “the permeability, excess, and multiplicity of all bodies deemed performed and given.”

In the play, shit permeates the operational structures of the oil companies as illustrated in the toilet episode, which becomes useful in exhibiting how the application letters of jobless indigenes of the Delta are trashed. In this instance, while “looking for a soft paper” to clean his anus after defecation during an interview with one of the oil companies, Pereware discovers a photocopy of his master’s degree certificate in a heap of paper waste. This heightened sense of abjection of the Delta Indigenes underwrites the neoliberal marginalizing system that is constituted to render life into shit. In other words, the reinforcement of vulgarity in the context of waste exhibits what Slavoj Žižek describes as “systemic violence.” For Žižek, systemic violence flows invisibly through the social structures that capitalism has enabled and instituted. In this light, it is “the violence inherent in a system: not only direct physical violence, but also the more subtle forms of coercion that sustain relations of domination and exploitation.” Thus, the play makes visible the subtle systems that sustain the different kinds of violence that are unleashed on the oil-bearing communities in the Niger Delta. It provides physical evidence of the interplay of marginalizing power relations by invoking images of shit to parallel “oil’s dirtiness and fecal qualities.” The account of the narrator’s unutilized certificate as detritus is as personal as it is collective in the Delta paradox of oil wealth:

I squatted to ease myself and  
When I finished defecating,  
I found comfort in looking for a soft paper  
To clean my anus. I eventually  
Saw one and was going to use  
It straight away but I saw  
The reverse side of it  
I was devastated emotionally  
Something strangely familiar . . .  
What an irony of fate  
The certificate I submitted  
For a job in the oil company  
Operation in my land was returned to  
Me through the toilet.

Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
This kind of representation that locates aesthetics in decay as a way of articulating certain kinds of power relations resonates with Bakhtin’s formulation of the official and unofficial binary. In his study of *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin reproduces this binary while discussing the imagination of scatological subjectivities in literature—which he terms “grotesque realism”—and defining shit as “the most suitable substance for the degrading of all that is exalted.” He thus argues that obscenity functions to degrade the monological disposition of the official cultures. In addition, Bakhtin believes that excremental matter illuminates the laughing aspect of the world such that authority is resisted through the instrumentality of ridicule, producing regenerative and renewing principles that are often glossed over by critics. As he writes, “The images of feces and urine are ambivalent, as are all the images of the material bodily lower stratum; they debase, destroy, regenerate, and renew simultaneously. They are blessing and humiliating at the same time.” This view makes possible the discussion of how Binebai invents the fecal matter as a way to express the degradation of the landscape and people of the Niger Delta. *My Life in the Burning Creeks* co-opts the ruin and decay of the ordinary people of the Delta to speak broadly about the material rot of the landscape in which they dwell. Put differently, to speak of decay is to address the industrial predators together with their Nigerian government collaborators.

When Bakhtin invokes the “grotesque body” while emphasizing shit as one of the important products of body matter, it offers an ecologically relational perspective on the discussion of scatology that is useful in thinking about *My Life in the Burning Creeks*. As he puts it, “Dung is a link between body and earth, urine is a link between body and sea.” Binebai’s interest in the anus as the body’s site of waste is symptomatic of the general despoliation and waste of the region as a result of petro-extraction. It offers a way of dramatizing the famous assertion of the Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski that “oil is a filthy, foul-smelling liquid that squirts obligingly up into the air.” Such a view is echoed by Christopher F. Jones in the epigraph to this chapter to articulate the biophysical character of oil. This aspect of oil ontology is central in the play more broadly, as it assumes a general metaphor of filth and scatology. Indeed, a heightened sense of filth and malodor finds expression in Pereware’s announcement during the funeral of his mother: “I perceived the reeking scent of dipping / my finger into my anus.” In keeping with a sense of the ecological lineaments of petro-capitalism, one could say that the play evinces an aesthetic interface that connects the decay of self and the pollution.
of the environment. That is, the lifescape and landscape of the Delta are implicated in the conditions of decay and pollution that function in a system of relations. Pereware, for instance, declares this about the occupational closure of a Delta fishing community whose subsistence is incapacitated precisely because of the pollution of the rivers: "Becoming a fisherman is futile because oil / Has polluted the waters / What about the flora and fauna / That have been deprived of their fertility?" My Life in the Burning Creeks thus explores the trope of scatology in ways that juxtapose human decay with environmental pollution visited on the oil communities in the Delta. It identifies obscurity in the everyday life of Deltans who are economically and spatially displaced in landscapes damaged by extraction. To be sure, Binebai appears to explore environmental pollution by giving expression to the experience of human dispossession. In highlighting the transcendental effect of pollution—its permeability and flow—and giving purchase to its bodily, economic, and political implications, the play enunciates obscenity as a kind of ecological resistance. It articulates the Bakhtinian logic of the grotesque as a mode of resistance, one that acts on the tragic consequences of decay. In fact, the excrement gives profound expression to what Slavoj Žižek calls an “excremental/sacred outcast,” which implies a category of exclusion that Deltans are subjected to outside the limits of economic and political recognition. In this sense, excrement becomes a tool for political agency and subversion as well as a kind of aesthetic paradox that invokes the exclusion and marginalization of the Deltans as outcasts.

Beginning with the title, My Life in the Burning Creeks unfolds as an imaginative landscape story that draws the human experience into a narrative common: the creeks and the people who are embedded in them and how these people are inscribed in the cruel and damaging encounter with extractive politics. In this sense, the play is the deleterious account of a commodity that, since its discovery in 1956, permeates and flows through life and that confronts those who live in the landscape of its production with its visible, material presence. What Patricia Yaeger describes as the “inquiry about energy’s visibility or invisibility” gravitates toward a conundrum of sorts at the site of resource extraction to reveal how the materiality of oil preeminently erases, or makes invisible, social and political development in the oil region. My reading thinks through the odor of oil to reflect on how it finds representation in decay and filth, affirming a growing culture of scatology that is becoming normalized in most oil-producing communities in the Global South. This perspective, I argue, is an aesthetic abstraction of the biophysical property of

Petro-drama in the Niger Delta
the commodity through which materiality is metaphorized. In other words, oil is no more invisible than its ontological presence in the substratum of polluted landscapes in which its damaging smells and decays are tellingly evident. This mode of writing oil offers a kind of subversive art that reflects the mood of resistance against the Nigerian state and the petroleum companies.

Notes

9. Ibid., 30.
25. Ibid., 21.
26. Ibid., 19.
27. Ibid., 53.
32. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 151.
43. Ibid., 335.
46. Ibid., 52.