

Exploring Children's Armed Conflict Experiences in Edify Yakusak's *After They Left*

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Abstract

This paper explores children's diverse involvements in armed conflicts in Edify Yakusak's *After They Left*. Phenomenology as enunciated by Edmund Husserl in *The Ideas of Phenomenology* forms the theoretical paradigm for the study. The results show that children, like adults, are often victims of traumatic conflicts and are mindless perpetrators of horrific acts during armed conflicts since the intoxication of violent spectacles could prove addictive for some of them. Also, the textual analysis shows that rape and sexual violence against female children often attend every armed conflict. The findings reveal that violent conflict exacts heavy toll of psychological morbidity on children. This happens due to loss of vital sources of social and psychological support for their well-being. Furthermore, armed conflicts and mass violence are inherently bound up with the issues of agency and resiliency but the capacity to do these in conflict terrain is heavily influenced by the age and social class of these children. Within the world of the novel, anything that has sectarian difference such as ethnic chauvinism or religious colouration could easily spark or ignite armed conflicts. The study concludes that there is a diversity of children's armed conflict experiences *vis-à-vis* their age, agency, gender, social class, ethnicity, and religion in Yakusak's *After They Left*.

Keywords: Children's experiences, armed conflict, phenomenology, psychology, and violence

Introduction

Children make up a sizable component of the armed conflict world, thereby making it largely a world of children. Sometimes, they are deliberately singled out for attack in order to spread fear, evict people from a place or terrorise a group or community. This means they are often involved in incidents of armed conflicts which are intense violent clashes, civil unrest and guerrilla warfare within the boundaries of a stable government among the countries' indigenous population. Armed conflicts are fought by nondescript non-state actors who unleash irrational violence against children. Children, as well, have been violent fanatics, major actors and perpetrators of rash and traumatic conflicts with mindless mass actions. While this research acknowledges that children are both victims and perpetrators of violent conflicts, it, however, moves beyond this binary dichotomy to explore children's diverse involvements and relationships with violent conflicts since there is a diversity of children's armed conflict experiences across age, gender, resiliency, social class, ethnicity and religion.

Armed conflicts are often fought over religion and to impose a particular agenda. E.E Sule's *Sterile Sky* buttresses this point when Omodiale notes that "We're all children of violence, at least by the religion we practice" (85). This is true because according to Baba, "most people in our country are enslaved to Islam and Christianity, two foreign religions tied together by violence" (283). These significant piercing statements are undisputable in the novel since children in armed-conflict-affected spaces such as Ukpo, Helen and Stella are murdered in a religious crisis between the Muslims and Christians. In this sense, this troubled tale of violence in childhood echoing Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's coinage (1995, p. 24) is an "epistemic violence", though made in a different context, but it applies to this discourse of violence conflict since children in armed conflict zones like Spivak's subaltern classes (the subjugated Other) are experiencing pervasive harmful conditions.

Without doubt, literary representations of children's active participation in armed crimes prevail in imaginative corpus. For example, in Richard Ali's *City of Memories*, some boys are caught and prosecuted for homicide by killing three Fulani people in retaliation against the Fulani herdsmen who have been stealing livestock, raping women and killing autochthonous people secretly within the city of Jos, Nigeria. Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani's *Beneath the Baobab Tree* through the symbolic representations of girl-child characters such as Sarah charts the literary space for female children as insurgent bombers. Hence, children may be recruited to participate as combatants or to act as terrorists. In Elnathan John's *Born on a Tuesday* for instance, when two political parties clash and struggle for power (which gives credence to the claim that the pursuit of power carries the inherent possibility for violent conflict) which leads to a rash of "small war", male children such as Dantala, Banda, Gobedanisa, among others, are hired by the Small Party to unleash terror on innocent people. To this extent, the claim that children are often involved in cruel or inhuman activities, mass atrocities and organised killings especially when the enemies or civilians were unorganised or unprepared for the attack is true.

At this juncture, it makes sense to reveal that efforts made by previous scholarship on *After They Left* have been scanty though the author is beginning to enjoy critical interrogation of her work. Stephen Ogundipe (2018, p. 136) has drawn our attention to the fact that the novel "portrays the experiences of residents of a city in Northern Nigeria at a time of violent crisis by recreating the ambience of ethno-religious trauma". Asabe Kabir Usman (2017, p. 28) exerts that the novel is about "the unfortunate ethnic crisis that has over time bedeviled northern Nigeria". This research agrees with Ogundipe and Usman's propositions because the novel is anchored on unabated ethno-religious armed conflict which is currently ravaging northern Nigeria. However, these literary critics have not considered an important aspect of this research which is children's diverse relationships with violent conflicts. For this reason, this study considers children as referents worthy of inquiry due to their capacity to affect the trajectory of traumatic conflicts in ways that are unpredictable and surprising through their diverse involvements and relationships with violent conflicts in Yakusak's *After They Left*.

Theoretical Background

Phenomenology was originally used in the 18th century to refer, literally, to the study of “phenomena”: appearances of things “which are based on the human experience and the way things are perceived and appear to the human sciences” (Mumtaz Hussain et. al, 2022, p. 130). It appears that Johann Heinrich Lambert coined the term “phenomenology”. Immanuel Kant and Johann Gottlieb Fichte both used the phrase on occasion in their publications after the coinage. By the year 1889, Franz Brentano had used the phrase to describe what he called “descriptive psychology”. From there, the German philosopher, Edmund Husserl, (now recognised as the modern founder of phenomenology) took up the term to describe the theory about the new science of consciousness. By this, Husserl set out to study human consciousness in order to characterise the concrete *Lebenswelt* (lived world), as it is experienced without reference to any prior suppositions or assumptions. By extension, phenomenological epistemology introduced itself as the science of human consciousness and its working mechanisms.

The fundamental point about Husserlian phenomenology is that it is a theory that establishes itself as a science of pure phenomena. Accordingly, Husserl posits that (1964, p. 42), “it is the peculiar character of phenomenology to analyse and conduct research into essences within the framework of a reflection that involves only pure seeing”. This proposition considers all realities as pure phenomena, in terms of how they appear in our consciousness, and this is the only source of absolute data from which we may start. This is because everything that is not “immanent” to awareness must be rigorously kept out. Terry Eagleton (1988, p. 55) makes a similar point when he admits that “to establish certainty, then, we must first of all ignore, or ‘put in brackets’, anything which is beyond our immediate experiences; we must reduce the external world to the contents of our consciousness alone” which, according to Husserl, is called “phenomenological reduction”.

Husserlian phenomenology believes it can get at reality through the recognition of essences revealed in consciousness called “intentionality” by Husserl (As will become evident, it is essential to ignore the English definitions of the word “intentionality” in order to comprehend what the phenomenologist means by it). What the phenomenological critic refers to as patterns of “intentionality” in the literary work is the author’s fundamental total experiential world and these patterns of intentionality are accessible not through biographical research, but only through internal analysis. Within the realm of phenomenological literary criticism, human consciousness forms a vast network that makes up personal experiences. Put in another way, phenomenologist considers everything as registered in our consciousness since phenomenology is the study of “phenomena” as they are in our experience. The writer of a literary work, then, becomes someone whose imagination chooses and adapts elements of his *Lebenswelt* and creates out of them a fictional construct.

By the foregoing considerations, phenomenologist acknowledges the presence of the author’s subjectivity through experiential pattern. This means that the literary work carries the distinct

imprint of the author's own consciousness within it. Given this short theoretical background, this paper is concerned with what makes up the compelling content and property of Yakusak's unique and deep structures of consciousness in *After They Left*, which is considered to be violent conflict and mass violence in relation to children.

Exploring Children's Violent Conflict Experiences in Edify Yakusak's *After They Left*

The text, *After They Left*, consists of ten chapters with footprints at the end of each chapter, meant to create traumatic mental pictures of the aftermaths of a bloody armed attack on some innocent civilians within the city of Jos. The mad attack is carried out by seven men; led by Askari. Samuel, who is Mafeng's husband, is pierced with a machete in the chest and dies afterwards. Askari further tears Mafeng's panties with the machete, stabs and rapes her. In the course of this bloody crisis, Mafeng loses her neighbour, Mama Nankwat and her parents in Anang. The nurse who attends to Mafeng in the hospital loses her father in the 1987 violent crisis as well. At the heart of the text are two dominant Berom children who are victims of grotesque armed conflict. These are Kim, who is eleven years old and her younger brother; Jugu, who is just four years old. Apart from Kim, Jugu, Philemon, Talatu, Murna and Kato, who are all victims of mass violence, boys who are killers and perpetrators of hot-headed criminal violence guided by blind instinct abound in the novel. Yakusak tackles these sordid realities which tend to be more graphic as they relate to children and mass violence.

The text brusquely begins with the atmospheric condition of Jos. Jos as one of the coldest cities in Nigeria. According to Yakusak; "the weather was cold, very cold, but then it is Jos. The icy cold, relentless wind and intrepid dust always found their way into any dwelling place around this time of the year" (1). Significantly, the city is the most prominent setting in the novel for at least one major reason. Jos is one of the main sites of ethnic resentment and religious violent conflicts in northern Nigeria which makes the setting suitable because Plateau State has been a hotbed of violence for some time due to ghastly ethno-religious armed conflicts. Ultimately, the metaphor of "active volcano" (14) as used by the narrator captured violent conflict as the prevailing catastrophe that could blow up in the city of Jos, anytime.

Armed conflict as seen in the text steep or imbue the city of Jos, Nigeria and other towns and villages around it such as Asan and Anang with great disaster and pathological fervor. This reverberates the claim that "the scourge of violent conflicts ripples through the societies like a wild fire, leaving in its tail agonies of loss of lives and destruction of property which further signifies that incidents of violence and wanton destruction of lives and property have almost become a culture" (Adeoye Akinola, 2018, pp. 113-114). Along this reasoning, violent crime engenders huge human carnage which is ubiquitous in imaginary writings on children and young people. As pointed out in the novel, after the armed attack "dead bodies lay left and right, signifying the demonic cruelty that had been unleashed under the cover of darkness" (66). In the novel, dead bodies are "buried in a land the size of a football field" (139). This also has a parallel in Dul Johnson's *Deeper into the Night* where over five hundred people are locked in a hotel and burnt alive in Jos during a violent conflict. To this extent, armed conflicts have

wrecked devastating havoc in Nigeria in terms of considerable loss of human life, human suffering and tragedy.

Children, like adults, are victims of what Alicia Decker (2010, p. 79) describes as “pornography of violence” since the bulk of their experiences are quite demoralising during armed conflicts. Implicit in this is the sense that children who constitute the youngest members of every culture experience and suffer a diverse and toxic array of the effects of armed conflict which are increasingly pervasive and protracted. In the novel, a young man during one of the armed conflicts catches up with an innocent girl and slit her throat which is quite gruesome. One also recalls that Philemon, the boy from Kaduna, witnesses the bloodletting on his family where both parents are killed and afterwards, he is separated from his siblings and never to be reunited with them. The girl from Jos, Kim, sees her mum lying on the floor unconsciously after being raped and stabbed. She sees her father; Samuel, as well, lying dead in a pool of blood after the attack. Children such as Murna and Kato are also disfigured, decapitated and mutilated in that destructive attack.

Furthermore, violent conflict exacts heavy toll of psychological morbidity on children. This happens due to loss of vital sources of social and psychological support for children’s well-being. This fits Kim and Jugu’s experiences after the violent attack on their family. The memory of the disaster is quite obscure for these children through the killing of their father, the raping of their mother and the killing of their grandparents in the village. While the killing of their father and the raping mother are going on, these children hide for six hours in a cold drum fills with water since children are also targeted by combatants and miscreants during armed crises. These children further get lost in an attempt to run away from the killers of their parents and grandparents by running into an unknown forest. They spend two days and two nights traipsing without food. When it is time for them to sleep, they sleep while sitting down in pitch darkness at the forest floor. They also come across a pack of baboons in the forest. Kim through providence escapes gang-rape from these baboons. From all indications, children, like adults, bear significant psychological burdens or trauma of armed conflicts as they become vulnerable to a myriad of risks that could deprive them of their childhood.

As the text progresses, Kim and Jugu finally find people, after spending two days and two nights in the forest. They find five hundred people in a refugee camp with about one hundred tarpaulins nailed to the ground. The Internally Displaced Persons Camp (IDP) is called *Gidan Iska*. There, in the Camp, these children meet Madam Mati, a mean character, who tactically abducts them and other vulnerable children and at the same time, denies them of humanitarian access. She receives food and supplies every Saturday but keeps everything (all the donations) for herself. In view of this, the children in the Camp hunt animals such as pigeons and eat them as food because they barely eat well. In the IDP Camp, Kim and Jugu meet Philemon who has been there for five weeks. According to Philemon, his family members were killed in Kaduna in one of the armed conflicts there. His father was a Doctor and he hopes to be like his father. But, as an orphan now, his hope is dash. Philemon’s experience at this point reiterates the ideas

that children's keen ambition and clear view of the future could be distorted completely by armed conflicts.

The novel is further teemed with children who are heartless perpetrators of armed crimes. It occurs sometimes when "children are conscripted and brainwashed to believe that they are fighting a just war and that Allah will sumptuously reward them in heaven" (Clement Olujide Ajidahun, 2018, p. 94). In other words, these children are manipulated to believe that the only way they can get to Paradise is to murder "unbelievers" since "the meaning of manipulation is controlling the action of a person or group without that person or group knowing the goals, purpose and method of that control and without them being aware that a form of control is being exercised on them at all" (Yusufu Bala Usman, 2020, p. 13). In like manner, we find version of this misleading and deceptive religionist idea and manipulation in Nurudin Farah's *Crossbones*. In this unique novel, some boys and a few girls are kidnapped by the Shabaab; a religious terrorist group, who trained them as suicide bombers. They are brainwashed to see themselves as martyrs; a religious spin that is propagated as divine truth.

In essence, children torture and kill (slaughter) innocent civilians during violent conflicts by being cruel and ruthless. This becomes obvious when Tabitha interacts with Mafeng at the psychiatric ward of the Jos University Teaching Hospital. Tabitha is a member of Zumuntan Mata within the ECWA fellowship. She is about to enter her compound while coming from the fellowship when the crisis visits her compound. According to her, "I heard them coming. I hid inside some banana trees just beside my house. They were young angry boys. I think the oldest was fifteen years old, not even as old as my youngest son. They were screaming and doing some sought of celebratory dance in front of my house... I hid deep within the long and broad leaves, but I was still looking out for my husband who I left at home. I couldn't see him. They continued to dance. I looked closely and noticed some of the boys were mixing something in a bottle. They attached a rag to the bottle and lit it" (90). These arsonists set the compound on smoldering ruin. Pathetically, Tabitha watches and hears the agonising and devastating noise of her husband, Thomas, burning together with the house. During these episodes of anguished violence and untold suffering, one of the boys amputates Tabitha's left hand after killing her husband. This, Tabitha recounts:

I turned around and behind me was a boy, a young boy, with a raised cutlass, ready to cut my neck. I raised my hand to block him and the blade cut my hand instead. I watched in horror as my flesh parted and heard the loud crack of my bone resonating throughout my entire body. I looked at my hand, in a second it had gone from straight to bended. The blood gushed out like a broken tap. I couldn't even scream. I lost consciousness immediately. And here I am (91).

The oldest among the small group of these deranged boys in the above violent spectacle and gruesome scene is age fifteen which shows that children are capable of terrible acts during armed conflicts. Since they are all boys, it shows that mass violence could generally be a male activity

tied to toxic masculinity. Their representation further signifies the disappearance of childhood because such male children are no longer trivial or just simple; they are wild, with no traces of being innocent as they are perpetrators of indescribable cruelties against unarmed civilians. For Nick Lee (2001, p. 70) they are children with “elusive childhood” or “out of place” children which present a threat to social order in general, and to the order of the developmental state in particular” because they demonstrate irrational barbarity. Also, they are children with terrible loss of childhood. They are damaged and dangerous by involving themselves in dreadful things. They lack understanding of what they are into and are made old before their time since their actions suggest that they are boys in the body of men.

Furthermore, one helpless young man also shares his tragic experiences with Mafeng. One of his ugly experiences of armed conflict could best be appreciated through the following turbulent excerpt from the text. Hear him:

I lost my parents, during the 2001 crisis. I was schooling in the West then. It wasn't like now that we have phones and information spreads like wildfire. I didn't even know anything had happened. After my final year semester break, I got back to find out my parents and all siblings missing and our house was leveled. A neighbour, Dauda, who had survived had told me my family and his, were murdered. For two weeks I was distraught. I didn't even believe they were dead. I kept thinking, they would pop out somewhere, somehow and I would have my strict disciplinarian father back ... (135).

Yet, there is no concrete single evidence to justify the entire violent crises and killings. In this sense, the rash armed conflicts in the novel are not just brutal and heinous but senseless, purposeless and devoid of conformity to any laid down conventions on the conduct of combatants. A significant fact worth noting is that, anything tinted with ethnic or religious leaning could make the violent fanatics or extremists (children inclusive) pick up arms and ignite bloody armed conflicts. This implies that in *After They Left*, there is no concrete justification for the orgy of violence in the text but everything that has sectarian difference such as ethnic chauvinism or religious colouration could easily spark and ignite violent crises in northern Nigeria. This, we discover through the vital dialogue between Mafeng and the anonymous young man while in the hospital. Hear them:

This is Nigeria, this is the North. Do wicked and unreasonable men need any concrete reason to kill innocent people? All they need is a statement that is termed ‘blasphemous’, a preposterous squabble over a farmland, a gratuitous demonstration over government policy, a pithy enforcement of one’s religious beliefs and ideologies over a non-believer, a sudden guerilla attack by herds men or act done in retaliation of any of these things. Anything can make this people attack especially if it is tinted with ethnic or religious colouration (134).

Finding reveals that young men, unlike boys, unleash terror on innocent civilians during destructive conflicts under the influence of hard drugs. In the text, the young men who carry out the perilous acts of raping Mafeng after killing her husband are under the control of hard drugs as reveals by the narrator that “the killers were propelled by absolute hatred and must have been high on drugs” (63). Also, female victims of violent conflicts, most times, are vulnerable to rape or attempted rape which is one of the worst violations of human dignity. To be sure, Askari rapes Mafeng, after killing her husband and afterwards she suffered psychological trauma and stress. This mirrors Chika Unigwe’s *On Black Sisters’ Street* where Joyce is gang-raped as a child by the janjaweed militia after her family has been massacred which shows that rape and sexual violence against female children and adults often attend every violent conflict.

In armed conflict areas, abducted girls, unlike boys, are trafficked for sexual violence and forced marriages. To this extent, Aisha Ibrahim Ningi (2020, p. 421) argues that “the girl-child in the Northeast is particularly vulnerable to exploitation, molestation, and harassment due to the phenomenon of increased insurgency and the perpetration of violent attack”. Madam Mati’s attempts to trade Kim and some girls to the Surabs for forced marriages illustrate this. However, Kim is able to brave the emotional chaos and criminal violence upon herself and her family even as a girl-child without any sign of depression or psychosis. Suffice to say that the author portrays the girl-child as being resilient despite the harmful effects of the armed conflict since she consciously acts upon and influences whatever environment or situation she finds herself in order to reunite with her family.

From the foregoing, armed conflicts and mass violence are inherently bound up with the issues of agency and resiliency. However, the capacity to do these in conflict terrains is heavily influenced by age. This is because stages of childhood shape children’s roles in relation to the conflict around them. Kim at eleven years old develops the skills of patience, care, sacrifice, responsibility and sound judgment which are not found in her younger brother, Jugu, who is just four years old. She demonstrates magical thinking, and sometimes playfulness that is commonly associate in a belittling sense with childishness, which as well constitute effective forms of agency and resistance in times of violence and oppression. Several examples from the world of the novel are instructive here. For example, while she and her brother hide in the drum away from those who come to kill their father and rape their mother, she tells his brother that they are playing “Hide and Seek” (56) so as to prevent his little brother from coming outside at that moment. Also, when she realises that Madam Mati and Danjuma are planning to sell them into sex slavery, she tactically leaves the camp with her brother without being noticed by Danjuma who spend most of his time walking around the camp. She further organises the world around her and her younger brother to minimise the risks of being exposed to trauma and sleeplessness in the forest by singing lullabies for her brother. By this, she demonstrates tactical agency in her capacity to cope with violence after being displaced from their homes and communities, until she and her brother reunite with their mother, who eventually survive the

carnage. To this extent, the claim that all children are passive in the face of conflict is not so much true.

Yakusak does not mince words in portraying that children and young people who participate in widespread bloodshed and in violent atrocities are similar to victims of other disastrous event(s). Such people die the same day they discover their families are no more. They are ready to kill and die in the process because at that point most of them have no hope, no dream, no goals and no ambition. They feel someone has to pay and be punished for their dead loved ones. These ideas push a young man in the novel to wake up with a strong tenacity to bring whoever is responsible for the killing of his parents and siblings to book. He obtains description about one of the culprits from Dauda who proves supportive because they have both lost everything they hold dear. Afterwards, he traces the culprit to his house and kills him. In another conflict, he kills more than thirty-five men so as to take vengeance. Yet, he feels empty and unfulfilled which means that there is something fundamental in human nature that responds to violent spectacles that is more than taking vengeance and we have to train ourselves to resist its dark pull.

Depending on the nature of their exposure to mass violence, children may also suffer sustained impact on their psychological and emotional development. They may have problems developing appropriate control of their feelings or experience changed perception of the world or themselves by making poor judgment about situations that involve personal safety. Talatu is a case in point here. She is incapable of identifying her deprivation and locating it within the actions and inactions of certain people such as Madam Mati. She sees Madam Mati as her major source of food and shelter and takes whatever instruction she gives out to her blindly. Unlike Kim, she thinks she has no choice or decision to make at the expense of her personal safety. At this point, it shows that Talatu's psycho-social development may have been affected by the traumatic conflict. Comparing Kim and Talatu, we notice that the social class of these children helps them to determine how they in turn perceive their personal safety in the hands of other characters. For instance, the latter is a local girl that grows up in the village with little or no education and has been blinded with hunger, pain and fear, whereas, the former grows up in cities such as Abuja and Jos with sound education from parents who are bourgeoisie. These factors may have influenced the former to be critical of her personal safety and that of her brother all through the conflict.

Human trafficking for sex slavery also appears at the front burner of the text which is an organised violence against children who are victims of armed conflict. The reader comes across this through Madam Mati at the IDP Camp in Jos. She sees herself as a business woman, capitalising on the opportunity to make money out of violent crises which is cruel and inhuman by recruiting girls for teenage prostitution. She cares less if it means that these girls such as Kim and Talatu will spend days and nights having sex for little or nothing. To be sure, Madam Mati is the chief orchestrator behind the selling of the nineteen girls from the IDP Camp into prostitution though unknown to most of these girls who are victims and other occupants of the

IDP Camp. It indicates that conflict-driven shadow economies may emerge as a result of violent conflict since armed conflict could dismantle existing state economies which are often replaced with informal economy nourished by violence.

On the whole, *After They Left* raises our hope for the victims of violent conflicts and Nigeria. The author does this through a series of symbolic events that are indicative of hope. Mafeng who is stabbed and raped survives against all odds which demonstrate that women are more resilient than men though they are more likely to develop shorter-term psychiatric disorders as well. Kim and Jugu who get lost during the armed crisis later reunite with their mother, Mafeng, after escaping death four good times. Emeka, a Good Samaritan taxi driver, helps these children to reunite with their mother in Abuja. Also, the movement of the nineteen girls from the IDP Camp by Madam Mati and her syndicates such as Danjuma from Plateau State to Damaturu with the intension of exploiting them sexually is thwarted through Osas, a committed and vigilant soldier, who discovers the white van transporting Kim and others to where they would have been sold into sex slavery.

Concluding Remarks

After They Left has adequately revealed that children and young people are frequently involved in major incidents of armed conflict. A substantial minority of them who are exposed to terror and horror could be intoxicated by mass violence and it could prove addictive for some of them. Contrary to popular depictions, children in the most repressive situations are not just passive victims only because they have the capacity to express remarkable agency and resilience in the face of violence and armed conflict. Also, as deduced from the text, anything tinted with ethnic or religious colouration could make the perpetrators of armed conflicts unleash extreme violence on innocent citizens. However, the perpetrators of the armed conflict, such as Askari and his men, and some children, who are perpetrators of terrific violent are never brought to book which could have served as a kind of deterrent to other perpetrators. Those who capitalise on the mass violence to exploit others are not arrested or punished. For instance, Danjuma escapes arrest from the soldiers who intercept him on his way to sell Kim and other female children into sex slavery. The arrest and punishment of Madam Mati, which Yakusak leaves hanging in limbo is inappropriate and questionable. In all, *After They Left* did not fail to portray that children have complex and diverse relationships with violent conflict vis-à-vis their age, agency, gender, class, ethnicity, and religion.

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