

FACULTY OF HUMAN SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

HEGEMONY AND RESISTANCE IN A MAN OF THE PEOPLE, ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH AND PURPLE
HIBISCUS: A POSTCOLONIAL STUDY

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DECLARATION

I, Sarafina Maano Frans, hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis, entitled "Hegemony and resistance in *A Man of the People*, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *Purple Hibiscus*: A postcolonial study" is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university or other higher education institution for the award of a degree.

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DEDICATION

To my son, Kleopas Kleopas, here is your inspiration.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the concepts of hegemony and resistance in three postcolonial novels, A Man of the People, Anthills of the Savannah as well as Purple Hibiscus. The study also analysed how identity is constructed in the three novels. Qualitative research was used as the approach of the study with postcolonialism as the theoretical framework. The analysis was done in light of Frantz Fanon's books, The Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin White, White Masks. The study was based on the argument that the colonial world has transformed the mind of the colonised in significant ways as the dominant groups tend to view the colonised people as being subordinate, making them subjects of their manipulation. It is this form of oppression that leads to the magnification of one culture at the expense of the other and consequently the shattering of identity. Based on the findings of the study, some major trends on hegemony were found in the three novels. The study found that there is still hegemonic rule in the postcolonial society. The following types of hegemony were found in the novels: personal hegemony, political hegemony, hegemony in education, globalisation hegemony, colonial hegemony, monetary hegemony, religious hegemony, cultural hegemony, and military hegemony. Resistance against hegemony in the three novels has been employed through educated intellectuals and using violence for freedom. The modes of resistance include the role played by the educated intellectual in resisting oppression, and the second one includes the violent ways in which the oppressed oppose their coloniser. The identity of the colonised, as portrayed in the novels, is one that is dislocated and separated from its native roots. The analysis on identity in all of the three novels reveals that the colonised society faces a crisis in identity, an alienated identity. However, the two novelists have tried to revive this deformed identity through fiction.

Key words: hegemony, resistance, identity

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The colonial regime has had severe impacts on the colonised societies of the world. Colonialism comes with extreme subjugation and exploitation of the indigenous people by non-indigenous people. According to Ocheni and Nwankwo (2012), colonialism began as a result of changes in the means of production in Europe. As Ocheni and Nwankwo further report, the colonising of Africa by European powers was necessitated by several factors including the advent of the industrial revolution which brought about a significant change in the socio-economic transformation and technology in the countries of Europe. They also opine that there was eventually a necessity for the European countries like the British to extend their practices outside the country in their pursuit of raw materials. One would say that the conversion of African countries into colonies has emerged from the white man's quest for wealth.

The hegemonic power of the coloniser has been imposed on the colonised in several ways. Mohammed (2020) asserts that hegemony comes into being as the ruling class dominates not by force or persuasion, but through a subtle and inclusive influence in terms of education, media, religion and culture. The form of power which is hegemonic in nature came with the coloniser and his imperial rule. This form of rule has had huge influence on the postcolonial society in Africa. A wide range of literary texts has tried to demonstrate the damage left upon the colonised societies by colonialism. Through literature, the witnesses of colonialism have managed to highlight the harmful nature of colonialism. Sersour (2019) supports this by arguing that the renowned authors of postcolonial studies got a special floor of enlightening their works which revealed that which the colonisers have concealed in order to distort the indigenous people's image.

Saman (2015) asserts that the focal point in postcolonial novels is that of identity in which the colonised people struggle to identify between the former indigenous heritage and history as well as the dominating culture imposed by the colonisers. The impacts of colonialism are still evident today in postcolonial society, and literature is a good platform to behold this. This is a clear indication that the mind of the colonised has not entirely been decolonised. Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie form part of the postcolonial writers who have, to a great deal, contributed to the reconstruction of the image of the indigenous people in the postcolonial society of Africa. It is, therefore against the above background that the study deemed it necessary to apply the theory of postcolonialism on the three

novels written by two African literary giants, Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie as they document the vivid issue of colonialism and its questionable nature.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The coloniser has transformed the mind of the colonised in major ways. Sersour (2019) argues that the coloniser constantly dehumanises the colonised, thereby depriving him of his identity, his culture and his language. One study (Wardani & Widyahening, 2020) highlights that issues of hybridity arise as a result of the power and hegemony of the dominant over the subordinate groups and due to the internalisation of the culture of the coloniser among the indigenous people.

The major problem is, therefore, that the dominant groups tend to view the colonised people as being subordinate, making them subjects of their manipulation. It is this form of oppression that leads to the magnification of one culture at the expense of the other and consequently the shattering of identity. The study, therefore, saw the need to point out and destroy the foundation laid by the coloniser upon the mind of the colonised as pointed out in a postcolonial society. The study had been driven by the ideas of Frantz Fanon in his two works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). The aim of this study was, therefore, to discover the ways in which the hegemonic power is imposed on the colonised and to explore how characters in the selected novels resist the hegemonic power of the coloniser in independent Nigeria. The study also sought to analyse how identity is constructed in the selected novels.

1.3 Research objectives

The main objective of this study was to investigate the concepts of hegemony and resistance in the two novels of Chinua Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *A Man of the People* as well as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*.

The specific objectives were:

- to discover the ways in which the hegemonic power is imposed on the colonised as depicted in the selected novels;
- to explore how characters in the selected novels resist the hegemonic power of the coloniser in independent Nigeria and
- to analyse how identity is constructed in the selected novels

1.4 The significance of the research

This study will help the colonised societies in rediscovering their self. The study will also benefit literary critics in their evaluation of literary texts. The study is especially important because there is little to no attempts done in reading the selected texts from the perspective of Frantz Fanon. A postcolonial reading of the selected texts that specifically incorporates the observations of postcolonial theorists like Frantz Fanon would, therefore, help add to the body of postcolonial literary readings available in literature.

1.5 The delimitation of the research

The study is limited to three novels only, and the selected novels are all Nigerian based. To some extent, this may limit the generalisability of the study's findings.

1.6 Limitations of the proposed research

The study is theoretically limited to one theory only, which is postcolonialism. Applying more than one theory to the selected novels may give an even more detailed analysis.

1.7 Definition of technical terms

Hegemony: According to Clare and Hamilton (2004), "hegemony is a form of social control where an ideology of consent secures the participation of people in their subjection to the existing power relations" (p.194).

Resistance: "Resistance undermines the hegemony and authority of colonial knowledge production by subverting the binary thought and essentialist identities produced by colonial knowledge" (Suman & Srivastav, 2014, p.115).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at providing the current scholarship on the selected novels. Specifically, the chapter will outline the views of several literary critics who have read the selected novels by Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The discussion will begin by providing the role of Achebe and Adichie in writing as articulated by literary scholars. The chapter will then move on to discuss some of the prevalent themes in the selected novels, beginning with *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) as well as *Purple Hibiscus* (2003). By prevalent themes, it is implied that the review is aimed at establishing the extent to which these novels have been analysed so far. This helped to map out the research gap and the relevance of the study.

2.2 The role of Achebe in writing

Several critics have applauded Achebe's works as a postcolonial writer. According to Assadi (2021), the novels written by Chinua Achebe are practical in nature, and they give a platform for the reader to thoroughly understand the area of postcolonialism and particularly in the section of transformation. Additionally, Assadi and Hamdi (2020) assert that Chinua Achebe's novels provide the reader with a detailed comprehension of the subject of postcolonialism and accurately in the field of dehumanisation and rehumanisation. Meanwhile, in another study (Epounda & Mokogna, 2020), it is reported that Chinua Achebe is the pioneer in African traditional literature, which is one of the distinct and varied category. Epounda and Mokogna believe that Achebe plays the role of social commentator in criticising the devaluation of the norms of the society and culture, and his former novels carry a sense of lamenting on the death of the morality and social conduct of Nigeria's society. Additional to the above, they assert that Achebe's writings condemn a fall in social and cultural norms, which marks how present Nigerian society has been defeated by its ambivalent state of poorly-absorbed western values and partially-forgotten native norms. Chinua Achebe is, therefore, viewed by Epounda and Mokogna to have achieved an honourable position among other modern writers of Nigeria due to his passion for ancestor related values.

Commenting on Achebe's fictional works, Ranjan (2020) notes that his novels narrate the African postcolonial setting while making sure that a true account of the African is given, while another study by Assadi (2020) posits that unlike other Nigerian authors, Achebe's writing is meant to reveal how

colonialism operates and the manner in which his culture has been shattered. As Assadi further purports, Achebe intended to transmit an honest image, and his objection to colonial culture taps into his intense abolishment of the westernisation of African societies in the post-independence era as clearly presented in his novels. Basically, Achebe has made a remarkable statement on the political history of Nigeria so as to develop awareness of negative social, economic and political realms while pinpointing the impacts they pose on society and demonstrating how those impacts can be addressed in everyone's benefit (Epounda & Mokogna, 2020). Moreover, applauding Achebe's art is Eli (2020) who argues that Achebe is one of the writers who focused on the abuse of power by the coloniser and the advocacy for freedom alongside the colonised.

Ranjan (2020) perceives Chinua Achebe as a well-read person among other African novel writers who questioned the perspective that Europe holds towards the African direction. Achebe being deeply rooted in his Igbo culture, Ranjan argues that through exploring the Igbo tribes which are declining as a result of the colonial impact, a true account of the African people has been provided by Achebe including their beliefs, customs and habits. Iskarna (2020), on the other hand, pictures Achebe as one of the African artists who are concerned with the fact that there will be ongoing clash of cultures since the identity of his Igbo tribe is gradually cleansed out due to the influence of Christianity. Citing Nelson (1998), Iskarna notes that this form of cultural engagement can, however, not be avoided and as a postcolonial author, Achebe is determined to create awareness about the influence of colonialism and then uses his novels to contribute to the African's self-confidence.

Osu (2020) comments on Achebe's seminal post-colonial and anti-imperial novel, *Things Fall Apart*, that African artists tried to disillusion Europe on the false impressions of Africa and the African's wrong conception towards the white man. Osu further notes that Achebe's reason for writing *Things Fall Apart* was to make Europe realise that Africa was not a place of savages despite the imperfections, and this is a cardinal form of writing meant to free people's minds as reflected in the many writings of African writers. Additionally, Karamiamidabadi and Sokhanvar (2014) remark that Chinua Achebe is one of the writers who tried to spread the notion of indigenous culture against the foreign rule and moved the focus from the outer enemy to the inner one. Through writing novels like *A Man of the People*, Karamiamidabadi and Sokhanvar believe that Achebe established sound understanding of the sad realities of postcolonial Nigerian era.

Another study that evaluates Achebe's work is that of Rituparna (2020) who notes that Chinua Achebe believes that writing in English allows him to operate in and out of the provincial dialects of Nigeria, thereby attracting a profound readership from his country and outside. Achebe is further reported by Rituparna that he invokes the undeniable bilingual issue in his country, but at the same time, he is careful to avoid the standardisation of English, claiming that it is not an official right of the third world when one speaks the standard dialect seeing that he applied Nigerian English in his books, one that is globally familiar, yet maintaining the roots of African nativity.

Despite the many assertions that Achebe is an anticolonial writer, Gilley (2016) presents a slightly different view when he argues that the Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe, was a major figure in the advancement and persistence of anticolonial ideology, but his final work made a clear argument about the advantageous legacies of colonialism, applauding the British project for shaping the state and nation building in the lower basin of Niger. Gilley further argues that Achebe's writings and remarks from 1958 up to his death in 2013 reveals that his final opinions have important paradigmatic implications for awareness pertinent in the formation of national identity and state building in present Africa. He also notes that while Achebe was a critic of the modes that the colonial regime often applied, he also supported the fact that the problem of modernity that colonialism brought to Africa was a healthy one. Additionally, as Gilley argues, while Achebe decried the fact that colonialism disempowered the societies of Africa, he also believed that power reclamation needed embracing rather than spurning which many governments carried out under colonialism in educational, administrative and social ways. Gilley, therefore, believes that many scholars have overlooked the positive elements of the colonial legacy.

As a pioneering figure in African literature, Achebe's contribution in writing is not without controversy. Several scholars including Ujem and Agbo (2019) have criticised Achebe's fiction from a feminist point of view when they argue that Achebe's language in texts like *Things Fall Apart* glorifies masculine gender while shaping the female gender as yielding to control, less intellligent, weak and irresponsible citizens of the second class. Like Ujem and Agbo, Dahunsi and Olaleye (2018) maintain that the narrative style employed in Achebe's texts often projects the male gender as visible, dominant, powerful and heroic, but it represents the female gender as faceless, submissive, powerless and of little importance. Meanwhile, Morrison (2007) notes that novels like *A Man of the People* portray a superficial treatment of the political situation, a novel that does not seem to show anything apart from its symptoms. These contentions, however, do not prove Achebe's role in literature irrelevant. Even though there have been

speculations that positioning Achebe as the inventor of African literature would mean diminishing the contributions of his predecessors, assigning this form of predecence to Achebe is a significant step to honour the importance of the moment that shaped him as an artist (Gikandi, 2019).

The role played by Achebe in writing is of an outstanding nature, and in light of the above, it could be argued that his legacy in literature still prevails. Having discussed above the role played by Achebe in writing, the next part of this chapter will look at the role of Adichie in writing.

2.3 The role of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in writing

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie was born on September 15, 1977 in Enugu, Nigeria. Adichie having read Chinua Achebe's books at 10 years of age, noticed that that people of her kind could be represented in books. As one many know from a literary perspective, she is considered as an heir to Achebe's fiction. Citing Eisenberg (2013), Akpome (2017) notes that the relationship between Achebe and Adichie is often approached around the framework of analysing African literature when it comes to resistance and commitment to sociopolitical issues. Akpome further asserts that when we think of Adichie as Achebe's literary successor, we imagine her as an artist who crafts under the inspiration of presenting a real image of Africans and the past thereof so as to resist racism. Adichie's writings, as Akpome continues to argue, often make close reference to Achebe which thus makes her seem to descend from Achebe. As one may wonder why a critic of colonialism would opt to write in the language of the coloniser, Rituparna opines that for Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, writing in English does not only widen her international audience, but also her domestic one since most of the people of her generation and those after it have lost contact with Igbo.

According to Rituparna (2020), Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie has been a successful and well-known writer as of 2003 and has pondered on crucial issues of dehuminising Igbo history as well as gendered aspects on race and class. Rituparna also notes that Adichie has been linked to Achebe regarding style and content and has admitted to have paid tribute to Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in her initial novel, *Purple Hibiscus*. In the same token, Arokiasamy and Jayanthi (2020) posit that Chimamanda Ngozi Adiche is one of the African writers who expressed their contention against colonialism for the destruction it caused to the culture and tradition of the postcolonial times. Meanwhile, Adhikary (2020) maintains that Adichie's stories account for the Nigerian females who have been under the threat of patriarchy and colonial influence, and these females in colonised countries like Nigeria do not only get victimised at home but abroad too.

Nonetheless, Ogwude (2011) applauds Adichie's fiction by noting that her descriptions are of a vivid nature with well-captured incidents. Ogwude further argues that it is not by surprise that Adichie's texts like *Half of a Yellow Sun* won high international recognition with remarkable posistive appraisals as well as reviews, and it is the winner of The Orange Broadband Prize for fiction, 2007 plus the 2009 International Nonino Prize. She emphasises that with this kind of excellence, Adichie joins prominent writers like Jorge Amado, Chinua Achebe, Sembene Ousmane, Henry Roth, Edward W. Said, Léopold Sédar Senghor and William Trevor. As seen by Ogwude, Adichie's portrayal of her society is highly visionary, and she exceeds mirroring the contemporary society of Nigeria due to the fact that while exposing the status quo, she puts emphasis on what society could become.

Another study (Owolabi & Owoeye, 2013) reports that from whatever perspective Adichie's works get analysed, the literary purpose can be said to have been achieved. Owolabi and Owoeye further posit that Adichie is regarded as a leading figure in contemporary Nigerian literature since she has proven herself as a Nigerian novel star in the 21st century. Adichie, as penned by Owolabi and Owoeye, uses research to dig up the issues that dog Nigeria's footsteps in striving to advance in the globalisation period. However, they point out some flaws of Adichie as they note that Adichie's bold treament of sex and sexuality is linked to the modern authors' exposure to the multimedia, and she is, therefore, one of the contemporary Nigerian writers of the 21st century who have been accused of portraying astonishing liberties in the period of blatant representaion of sexuality. As Owolabi and Owoeye further opine, Adichie forms part of the worst culprits who are merely responding to the generational fad that might have been influenced by the West and globalisation.

Meanwhile, Olusola and Alabi (2013) maintain that Adichie tries to reshape the African image as seen by Western media. However, they point out that by writing from the perspective of an affluent and educated Nigerian, Adichie was often criticised for shying away from the actual Africa. Nevertheless, Olusola and Alabi continue to argue, her writing reflects a voice of a staunch feminist and she uses her art as a means of working through the mysogyny she has gone through as an African woman in the global literay community. Asika et al. (2018), on the other hand, note that Adichie's literary stature is no more in doubt, labelling her as bold, fearless and with uncommon raw talent in the literary movement. Asika et al. also note that in the 21st century, the way is led by Adichie while outperforming other contemporaries of her time and lighting a path that would guide upcoming literatures that are still to advance in Africa. Asika et al. further applaud Adichie when they purport that she is that writer who took the literary world by storm taking the stage in less than eight years of her writing while gaining far

more outstanding deeds worthy of accolades, something that could not be achieved by most of her predecessors in an entire life time calling as writers.

In light of the above, it becomes evident that the literary role played by Chinua Achebe and Chimamada Ngozi Adichie cannot be underestimated. Despite the mere crticism made against the two authors, it is still worth arguing here that their role in literature is significant. Having discussed about the role played by Achebe and Adichie in writing, the next part of this section will then discuss the prevalent themes that have been identified in terms of the slected novels.

2.4 Themes in A Man of the People

There is definitely a range of scholarship on the novel, *A Man of the People*, and a number of themes have been explored by several critics on the above mentioned piece of work by Achebe. However, displaying all of those themes in this study is nearly impossible, but it is still worthwhile to discuss a number of the prevalent themes in the book as seen by the critics. Some of the themes in the novel that will be discussed here include corruption, neocolonialism, politics as well as education and power.

2.4.1 Corruption

According to Alfani (2021), the themes examined by African writers have been transforming since the production of the first novels in the colonial era, and African writers tried to depict the social aspects of their times which is why their subjects of interest differed according to their social life. Alfani further argues that corruption and division remain some of the outstanding and prevalent themes in African literary texts like *A Man of the People* which is a depiction of the political image and the effects of corruption on Nigeria's social life. Corruption in *A Man of the People*, as he argues, is assembled in the minister of culture, Nanga, who is involved in common bribery, election alteration, prostitution and so forth. He also notes that the unrest which followed the rigged elections led the army into a staged military coup to fix the country. Like Alfani, Ezeife (2010) notes that Achebe's *A Man of the People* employs slogans to attain some desired goals. Citing Faniran (2005), Ezeife notes that *A Man of the People* is seen as one of the few texts that portray the political corruption of Nigeria. The novel, as Ezeife believes, is a political one that criticises corruption and struggle in a typical African society of the 1960s, and is probably Achebe's highly classical treaties on the corruption of politics.

Post-independence Africa faces corruption as one of the major issues (Eli, 2020). The phenomenon of corruption, as Eli further notes, is clearly visible in texts like Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People*, Ngũgĩ

wa Thiong"o's *Devil on the Cross*, and Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born*. Eli further opines that corruption has been portrayed as an inevitable dilemma in *A Man of the People*, and Achebe uses intellectuals like Odili to present the issue of educated elites in the post-independence era. Eli goes on to argue that it is quite obvious that one of the most rampant and common subjects in postcolonial literature is corruption, and Achebe among others can be seen as one of the rioting novelists who picked up the initiative to reveal the realities of their societies by means of literature. A *Man of the People* is characterised by Eli as a cautiously plotted piece of narrative where Achebe gains a sense of equality in the manner he treats the issue of political corruption by eliciting the absurd nature of the behaviour of the main characters. As the plot unfolds, the conflict reveals the depth of how corrupt their country is which brings about the boldness of the ordinary people to challenge their biased and morally bankrupt leaders by means of a revolution, a political coup that will lead the army into being defeated (Azodo, 2020).

Corruption, as highlighted by the critics above seems to be the order of the day in postcolonial Africa. Several authors comment on the issue of corruption as they read A Man of the People. Ifeanyi (2020) comments that colonial rulers practiced dictatorship and when they left, the new leaders turned to corruption and embezzlement, and these selfish acts are what bring about coup d'états in Africa. A study by Eli (2020) is closely linked to the above argument when it asserts that the most dominant and omnipresent issues in the African novels especially in the post-independence era have to do with corruption. Eli further notes that many writers in Africa have looked at the subject of corruption in their works, and this notion of corruption was one of the major obstacles that Africa battled with. Therefore, as Eli opines, most of the African literary works view corruption as an inevitable difficulty in postindependent politics in Africa. However, while reading Chinua Achebe's A Man of the People, Shah (2019) comments that the novel is relevant in the current societies because all aspects discussed in the novel are found in contemporary society especially the African countries. Shah points out some of the issues found in the book, such as corruption and other similar issues like ignorance, betrayal, nepotism and hostility among to name but a few. In agreement to the above is Kareem (2017) who notes that after gaining independence, readers of A Man of the People could clearly notice corruption and power abuse in the Nigerin setting.

While evaluating postcolonial African leadership in *A Man of the People*, Macheka (2014) remarks that the country of Nigeria is presented in *A Man of the People* as an indictment on postcolonial Africa where corruption prevails, and independence has no meaning. Macheka further notes that Achebe hints on the

extent to which corruption has dominated Nigeria, and his book is a reflection of the current situation in African independent countries. As he further argues, Achebe presents a postcolonial African society where institutionalised corruption and nepotism is accepted, and the society remains silent about the hypocrisy of its leadership even though it has seen it. Similarly, an argument on corruption in the novel is made by Sanka et al. (2018) who assert that the prevalence of corruption in the society represents the abuse of power and carelessness among politicians like Nanga and his crew. Sanka et al. also argue that corruption is common in the novel because of politicians like Nanga among others, who choose to embezzle the funds of the state to the destruction of the advancement of the whole nation. Meanwhile, Ajibade and Adetomi (2015) support the above arguments when they posit that the happenings in *A Man of the People* portray a society that is uncertain about the future, a society that is ruled by corrupt leaders like Chief Nanga. They additionally note that nepotism and corruption are on the rise in the novel, a typical image of an African society. Other issues that are related to corruption, as they point out, include the misuse of public funds and self-enrichment.

2.4.2 Politics

A Man of the People (1966) is a political satire which exposes the intricacies of politics in a democratic Negerian setting, and the heart of this narrative is a depiction of a bastardised political system in a perverted socio-cultural and economic setting (Kodah, 2017). The narrative, as Kodah argues, is a sociopolitical satire whereby political and economic characters in a ficational Nigerian state are involved in corruption and derailment that presents the country's socio-political life and are destroying the country following its independence from British colonial rule. An emphasis is further made by Kodah on the dominant subject in the text when he argues that even though A Man of the People was published in 1966, it still has politics as one of its central themes which are still relevant to present day Africa's sociopolitical, economic and political context. In agreement to Koda's assertion is Macheka (2014) who argues that A Man of the People reflects the African leaders who have practised the drachonian pieces of legislation to politically deform and silence their critics, while Adetuyi and Adetomi (2015) comment on the same novel that the political decadance is what opens the door for many values that lead to the destruction of the traditional balance of the material and the spritual aspects of life. Odili's view of politics is about achieveing his personal goals, and his motivation of venturing into politics shows his oblivion to the social, political and economic issues which is worrisome to the new politicians (Manirakiza, 2021).

According to Gabriel (2020), Achebe presents postcolonial Africa via the characters. Citing Dwivedi (2008), Gabriel asserts that Achebe also portrays the appearance of the world through *A Man of the People* as a realistic novel. Gabriel further comments that the novel presents the odds of bad politics about injustice and the corruption faced by the citizens as victims as well as a desire to defeat bad practices with chief Nanga and Odili as the two antagonists in the story. Nanga and Odili, as Gabriel further argues, have different manners in their people with Nanga being a way too much proud political manipulator and biased leader who is only interested in increasing his riches and power through his posistion as Minister of Culture. Ezeife (2010), however, argues that the novel is an irritable indictment of the bourgeois in post-independence Nigeria, and the two distinct political classes are portrayed in form of characters like Chief Nanga and the intellectuals like Odili Samalu, the school teacher at Anata Grammar School who believes that the country could become a better place. Ezeife continues with his argument that Achebe's slogans in the novel are not only used for persuasion and ridiculing purposes, but also to portary a typical Nigerian socio-political context, to satirise, cajole, mock the political class as well as show how the masses get coaxed and persuaded by the politicians.

According to Obasi et al. (2021), buffoonery politics can be seen in Achebe's book, A Man of the People, as well as how this has played a role in contemporary Nigeria. Therefore, as they report, the text reflects the harsh treatment from the politicians towards the exploitation of the people's wealth and other evils. As noted by Obasi et al., the novel, A Man of the People, gives direction on the abolishment of these abnormalities by means of well-arranged collective action to end deterioration and torture. However, while reading A Man of the People, Karamiamidabadi and Sokhanvar (2014) believe that the political and social upheavals that emanate from the arrival of the whites in Africa bring some questions to the conscious mind as to whether national consciousness forged by the native intellectuals and some literati could succeed in the anticolonial era. Citing Gikandi (1991, p.31), Kareem (2017) notes, "the novel provided a new way of reorganizing African cultures, particularly in the crucial juncture of transition from colonialism to nationalism", however, as Kareem notes, in the end, the narrative does not give a promising and upright result to the people of Nigeria. The failure, as she further reports, emanates from the politicians' misuse of political power as they use it for their own benefit which then brings about the various problems in Africa and specifically in Nigeria. Therefore, she asserts that after achieving independence, the African's dream of establishing an ideal government and nation has not come to pass, and this is why Achebe's novel is seen as an effort to portray the actual leadership challenges in Nigeria.

2.4.3 Neocolonialism

According to Islam (2019), independence from the colonial forces has brought no remarkable changes to the social status of the native masses in Africa, which is why African writers like Achebe believe that the prevalent injustices in African society are resultant from the domination of the corrupt native politicians who own positions created after the withdrawal of colonial forces. It can, therefore, be argued that the contemporary injustices in postcolonial Africa have not just come after independence; these inequities represent a modification of the corrupt system that was in place during the western imperial rule.

One study (Dwivedi, 2008) reveals that *A Man of the People* reflects Achebe's hate for post-independent Nigeria as a setting where leaders who fought for independence turned into traitors upon gaining power and gave away the country in exchange for middle-class pleasure. Dwivedi also argues that *A Man of the People* is meant to delineate the conflict between morality and corruption through contrasting the main character, Odili Samalu, with his opponent, Chief Nanga. Dwivedi believes that Odili and Nanga are worlds apart with contrary ideologies when he notes:

Odili is an idealist who has experienced the pain and suffering of his fellow citizens and has observed how the entire system supports corrupt politicians and the wealthy. Despite the fact that his country is now free from colonial rule, he has witnessed the continued exploitation of the general population in a new form. The imperialists have been replaced by new rulers, and the general population has no choice but to suffer and wait for a new government. Throughout the novel, Odili condemns this state of affairs; his disillusionment comes through by means of a detached first person perspective. Nanga, the villain, acts as a foil to Odili. Nanga is a politician who is a realist with an instinctive grasp of what the electorate wants... (Dwivedi, 2008, p.9).

In light of the above quotation, it could be argued that neocolonial rule remains a concern for many writers in Africa including Achebe. The issue of neocolonialism in the novel is further explored by Kareem (2017) who asserts that the beginning of *A Man of the People* reveals how Nigerians are controlled by foreigners like white people. In support of Kareem, Macheka (2014) asserts that in *A Man of the People*, Achebe argues that the worst colonial components of the old are kept and some of the worst and new are created on top of them. The novel, as Macheka notes, strengthengthens Achebe's argument and depicts an African setting deceived by its own people, and the belief that the colonial government is accountable for the society's sufferings has, therefore, been weakened.

In another study (Islam, 2019), it is argued that *A Man of the People* is an attempt to portray a postcolonial reality of the early colonies from the native's point of view. The novel, as Islam reports, is

an image of Africa in its colonial times with slight changes in the colours and faces of the leaders of the post independent era. Islam further notes that it may not be denied that the socio-cultural misunderstandings in the novel are are linked to colonialism because the colonial experiences of servitude and suffering led to political, moral and cultural degradation in the country after independence.

2.4.4 Education and power

According to Shah (2019), the dominant status of English is evident in the novel of *A Man of the People* as we get to see that the English culture and language captured the colonised region where English gets the status of an associate language but in reality, it has defeated the indigenous language's superiority. Shah sees the spread of English as a homogenised attack from the British Empire. Chibani and Guendouzi (2020) while reading the same novel remark that the western educated people are power-greedy and the influence of their harmful cultural remains are some of the aspects in the novel that explain how things are going to be.

While reading *A Man of the People*, Neimneh and Abussamen (2017) argue that the intellectuals like Odili and Nanga who got European education may add to the corruption of the country because of divided loyalties, miseducation and lack of communication with the masses. Sanka et al. (2018), while commenting on the abuse of power by intellectuals like Nanga, note that the main message of the novel has to do with power, and when Achebe talks about issues of corruption, nepotism and greed, he is highlighting the notion of power and responsibilty. The failure to administer power in a responsible manner, as Sanka et al. note, is what brings about the societal tensions visible in the novel.

Having discussed the above, some of the prevalent themes in *A Man of the People* that have been explored by the critics so far could, therefore, be summarised here to include corruption, neocolonialism, politics as well as education and power. The next part of this discussion, however, will look at some of the themes in the novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*.

2.5 Themes in Anthills of the Savannah

This section will look at the prevalent themes in the novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*. The subtopics that will be discussed here are not the only ones that form up the current scholarship on the novel. However, due to the scope of this study, only some of the themes found by the critics will be discussed here. The

identified themes in this section include corruption, neocolonialism, politics, women empowerment and military governance .

2.5.1 Corruption

With the issue of corruption being so widespread in the African text, it is not out of place for one to agree with Ifeanyi (2020) who maintains that colonial rulers practiced dictatorship and when they left, the new leaders turned to corruption and embezzlement, and these selfish acts are what bring about coup d'états in Africa. A study by Eli (2020) is closely linked to the above argument when it asserts that the most dominant and omnipresent issues in the African novels especially in the post-independence era have to do with corruption. He further notes that many writers in Africa have looked at the subject of corruption in their works, and this notion of corruption was one of the major obstacles that Africa battled with. Therefore, as Eli opines, most of the African literary works view corruption as an inevitable difficulty in post-independent politics in Africa.

According to Assadi and Hamdi (2020), the post-independence condition of Kangan may not be termed as optimistic because of visible corrupt public officers who become tools of laughter, and corrupt policies ruined performance leading to unyielding outcomes which consequently made the country collapse. *Anthills of the Savannah* is a text about the history of Nigerian people as they demand their rights and resistance towards the unacceptable policy in their government-resultant coloniser country (Susilo, 2019). As Susilo reports, *Anthills of the Savannah* examines corruption and other aspects in postcolonial Africa. The society, as stated by Susilo's study, resists Sam's authority because of his wrong policy which is reinforced in the country. As he further reports, Sam tried to act as the coloniser who once colonised the country leaving the impact of suffering and sorrow. He further argues that there is actually nothing wrong with the country of Kangan or its air because it leads a peaceful life until Sam becomes president. Achebe, as told by Susilo, thus tries to figure out the colonial law through the character of Sam. On the basis of truth, argues Susilo, the society of Nigeria rejects its administrator to demand for authority and figure out where they have gone wrong, and in that manner, *Anthills of the Savannah* provides a true view of Africa's postcolonial challenge, characterised by frustration and disappointment.

Another study (Aning et al., 2018) reports that Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* manifests that the political mess in Kangan is attached to a male signature attached to it with corrupt politicians like Sam in ruling positions.

2.5.2 Neocolonialism

According to Kubayanda (1997), tyranny could be seen as an endemic aspect since social and literacy works from the African regions present totalising modes that point out an incomplete business of decolonisation since independence seems to be a self-serving deal between the European colonial points and the developing elites of the colonies in Africa and Latin America (cited in Epounda & Mokogna, 2020). The neo-colonial manifestation which happens in *Anthills of the Savannah* implies the subjugation of the natives by their fellow natives, the politicians and the elite (Assadi & Hamdi, 2020). The study by Assadi and Hamdi highlights that *Anthills of the Savannah* gives a narration of the problems faced by Nigeria from its transition from the colonial era until the postcolonial period whereby Nigeria became independent from Britain's rule, but it still fails to erase the abuse and exploitation with tragedy being its subjugation by its very own people. Karamiamidabadi and Sokhanvar (2014) note that the person in question, Sam, achieved power in a military coup and because he is reluctant to listen to the voice of his fellow natives and close friends, he can be pictured as an image of complete dictatorship. Further, they go on to explain the following words spoken by Sam:

Find some nice words to say to them. Tell them we are tied up at this moment with very important matters of state. You know that you like, that I'm on the telephone with the president of United States of America or the Queen of England. Peasants are impressed by that kind of thing, you know (Achebe, 1987, p.16).

In relation to the above quotation, Karamiamidabadi and Sokhanvar (2014) argue that the above lines clearly picture Sam's apathy and antipathy he holds towards his own people which brought about a huge gap between the common people and the people in governance. Therefore, they assert that for Sam, talking to the US president was more valuable than handling the problems of the people he is meant to serve. In this manner, they argue, the African land became chauvinistic. In the same vein, Susilo (2019) asserts, Sam's administration is a copy of the colonial government with the only difference being that the native leaders play the role and harvest the masses for the sake of domestication.

Another study (Ramya and Srinivasan, 2016) makes a similar assertion when it argues that we could clearly see that the practices in the novel are actually a continuation of European colonialism in an indirect manner since the colonisers are aware that they have given the colony in the hands of the intellectuals who will rule in a way that does not surpass that of the Europeans. Ramya and Srinivasan, therefore, blame intellectuals like Chris by noting that even though he does not appear to support the

western attitude of Sam, he is somehow enjoying his power in the beginning of the novel, the power given to him by his close friend, Sam, even though he will stand up against him in the end.

2.5.3 Politics

According to a study by Akpome (2017), the novel of Anthills of the Savannah portrays a number of the then sociopolitical challenges that prevailed in Nigeria during the earlier times of post-independent Nigeria. Akpome further notes that the novel reflects a novice state in the vice-like pressure of a military tyranny that took over from the former postcolonial government in Nigeria. The novel, as Akpome opines, explores the unusual habits of dictatorship, Sam, in relation to his unstable relationship with former friends. Akpome continues to note that the book does not only look at the odd relationship between Sam, Chris and Ikem, but it also examines the complicated relationship of Kangan state and the Abazon province which can be viewed as a characteristic of the conflict between the federal government of Nigeria and the former Eastern Region thereof, a conflict that led to the Biafran war. Susilo (2019), on the other hand, believes that Sam's military regime is another way of corrupt politics and the educated elite who view Sam as a revolutionary leader who is capable of removing the ongoing epidemic. Nevertheless, Chibani and Guendouzi (2020) believe that Achebe used Anthills of the Savannah to depict the political happenings in Kangan thereby reviving some cultural values and awakening people's cultural being. Chibani and Guendouzi, therefore, assert that Anthills of the Savannah marks the transitional critical era that came after independence where cultural identity is at risk. The novel represents the "political and cultural crisis that marks the transition from the colonial system to a postcolonial situation" (Gikandi, 1991, p. 18, cited in Chibani & Guendouzi, 2020).

2.5.4 Women empowerment

According to Ahumaraeze and Nwachukwu (2017), characters like Beatrice become revolutionaries using the mode of education, and as advocated by feminist movements, education is part of the main forms of women emancipation. They also argue that women have achieved success and taken part in decision making processes through education. Therefore, as they argue, Beatrice managed to achieve meaningful revolution and self-empowerment by acquiring formal education. Almwajeh(2019) also agrees that the same novel traces the growth of female characters through Beatrice.

2.5.5 Military governance

According to Gwekwerere (2020), Anthills of the Savannah tells the story of political dictatorship. In the same vein, Niemneh and Abussamen (2017) agree that the novel shapes a postcolonial Nigerian setting in the grip of militarism, and in order to fight opposition and contradicting views, the military in Nigerian politics resorts to violence and militarism to maintain its power. The military, as argued by Gwekwerere, views might as the appropriate tool for democratic aspects, and in the novel, Achebe depicts the soldiers as being worse than the civilian government, with killings taken as normal, as well as torture, intimidation, terror and violence being the order of the day.

Another study (Onwuka, 2015) reveals military governance in the novel when it states that Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah* forms part of the fast emerging fiction that deals with the military in African politics. Meanwhile, Akwanya (2019) argues that the exercise of power with no accountability is what is reflected in *Anthills of the Savannah*. Additionally, Mwinlaaru (2014) notes that Achebe uses *Anthills of the Savannah* to attack the irresponsible use of power, corruption and cynicism that came with the military era in Nigeria prior to independence. The portrayal of characters like Sam in the novel is described by Gwangbara (2010) as that of standing for military dictatorship where brutal force, hegemony and violence is used to consolidate leadership and power base.

In light of the above discussion, the prevalent themes highlighted by the critics of Achebe can be named as corruption, neocolonialism, politics, women empowerment and military governance. In the next part of this section, some of the themes in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* will be discussed.

2.6 Themes in Purple Hibiscus

In this section, a range of themes that have been identified by the critics of the above mentioned book will be provided. The novel seems to have been approached mainly from a feminist point of view. However, some of the themes are from a postcolonial point of view. This is not to claim that the themes provided below are the only available ones found by the critics. Therefore, the themes provided in this section are part of the already available ones. Some of the themes to be discussed below include politics, patriarchy, religion, neocolonialism and silence.

2.6.1 Politics

Kehinde (2008) views the novel of *Purple Hibiscus* as a politically influenced piece of writing when he asserts that even though it denotatively gives an impression of a family saga, it also carries a political tone, and it is, therefore, about the notion of tyranny and the complicit nature of the people in their state for being oppressed by people like Eugene who is an image of an African tyrant using violence to subjugate normal citizens (cited in Lawal, 2020).

2.6.2 Patriarchy

According to Abolfathi and Pushpa (2020), colonial dominance and subjugation from patriarchy are two related aspects since colonialism comes with a mission to violate and take over, while patriarchy is about the male desire that subjugates female identity. There also seems to be interelatedness between colonialism, religion and tradition as they assert that Adichie's text is a portrayal of how colonialism and patriarchy go hand in hand with Christianity, and the ordinary life of innocent women is shattered by traditional norms. While evaluating the gender vulnerabilities in Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*, Masha and Mogoboya (2021) seem to concur with Abolfathi and Pushpa when they opine that even in circumstances of work, positions of high ranks are only seen to be fit for men and not women especially in the postcolonial settings, with reference to Ifeoma's struggle for getting promoted to the position of senior lecturer.

Another argument on patriarchy in *Purple Hibiscus* is made by Adhikary (2020) who asserts that colonialism which began with the mission of conquering the world led the people of the colonised societies into severe physical and mental trauma. As Adhikary's study further reports on Adichie's novel, the female race suffers the most due to colonialism because they were already victimised in the society, and colonialism has catalysed the ongoing suppression, victimisation and dehumanisation. The current study, however, is not a feminist one in nature, but it must be noted how the impact of colonialism is manifested via women. Murundu (2017) argues that because Eugene is a deeply patriarchal man, he believes in the idea of imposing power and its absolute cost on his family, which then reduces his family members to the size of midgets. In other words, as Murundu opines, Eugene's callous nature is resultant from his fear of letting his family, particularly his children, to get involved in the physical pleasure that the priests denied him while growing up. The family of Eugene, as he argues, sometimes speaks with eyes or spirits. However, as Murundu further notes, Beatrice rarely talks and when she tries to, she does so in monosyllables. Additionally, he argues that in *Purple Hibiscus*, silence does not only serve as a

patriarchal weapon of control but also as a form of domestic servitude. *Purple Hibiscus* thus depicts the ongoing struggle of individuals who are stuck within some kind of domination that tortures them and limits their freedom, and these people, with an impassioned desire for liberation, remain subjected to violence, subjugation and discrimination, which motivate their struggle against power forces (Subba, 2014).

Adhikary (2020) assserts that Adichie's stories account of the Nigerian females who have been under the threat of patriarchy and colonial influence, and these females in colonised countries like Nigeria do not only get victimised at home but abroad too. The type of culture and traditions originally possed by these women, as Adhikary agues, are not in the coloniser's proportion.

2.6.3 Religion

According to Terngu (2020), Adichie's first novel, *Purple Hibiscus*, brings to the surface the religious fanaticism which propels parents like Eugene to deprive children of their principal human rights. She further argues that Eugene's religion is the one that motivates him to manhandle his children in the name of God, and consequently deny them love and care despite being their own father. Commenting on the notion of religion and colonialism, Terngu (2020) asserts that, "The colonizer used religion to further the process of colonization" (p. 48). In the same manner, Arokiasamy and Jayanthi (2020) strongly argue that the idea of missionaries was not just to convert the indigenous people but also to alter the culture of the natives using different tools and instruments like English language, customs and education. Terngu comments on Eugene's character that only a religiuos extremist like him who is blinded by the colonisers of his senses would claim that it is a sin to reside in one house with a grandfather who is not a believer of Christianity. She also argues that Eugene's character is by no surprise because after having been brought up as a home boy of the white man in the colonial times, the white missionaries made him to acquire the coloniser's language, religion, culture as well as education and consequently, he faces what postcolonial critics would term as alienation.

2.6.4 Neocolonialism

While tracing the sensitive nature of colonial systems, religion, patriarchy, politics and tradition in the novel of *Purple Hibiscus*, Abolfathi and Pushpa (2020) view women as an image of the subalterns. Abolfathi and Pushpa further contend that being a postcolonial novel, Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* is a critique of the colonial forces working on the subalterns to date. Meanwhile, Ternugu

(2020) remarks that from a postcolonial lens, Eugene is the coloniser's product as he absorbed the coloniser's language, religion, culture and education respectively.

2.6.5 Silence

According to Murundu (2017), silence in Purple Hibiscus is a double-edged sword that cuts from both ends. Murundu argues that Purple Hibiscus is a novel where Adichie used silence as dramatic way of power play. As Murundu further puts it, Papa Eugene is portrayed in form of a man who has only few words to say and who rarely opens his mouth unless he is commanding, reprimanding or scolding his subjects of manipulation, the members of his family. Murundu notes that the major characters, Kambili, Jaja and Beatrice, are in a sort of religious and domestic crisis from the beginning of the novel, and the regime under Eugene does not only prevent them from speaking their minds but also from their actual self. The children, Kambili and Jaja, as Murundu notes, do not only battle with making their mouths function within the dictative environment of their father's home, but also engaging and listening to the eloquent quietness of their souls. Murundu continues to note that the silence in Eugene's home is so magnified to such an extent that it could be heard and that at school, Kambili could hardly say a word as her stuggle to speak basically stops with a stutter which makes her classmates to picture her in contempt. On the other hand, Lawal (2020) opines that when Kambili, Jaja and their mother choose to be silent about their suffering at the hands of their persecutor, Papa Eugene, it is their manner of ignoring torture since this silence gives Papa an unreal sense of dominion and complete control. Lawal also notes that the initial silence towards Papa Eugene's torment grants them a chance to plan on how his family would liberate themselves from his oppression.

In light of the above, some of the prevalent themes in *Purple Hibiscus* could be named as politics, patriarchy, religion, neocolonialism and silence respectively. In the next section, the theoretical framework behind this study will be discussed as well as the role of Frantz Fanon in postcolonial literature.

2.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter was aimed at providing the current scholarship on the selected novels. Specifically, the chapter outlined views of several literary critics who have read the selected novels by Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The chapter also provided the role of Achebe and Adichie in writing as articulated by literary scholars. The chapter then discussed some of the prevalent

themes in the selected novels, beginning with A Man of the People (1966), Anthills of the Savannah (1987) as well as Purple Hibiscus (2003). The review was aimed at establishing the extent to which these novels have been analysed so far as this helped to map out the research gap and the relevance of the proposed study.

In light of the above, it could be concluded that a range of scholars has looked at the novels from different angles. There is however a degree of resemblance in most of the themes found by the critics discussed above. However, the critics of all of the three novels seem to ponder more on the issue of corruption and neocolonialism in the novels. On the contrary, none of the critics discussed above has tried to compare the three novels in light of Frantz Fanon. The huge gap in literature about the selected texts, therefore, revolves around their relation to Frantz Fanon's anticolonial views in his books, *The Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin, White Masks.* Furthermore, it appears that very little has been done to explore the issues of hegemony, resistance and identity construction in the selected novels. It is, therefore, against the above literature review that the current study is proposed with above mentioned objectives. The novels of analysis have been selected because of their relatedness in terms of content and their writers as well as their ability to answer the research questions. Therefore, it is argued in this study that despite the available body of knowledge, the study will make useful contributions to the current literature as it is a unique study of its own kind that is to be done up to date. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework of the study will be provided.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the theoretical framework behind the study. The selected theoretical

framework is that of postcolonialism. The chapter will basically outline how the theory was incorporated

in this study. Some of the anticolonial views of Frantz Fanon will also be discussed in line with his two

books, The Wretched of the Earth as well as Black Skin, White Masks.

3.2 Postcolonial theory

This study used postcolonial theory of literature as a theoretical framework while subscribing to Frantz

Fanon's anticolonial ideas in his works, The Wretched of the Earth (1963) and Black Skin, White Masks

(1986). In answering the questions raised by this study, reference was made to some of the views made

by Fanon in his above mentioned postcolonial writings so as to arrive at the sought interpretation of the

selected texts. Specifically, the views of Fanon to which this study highly subscribed include the manner

in which the colonised is seen as the "other" and, therefore, a subject of the coloniser's manipulation,

the magnification of the coloniser's culture by the colonised and the use of violence for both the

coloniser and the colonised. Fanon's anticolonial ideas may not accurately fit in the contexts and the

events of the selected texts. However, the analysis was done in terms of how relevant and applicable

Fanon's views are to the contexts of Achebe and Adichie's texts.

As one may agree, the term "postcolonialism" has been defined in different ways by different literary

critics. According to Wright (2020), postcolonial theory looks at the temporal and spatial position of

people especially the formerly colonised ones. Wright further cites Bhatia (2002) who asserts that

postcolonial pioneers like Frantz Fanon ponder on issues of resistance to colonialism and the European

empire. However, other postcolonial thinkers that are worth mentioning here include, Edward Said,

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Homi K. Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak among others. Khan et al. (2020) agree that the theory is defined by a range of writers in several ways. Citing Loomba (2002), Khan et al. opine that postcolonial theory is viewed as a manner of pulling out from colonial rule, and the term has been explained from a conceptual and chronological perspective. They view postcolonialism as a disintegration in culture, politics, economics and social reign of the coloniser. Furthermore, they cite Ashcroft, Griffith and Tiffen (2009) when they highlight that postcolonial theory looks at the impacts posed on culture and society by colonialism. The pioneers of postcolonial theory, as argued by Khan et al., chronologically take the concept, and they are of the belief that it emanates from the post-independence era. Going on with their report, Khan et al. argue that the term "postcolonialism" gained the interest of the literary critics in the 1970s and now, it has an extensive comprehension of the literary field which includes the study and exploration of European territorial conquests, certain aspects of European colonialism, imperialism, the subject formation in colonial writing and the resistance thereof in both pre and post-independence societies.

Postcolonialism deals with the problems, issues, resistance, and promises of decolonisation. It is the literature of non-western countries of the Caribbean, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, the Pacific, and Latin America. The attitude of writers may vary towards postcolonialism, but there are several common themes based on which literature may be called postcolonial literature. These themes include: feminism, imperialism, identity issues, diaspora, migration, resistance, mimicry, language issues, culture clash, and many other such issues (Khan et al., 2020, p.50).

To elucidate the above quote, Iskarna (2020) argues that the advent of postcolonial criticism allows the voice of the African's colonial experience to be heard and seriously taken into consideration. In several ways, as argued by Iskarna, this African voice slightly differs from what is articulated in the literary texts of the European poets and novelists, and for most of the Europeans, colonialism is viewed as a force of civilisation that benefits and extends to the colonised communities of Africa initially through Christianity as one of its branches. He goes on to argue that even though the Christian religion is claimed by several missionaries to have nothing related to the worldly affairs of hunger for natural resources and colonies, it turns into a significant component that helps the Europeans in conquering the colonised indigenous people of Africa. Christianity in western writings of the colonial era, as Iskarna further argues, is seen as a savior of freeing the African native from barbarism, traditional beliefs and savage ways of living hence the colonised African communities are educated and taught to live mordernised and civilised lives through Christianity. Commenting on the influence of colonialism, he notes that some African writers hold a different view towards Christianity, and the colonial experience molds the culture for most of the

African societies and at the same time affects them socially, culturally, religiously, economically and politically. As stated by Iskarna, some African artists share, to a larger extent, share their experience of colonialism through their art, while some use fiction to criticise the colonial image of the African community. Iskarna notes that these writers of Africa evaluate the colonial relationship and use one way or another to resist the colonial regime. As cited by Iskarna, Boehmer (1991) opines that they write to deconstruct the colonial myth, the power of racism, subordination, power domination. He further adds that African postcolonial writers question the salutary impacts of the empire including civilisation and conversion while perceiving these aspects to include racism, oppression, orientalism, dominion and exploitation respectively. Commenting on the role of the African postcolonial writers, Iskarna believes that they investigate the results of the clash of two cultures and when one of them uses its ideology to overpower itself and deems itself more powerful than the other. Citing Bessler (1999), he reports that the literary values and traditions of the West are to be blamed for holding repressive ethnocentrism ever since postcolonial criticism has emerged.

3.3 Frantz Fanon on decolonisation

Frantz Fanon is a prominent thinker in the area of postcolonialism (Mondal, 2014). A brief biography of Fanon is given by Mondal who notes that Fanon was born in the French Antilles in 1925, and he received his education in Martinique and France. As Mondal further reports, Fanon's experience of racism when he was being educated and working in France had deeply affected him hence his resignation from his post of Psychiatric Department's head in Blinda-Joinville Hospital. He further reports that Fanon, after resigning from his job, joined with the rebels in Algeria to fight against the French reign of the country. Mondal claims that Fanon having been influenced by the contemporary poets of his time, such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Aime` Ce`saire, went on to write diversely and passionately on the French colonial destruction caused upon countless people who suffered from this colonial domination. To add to the above, Khalfa (2020) comments that Fanon used his political texts, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1986), to essentially imagine and defend the processes of dis-alienation which included erasing the mysteries related to the notion of identity and whether this identity had been on the basis of imposition to justify oppression or was then claimed a platform and instrument for freedom.

Despite the role played by Frantz Fanon in postcolonial studies, this role is not without criticism. Chuka and Cyril (2017) state that apart from Fanon's assertion that new humanity is created by means of violent decolonisation, several experiences and analyses reveal that one cannot achieve harmony and

friendship by means of violence, but instead through a non-aggressive struggle that is aimed at securing the spirit of togetherness in the opponents via a consistent, truthful and just manner. Chuka and Cyril digress when they argue that when Fanon emphasises on violence, he risks the reduction of action to action, in other words, the arrival to a solution using the nature of the problem it seeks to resolve. Additionally, they note that quite often than not, resistance that is violent by nature is less productive and the reason for which it is applied gets defeated, and in reality, it is unreal for violence to get used for getting rid of violence when it surfaces. They, therefore, contradict Fanon's revolutionary violence when they claim that using violence in response to another violent act means adding to an already vicious ring of violence which implies that revolutionary violence remains unacceptable to nature, rendering it undesirable. It is, however, important for this study to mention that despite the criticism against Fanon, his anticolonial views still remain pertinent in the study of literature, but at the same time, it is not an intention for this study to prove Fanon's critics wrong, but to simply determine the applicability and relevance of his anticolonial views in literary criticism.

3.4 The Wretched of the Earth (1963)

In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon (1963) tells of colonies that have been divided in two sections. One section is composed of the white occidental colonists who form part of a clean part, while the other one is composed of the natives who form part of the shanty towns, a disreputable area for those with no reputation. Fanon strongly believes that the colonised natives were seen as inferior beings who could be compared to animals and all torment was directed to them. As Fanon argues, the natives were eventually forced to lead anxious and angry lives from the coloniser's point of view, the colonised would only respond to the forceful language which is why Fanon believes in gaining humanity by application of violence against the colonist. Fanon's book is mainly a reflection of the anticolonial activist and the revolutionary thinker he is. He believed in violent decolonisation to free the captive, the colonised.

Fanon (1963) is of the belief that violence perpetuated by the colonial regime and the one from the side of the colonised match each other in a unique mutual and homogenous manner. Fanon also argues that decolonisation is a radical change in society with an emphasis on putting the first last and vice versa. In a way, one would say that for Fanon, there is no other means to bring liberation apart from violence as he believes that it is necessary in defeating the oppressor for the oppressed to regain their freedom. However, Fanon believes that the oppressed shall only get liberated from captivity once they realise that

there is no difference between them and their oppressor which means there is no need for them to tremble from anything. He seems really decided in making his anticolonial arguments as he further continues to emphasise that the anger of the colonised is directed on the settlers and the Europeans.

Fanon (1963) also ponders on the issue of intellectuals that follow the footsteps of the colonisers. He argues that these intellectuals do not have the masses at their hearts, but they instead serve themselves and exploit the resources of the state instead of serving their own people; they become the oppressors of their own people. He further argues that even though the intellectual natives are in support of freedom, they still praise compromises and concessions in place of physical violence and the armed struggle. For them, as Fanon argues, the armed struggle is irrelevant. However, he still believes that there are native educated intellectuals that should take on the role of fighting the hegemony of the coloniser in order to free their own people.

Significantly, Fanon's ideas were confirmed on several occasions and in different places. In North Africa, for example, violence and armed struggle against settlers advanced the case of the oppressed. Lewis R. Gordon (1996, 297-298) thinks that the problem of decolonization is in fact a problem of mediation, which means that it is subtle to pass from a situation of colonists and colonized to a condition of absolute equivalence and equality. He states that Fanon has some effective arguments justifying a violent struggle for independence (Assadi, 2021, p.231).

While examining the psychology of colonial subjects in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, Qadir (2020) comments that colonialism is exploitative in a way that the coloniser uses its armed forces to subjugate other societies to collect resources. Many times, as Qadir notes, the relationship between the oppressors and oppressed has been maintained through the paying of tributes or taxes by the oppressed since the beginning of history. This colonial relationship, as he views it, would bring about a psychological effect and is humiliating for the societies that are exploited and restrained by other societies. He maintains that Fanon (1963) believed in violence as a reliable tool in defeating colonial torture, and he provides acceptable explanations of violence that colonialism is itself a violent act that is maintained by continual threat and that with colonialism, the black man is forced to hold second class citizenship, a deprivation of economic and educational benefits.

Reading The Wretched of the Earth, Qadir (2020) further remarks:

His books and personal history has influenced anti colonial movements across the globe. The Wretched of the Earth is a classic anti colonial text besides Edward Said's Orientalism. 'The Wretched of the Earth' is a gifted analysis of the psychology of the colonised and their path to freedom. 'The Wretched of the Earth' has had a significant

impact on various struggles and movements like civil rights, anti-colonialism, and black consciousness around the globe. Fanon analysed the psychological effects of colonialism on both the colonised and the coloniser. The native's representation by the colonisers as an animalised, non-human thing destroys the identity and very soul of the native (p. 5116).

The above quotation reveals that Frantz Fanon remains a prominent thinker in postcolonial studies. Hurt by the colonial regime, Fanon (1963) continues to lament on the damage it caused. He argues that the undeniable reality about decolonisation brings forth to us the heated bullets and knives covered in blood. Fanon also emphasises that if the last shall be the first, it may only come to fulfilment following a murderous and decisive battle between the main characters, the colonised and the coloniser. In other words, he believes that the assertion to make this turn around can only come into effect if we apply the means of turning the scale including those of violence. In condemning the binary world, Fanon argues that the zone where the natives stay is not the same as the one for the settlers because the settlers take the strongly constructed town, made of stone and steel, a brightly lit place where all trash is unseen and gets swallowed up by garbage cans. Fanon states that one may not see the settler's feet except probably in the sea, but again, you would never go close to them. He uses a metaphorical language to portray the life of the coloniser among the natives when he continues to assert that the cloniser's feet are protected by strong shoes despite the clean streets of the town they live in. He goes on to argue that the settlers reside in better places, comfort zones where they know no hunger. On the contrary, Fanon continues to argue, the place of the native is the one with ill fame and with no reputation. With the above narration, Fanon tries to express the sad reality emanating from the colonial regime even in post-colonial and post-independence societies of Africa.

According to Burawoy (2021), *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), as a theory of revolution, journied to countries for which it was never meant to go while signifying a liberation struggle for the disadvantaged wherever they are found. Burawoy, while reviewing Fanon (1963) further remarks that despite the fact that there is no evidence that Fanon knew Antonio Gramci, a great Italian Marxist, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) can be viewed as an amalgamation of Antonio Gramsci's theory of revolution. Burawoy continues to argue that if the defeat of the colonial regime had to take a violent, cathartic, and consolidating war, then only a violent reprimand against the barriers of the colonial regime defeat outer and inner oppression. The outcome here, as Burawoy reports, depended on the collection of class struggles among the colinised. With this assertion, it is undeniable that Fanon subscribed to Marxism

too. He also states that Fanon was quite sure that the working class would drop its load behind the advancing black bourgeoisie who formed the urban bloc. The lumpenproletariat, who had no land, found themseleves with no jobs or working occassionally in the informal sector, lived in dilapidated areas and formed part of an uprooted group that got bribed to support one side or the other. Burawoy, therefore, agrees with Fanon by asserting that the battle against hegemony and thus the one for the direction of the postcolony would only be successful through the political implication of the class forces with boundaries put in place by the mission of economic circumstances.

3.5 Black Skin, White Masks (1967)

As one may argue, the title of the book, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), is a metaphorical label that denotes a black soul that is living in a covering of white lifestyle. In this book, Fanon (1967) looks at the major psychological impacts of colonialism with reference to his experience as a psychoanalyst. He talks about a saddening situation whereby an individual gets an inferior image because of the colour of his skin as he reveals in the chapter of "The Fact of Blackness" where he recounts of a white boy who called him a "negro". While in France, fanon remembers how the strangers labelled his black skin with terms like "nigger". He continues to argue:

On that day, completely dislocated, unable to be abroad to the other, the white man, who unmercifully imprisoned me, I took myself far off from my own presence, far indeed, and made myself an object. What else could it be for me but an amputation, an excision, a haemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood? But I did not want this revision, this thematisation. All I wanted was to be a man among other men. I wanted to come lithe and young into a world that was ours and to help to build it together (Fanon, 1968, pp.112-113).

The above quote represents a spirit that laments on the loss of humanity. While reading Fanon (1967), Mondal (2014) explains the above narration that in this case, Fanon's identity is negatively viewed by those who own power. He further notes that Fanon is forced to view himself as a non-human subject with his own necessities and wants at the mercy of those who label him as inferior, not equal to being fully-human and positioned at the mercy of their interpretations and reflections. Mondal continues to argue that Fanon feels abused and captivated by a manner of viewing him and which deprives him of the right to shape his own identity as a subject. Mondal believes that for Fanon, identity is something that the French construct for him and while doing that, they administer a violent act that divides his actual sense of the self. The power of description, naming, as Mondal notes, may not be underestimated here since the relationship between language and power is dimensional and important.

Black Skin White Masks (1967) is a depiction of the influence of the formation for a colonised being who, in the eyes of the coloniser, is given the image of the "other". The coloniser, as argued by Fanon (1967), is viewed as a real definition of humanity, civilisation, rationality and intelligence, while the "Negro" has to remain the "other" in the eyes of the west.

In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), Fanon portrays how the French imperial powers made the colonised to view and accept themselves as inferior, and he emphasises that the colonised now try to escape this inferiority complex by embracing and admiring the white culture, the French native land. However, Fanon argues that even though the natives try to deny their inferiority complex with the white civilisation mask, they will never be accepted on equal terms by the white. He argues that among the natives, there are those who try to act like the white man including the imitation of the language of the coloniser. Fanon also continues to reveal how the white regime blocked him from all opportunities as his manner of behaviour was already determined by the white as a black man.

Mondal (2014) comments on the anticolonial writings of Fanon when he argues:

Many years before Said, Frantz Fanon had concluded his indictment of colonialism by pronouncing that it was Europe that 'is literally the creation of the Third World' in the sense that it is material wealth and labour from the colonies, 'the sweat and the dead bodies of Negroes, Arabs, Indians and the yellow races' that have fuelled the 'opulence' of Europe [1963: 76-81]. Colonialism, he contends, can produce all manner of problems—including an inferiority complex that can lead to a desire to be white, a desire to marry a white person, passivity in the face of whites, extreme self-hatred, and a host of other debilitating mental states. For Fanon, the end of colonialism meant not just political and economic change, but psychological change too. Colonialism is destroyed only once this way of thinking about identity is successfully challenged (p.2966).

Contrary to the above contribution by Mondal (2014), Smith (2019) expresses a dissatisfaction towards the anticolonial writings of postcolonial thinkers when she argues that the lack of black female thinkers in postcolonial theory is a matter of great concern. Citing Mama (2005) and Tyagi (2014), Smith argues that the lack of female voices in the theory of postcolonialism has often been problematised. He continues to note that it is the postcolonial feminist who faces double colonisation as she battles with both the oppression of colonialism as well as that of patriarchy. Smith, therefore, asserts that the work of African writers that have offered an important theory of decolonisation includes the South African writer, Bessie Head, as well as the Nigerian-British writer, Amina Mama, as they have offered an anticolonial struggle for social change in their writings.

This this section provided the theoretical framework behind the current study. The selected theoretical framework is that of postcolonialism. The section basically outlined how the theory would be incooporated in this study. Some of the anticolonial views and contributions of Frantz Fanon in postcolonial theory were also discussed above in line with his two books, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) as well as *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967).

3.6 Conclusion

In a manner of conclusion, this chapter provided the theoretical framework behind the study. The selected theoretical framework was that of postcolonialism. The chapter basically outlined how the theory was be incorporated in this study. Some of the anticolonial views and contributions of Frantz Fanon in postcolonial theory were also discussed in line with his two books, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) as well as *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967)The next chapter will form up the research methodology of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the methodology employed in the study. The research design, research approach, procedures, data analysis as well as the ethical considerations of the study will be discussed. The methodology is important because it allows the researcher to focus on a specific path as the study is carried out. With clear methodology, the researcher will be able to apply relevant techniques in the interpretation of data. The study is a literary analysis of three important novels written by Nigerian authors, Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adhichie. The three novels are *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) as well as *Purple Hibiscus* (2003). Literature research is carried out in such a way that allows for detailed interpretation of a specific literary text. The methods of research employed in this study are determined by the nature of the study and the theoretical framework, postcolonial theory of literature. The theoretical framework is crucial in shaping the research methods of the study because it offers the structure in which the researcher defines the study in terms of philosophy, epistemology and methodology (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). Therefore, the methodology employed in this study is shaped in a manner that suits research in literature.

4.2 Research design

According to Kumar (2011), "a research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems" (p.95). Kumar further notes that with a research design, one is able to decide and communicate the decisions about the specific study design proposed for use as well as how data is going to be analysed. He also points out that the functions of a research design are linked to the development of procedures and logistical positioning necessary for undertaking a study as well as the significance of quality in these procedures. This study used phenomenology as its research design, a research design that looks at shared attributes among a

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particular group. The main goal of phenomenology is to arrive at a description of the nature of a particular phenomenon (Cresswell, 2013).

To comment further on phenomenology as a research design, Gill (2020) notes that Edmund Hussler is the founder of phenomenological philosophy and his work includes descriptive phenomenological methodologies which look at the description of experiences. He further asserts that in qualitative research, phenomenology is not just a philosophical movement, but it is also a family of qualitative research methods. Citing Moran (2000), Gill states that the concept of phenomenology "refers to the study of phenomena where a phenomenon is anything that appears to someone in their conscious experience" (p.73). Specifically, this study used descriptive phenomenology. Giorgi (1985) states that in descriptive phenomenology, the researcher has to read the whole description given by the participant to develop a sense of their actual experience (cited in Gill, 2020). In this study, however, there are no participants. Therefore, the novels were considered as a portrayal of the authors' voice and point of perception.

The researcher who chooses to apply descriptive phenomenology has to read the text to point out and come up with units of meaning and then integrate and combine these units of meaning into a coherent statement of the phenomenon's structure which is equal to its essence (Giorgi, 1985, cited in Gill, 2020). The study found descriptive phenomenology necessary in this case because it enabled the researcher to devise a universal meaning of the involved experience and arrive at a more detailed understanding of the phenomena. With this kind of research design, the researcher was able to create specific themes from the content of the selected novels which were then be grouped into relevant units of meaning.

Phenomenology as a research design, however, has some shortfalls worth mentioning here. The application of phenomenology takes time and it is a painstaking process (Giorgi, 2006). Another critique about phenomenology is that it has insufficient methods for describing the linking of the self to the world where the two aspects cannot be differentiated with the impact that the world also turns out to be self (Salamon, 2018). However, it is strongly believed in this study that the design of phenomenology is still valid and had contributed to a sound analysis of the novels. Nevertheless, the study strove to use the allocated time to arrive at its objectives.

4.3 Research approach

The study employed a qualitative, desktop, research approach to analyse the three selected Nigerian novels as mentioned in the introductory section. Crossman (2020) defines qualitative research as a kind

of research wherein nonnumeric data are collected, and such data are elucidated for meaning in order to help understand social life. Meanwhile, Kumar (2011) states that qualitative research is mainly aimed at understanding, explaining, exploring, discovering and clarifying situations, "feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experiences of a group of people" (p. 103). This study applied the techniques of qualitative approach to analyse the three novels. The study, being a desktop one, had no human subjects involved as respondents. The three selected novels were analysed from a postcolonial perspective to provide descriptive data.

It is important to elaborate further on qualitative research approach. Qualitative research, according to Berg and Haward (2012), is about meanings, concepts, definitions, metaphors, images and descriptions of things (cited in Daniel, 2016). The above definition, as Daniel notes, reveals that qualitative research consists of all the necessary instruments that can evoke remembering. He continues to state that the approach of qualitative research considers human thought and behaviour within social contexts and includes a wide range of phenomena so as to understand and value them. Additionally, Rahman (2017) argues that qualitative research is not statistical, and it includes many realities. This study is a literary interpretation of three postcolonial novels. Therefore, a research approach like qualitative research will provide a platform to explore the postcolonial realities presented in the novels without any limitations. Citing Flick (2014), Rahman adds that qualitative research is concerned about the analysis of subjective meaning by gathering non-standardised data and interpreting texts and images instead of numbers and statistics. He also argues that the advantage held by qualitative approach is the holistic understanding towards human experience in certain settings. It was, therefore, relevant to incorporate this approach in this study because it allowed for a detailed interpretation of the novels which have been written by authors who expressed their views from their experience of colonialism.

Qualitative approach to research is, however, not without criticism. Cohen et. al (2011) argue that critics of qualitative research approach claim that the scientific methods and procedures of inquiry and investigation have been ignored by the constructivists. Similarly, Johnson and Christensen (2012) observe that qualitative researchers perceive the world in a dynamic and not static manner. Therefore, the above view is what leads qualitative researchers into limiting their findings to a particular group of people instead of generalising the findings (De Vaus, 2014). Despite this criticism, qualitative research approach was still found suitable in this study due to the fact that the analysis is of literary texts, and employing a qualitative mode of inquiry is what permitted a literary analysis of these texts. In other words, it enabled the study to devise a detailed analysis of the literary texts because it is an approach

that considers qualities of social life, and the three novels portray the oddments and realities in the postcolonial society.

4.4 Data analysis

The study used textual analysis to analyse the three novels. Bauber et. al (2014) note that textual analysis is aimed at explaining the life-world in which the text is wrapped, opening up the author's perspective which is delineated via their social and cultural experiences as well as drawing attention to the structural elements of daily practice and patterns of meaning. They also state that analysing a particular text implies having to create it, which is a self-reflexive task that gives readers an understanding about other's life-worlds, an exercise of phenomenology that compares different lived experiences. Textual analysis was deemed necessary in this study because the analysed data were in written form. In line with the objectives of the study and the theoretical framework, relevant data were analysed using specific themes. The researcher then created specific themes from the content of the selected novels which were grouped into relevant units of meaning. The guiding principle in the interpretation of the texts had to do with what the author is implying as well as the relevant topics expressed by the written text. The raw data from the novels were organised and interpreted from a postcolonial literary perspective and in line with the selected postcolonial thinker, Frantz Fanon, while using his two master pieces, The Wretched of the Earth (1963) and Black Skin, White Masks (1986). This is what enabled the researcher to come up with a textual description to help understand the studied phenomenon.

There are, of course, questions that pertain to the relevance of Frantz Fanon and his anticolonial views in contemporary literature. However, this study argues that Fanon's work is still relevant for application in literature today because he condemns the injustices faced in society, not only during his times, but also in the contemporary world. The fact is that the actual world we live in is the one embedded in fiction. Therefore, the application of Fanon's anticolonial views created a blueprint to point out the contemporary and social issues that prevail in the postcolonial society as presented in the three novels, *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) as well as *Purple Hibiscus* (2003). The study, therefore, sees a degree of timelessness in the works of Frantz Fanon, and the application of his views had contributed to a sound understanding of the concepts investigated among the novels, hegemony and resistance.

4.5 Procedure

The study is a desktop study. Therefore, data were collected through critical reading of the three novels, *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) and *Purple Hibiscus* (2003). The researcher highlighted the content of interest in the books in light of postcolonial theory of literature and in line with the objectives of the study. Additionally, the interpretation of the texts was done using Frantz Fanon's works, *The Wretched o the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin White Masks* (1986). In this manner, the researcher was able to determine the relevant themes to form up the analysis and come up with informed findings and conclusions.

4.6 Ethical considerations

For ethical purposes, the study adhered to all ethical considerations as per the Namibia University of Science and Technology's ethical clearance application process. The researcher completed and submitted an ethical clearance application form which was submitted in tandem with the thesis proposal. Additionally, all sources used in this study were acknowledged. The researcher also tried to be objective in analysing the books and had, by no means, distorted the content of the authors in the books.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the methodology employed by the study. In this chapter, the research design, research approach, procedure, data analysis as well as ethical considerations of the study were discussed. The next chapter of this study will be the analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the study. Specifically, the chapter will begin by providing the synopses of the three novels as well as brief biographical information of the two authors, Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The chapter will then move on to the major analysis and discussion of the three novels as per the objectives of the study. With the main objective of investigating the concepts of hegemony and resistance in *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) and *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), the specific objectives of the study were to discover the ways in which the hegemonic power is imposed on the colonised as depicted in the selected novels as well as exploring how characters in the selected novels resist the hegemonic power of the coloniser in independent Nigeria. The study also sought to analyse how identity is constructed in the selected novels. The study uses postcolonialism as its theoretical framework while subscribing to Frantz Fanon's anticolonial views expressed in his two works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin White Masks* (1967). Fanon's anticolonial views may not entirely fit in the contexts and the events of the novel, but the analysis is done in terms of how relevant and applicable his views are to the contexts of the literary texts, and most importantly, the analysis is kept in line with the theoretical framework underpinning the study which is postcolonialism.

To be specific, the analysis presents the hegemonic manifestations in all of the three novels by outlining the types of hegemony found in the texts. The discussion also presents resistance to hegemony in the

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three novels by providing an outline of the modes of resistance against hegemony employed by the characters as they strive to defeat the hegemony of those in power. As for the construction of identity, the analysis provides subthemes about how identity is shaped in a postcolonial setting as portrayed in the three novels. The discussion also highlights on how the writers try to reshape the identity of the colonised by means of literature.

5.2 About Chinua Achebe

Albert Chinualumogu Achebe was born on 16 November 1930, in eastern Nigeria. He matured in the period of hope for freedom, liberation as well as independence from the yoke of the colonial regime (Swarnalath, 2013). Some regard him as the father of African literature. His most widely read work is his first novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958). Other works following his first novel include *No Longer at Ease* (1960), *Arrow of God* (1964), *A Man of the People* (1966) and *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) among other works of art. Having grown in the era of the struggle against colonialism, Achebe's works dwell more on the postcolonial reality in Africa as well as the Igbo's culture and tradition. He received many awards and honorary doctorates, and his work remains pivotal in the study of African literature up to date. Achebe passed away in 2013.

5.3 About Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is a renowned Nigerian writer. She was born in the Enugu State of Nigeria in 1977. According to Carvalho (2020), Adichie is a daughter of a university professor, and she grew up in an academic setting. She first studied medicine, but after a year, she left for another programme of study in the United States of America. Adichie is seen as an heir of Chinua Achebe in the world of literature. Her first novel, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), won her the Commonwealth Writers Prize. Other novels by Adichie include *Half of the Yellow Sun* (2006) and *Americanah* (2013) which both won reputable awards too. Her writings are perceived to be highly feminist in nature. She is, therefore, regarded a feminist writer. Adichie has also written numerous speeches and essays, and she is known as one of the most influential writers of the 21st century.

In light of the above biographic discussion on the two African writers, there is no doubt that both Achebe and Adichie are renowned writers in African literature. Selecting their work of art will contribute to the richness of the current study since their novels used in the study document the detailed postcolonial reality that will help arrive at the objectives of the study which is also a postcolonial one.

The next part of this section forms part of the main discussion which will begin by looking at hegemony in the three selected novels.

5.4 Synopsis of A Man of the People (1966)

Originally published in 1966, *A Man of the People* is Chinua Achebe's political novel that recounts the political chaos in an unspecified African fictional country, but reading the book gives a fictional image of Nigeria. The novel is told by the main character, Odili Samalu, an educated intellectual. He is a teacher at Anata Grammar School. The beginning tells of minister Nanga's arrival at Anata Grammar School where people have long waited for his arrival. However, Odili is not excited by Naga's visit because he believes that his political ways are unethical. As the plot unfolds, we see that the novel revolves around the corrupt politicians like Nanga, a selfish man who involves in corrupt acts. Nanga, who is the minister, hides his actions that he does behind closed doors, and Odili feels that he must be dealt with. Nanga, who is pictured as womaniser, is also narrated to be in favour of working with Europeans rather than his own people. He lives in decent places of the city where he practices exploitation of the state's riches for his self-enrichment. As the narration goes on, political unrest increases, and Odili becomes a political opponent for Nanga. At the end, a political coup stages up in the country.

5.5 Synopsis of Anthills of the Savannah (1987)

Anthills of the Savannah is a book by Chinua Achebe which got published in 1987. Just like A Man of the People, the novel portrays the corrupt political setting of post-independent Nigeria. The novel is set in the fictional West-African country of Kangan. The novel revolves around the three childhood friends, Sam, Chris and Ikem. The country is ruled by a corrupt politician, Sam. With the help of his friends, Chris and Ikem, Sam got the position of president after a military coup took place about two years ago. There is political unrest portrayed through the three friends, Sam, Chris and Ikem. In the beginning, the story unfolds in form of an ongoing cabinet meeting of the government of Kangan. There is manifestation of corruption as we learn that Sam, the president, assigned high rank jobs to his two friends, Chris and Ikem with Chris being the minister of information and Ikem the editor of a National Gazette. The National Gazette is a common government newspaper, and the corrupt politicians control what gets published there. Sam is full of ego and does not care about the interest of his own people. He is a power hungry being striving for fame. As the story goes on, the president proposes to remain in the presidential position forever, which is not possible. He becomes a corrupt dictator. Ikem prefers to

criticise all these odd happenings in the government, while Chris acts as a mediator between Sam and Ikem. However, as the novels goes on, Chris and Ikem could not stand Sam's tyranny any longer. The level of chaos peaks to the highest in the country. Sadly, Ikem gets murdered, but at the same time, the angry mobs are finally seen celebrating the assassination of Sam and his regime is taken over by another revolt. Chris also dies in the process of saving Adamma.

5.6 Synopsis of *Purple Hibiscus* (2003)

Penned by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) is a story set in post-colonial Enugu state of Nigeria. The story is told by Kambili Achike, the major character. Kambili lives with her parents, Papa, Eugene Achike and Mama, Beatrice Achike as well as her brother Jaja Achike. The family of Achike faces tragedy as they battle with the strict and unbearable attitude of Papa Eugene. Papa abuses his family as he is a stern, autocratic man who is highly immersed in the Christian religion, Catholicism. He dictates what happens in the lives of both his wife and his children. Eugene pretends to be a saint to the people of his community, but his character towards his family remains unbearable as he continually maintains a rebellious environment in the house. He is also in connection with the Priest, Father Bennedict. The newspaper he runs, however, publishes and criticises some of the rampant corrupt acts of the state. In the end, we learn that the family of Eugene, fed up with his torture, takes action to get rid of him.

5.7 Hegemony in the three novels

Literature is a platform that writers use to present the prevailing realities in the society today. *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) and *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) are all postcolonial Nigerian novels. The novels clearly present the colonial impact in a fictional world that resembles postcolonial Nigeria. In terms of postcolonial theory, hegemony is a complex term that involves wideranging attributes possessed by certain individuals in the postcolonial society. Hegemony is a term derived from a Greek work "egemon" which implies a leader, often involving a military and political dominion over a state. The term hegemony is credited to Antonio Gramsci who used it to denote the political dominion of the working class in a revolutionary state. Defining the term "hegemony", Abrams and Geoffrey (2015) assert:

A social class achieves a predominant influence and power not by direct and overt means but by succeeding in making its ideology views so pervasive that the subordinate classes unwittingly participate in their own oppression (p. 208). In light of the above quotation, hegemonic power is a driving force used by those in power to maintain their positions in power. It is the politicians who often use this form of leadership to convince their subordinates to believe their propaganda in order to divert them from any thoughts of developing resistant thoughts against their leadership. Therefore, the ruled people eventually give in and act according to the regulations of those in power. In this manner, the ones in power get a chance to grow their ego and only lead in such way that they are the beneficiaries of the process.

Hegemonic rule implies that the dominant, nation, society and the elite influence their ideology on the subaltern, their inferiors, through different modes like politics, education and religion among other modes of hegemony. Fanon's work could be seen as an interface between both the concepts of violence and hegemony. For Fanon (1963) hegemony is a rather universal revolutionary technique that is not necessarily confined to capitalist settings. He observes the education system and the structure of moral reflexes that serve as the modes of establishing order. These modes as he asserts, serve to establish an environment of submission and inhibition so as to simplify the task of issuing policies. He emphasises that the modes of governance and exploitation employed in the divided colonial world are driven by soldiers and the policemen who serve as the instituted mediators between the people and the colonisers.

For, as a matter of fact, the more brutal manifestations of the presence of the occupying power may perfectly well disappear. Indeed, such a spectacular disappearance turns out to be both a saving of expense to the colonial power and a positive way of preventing its forces being spread out over a wide area. But such a disappearance will be paid for at a high price: the price of a much stricter control of the country's future destiny (Fanon, 1963, p.141).

With the above argument, it is implied that though colonialism may have ended, new forms of oppression will still surface. The high price noted above is linked to the newly found modes of governance in postcolonial society as portrayed in literary texts to reflect the actual society. The next section, therefore, looks at hegemonic manifestations in the selected novels. The analysis is, to a larger extent, done in light of Frantz Fanon's works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin White Masks* (1967). The forms of hegemony discussed below include personal hegemony, political hegemony, hegemony in education, globalisation hegemony, colonial hegemony, monetary hegemony, religious hegemony, cultural hegemony, and military hegemony. Due to the different contents of the books, it is important to mention that though the novels are all postcolonial texts, not all of the types of hegemony discussed below are

dominant in all of the novels. However, as the analysis goes on, more examples could be found, and the anticolonial views from *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skin White Masks* will be discussed in relation to the dissemination of the hegemonic ideas in the novels.

5.7.1 Personal hegemony

In *A Man of the People*, we get to see how native intellectuals like Odili stand up for the people. Odili can be viewed as a counterpart for Nanga, the representative of the coloniser. As the novel narrates further on the visit of the minister to the school of Anata, Odili is strongly against the visit, and it could be seen how he wished to reveal it to those who continued to praise the minister. Achebe (1966) uses Odili's remarks to portray this contradiction when he notes, "But the teachers in that school were all dead from the neck up" (p.7). This quotation clearly shows how those in power are able to manipulate their inferiors with their hegemonic rule. Like Fanon (1963) who argues about the native intellectuals who become the colonisers of their own people, Achebe has clearly presented this argument through fiction where hegemony is manifested as the subordinate give in and dance to the song of their oppressor as if they have signed an agreement in this regard.

Additionally, in the chapter of "On Violence", Fanon ponders on the manner in which the oppressor tends to create an atmosphere of submission and inhibition around the exploited to control them. Similarly, the novel narrates about the intellectuals like the principal of Anata Grammar School, Jonathan Nwege, who play a role in the admiration of the colonial rule. The principal is narrated to have insisted that the students mount a guard of honour starting from the main road up until the school entrance as the minister enters the school. The novel, *A Man of the People*, thus, satirically presents the reality of colonial rule that emanates from the hands of the native and how it is projected to the fellow native. Odili describes the personal hegemony that is embedded in the hearts of politicians like Chief Nanga to reveal how he applied his cunning tactics to influence the people. It is like politics was something genetic for Nanga, and he could get away with nearly whatever he says or does. The novel tells that unless people stop believing the lies, the ones of Chief Nanga's type will continue succeeding with the ongoing exploitation.

Personal hegemony is also visible in *Anthills of the Savannah*. In the novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe (1987) narrates about the event where His Excellency held a meeting, and it is told that the president hardly accepts any input from his colleagues. He barely needs any word from anybody under

his rule, and he owns all the words in the country which includes the media—the newspapers, radio and television stations as denoted in the quote below:

But whatever you do, make sure that nothing about petitions gets into the papers. I don't want to see any talk of complaints and petitions in the press. This is a goodwill visit pure and simple (Achebe, 1987, p. 21).

In light of the above remarks by His Excellency, any setting of governance where hegemony prevails implies that the ones in power convince the subordinates that their interests are the best. His Excellency controls the media and decides what should be published or broadcasted. His leadership is the one that sets societal rules and makes the masses to believe that his government is there to serve the interests of all which is the complete opposite from what the masses get from his leadership. By rejecting the petition of the people of Abazon, it is a confirmation of the boundary created by the coloniser, the government, which allows it to view the people of Abazon as the insignificant ones, the "other". This form of denial of expression is what spearheads the hegemony of the government in Kangan.

The members of cabinet fall under the oppressed group. However, the Secretary General and Professor Okong among others, react to the oppression from His Excellency in a manner that worships him. The Secretary General could be heard telling his colleagues, "He is not in a good mood today,..." (Achebe, 1987, p.13). This remark clearly indicates hegemony in governance where the oppressed embrace their oppression. Commenting on how the coloniser uses the black servants, Fanon (1986) argues that in the French colonial army, the black officers serve as interpreters, and they are used in conveying the orders of their master to their fellows, and in this manner, they feel proud and honoured. Achebe undoubtedly uses Anthills of the Savannah to confirm the above argument by Fanon when he narrates about His Excellency who gives orders to his fellow politicians like Professor Okong to go and deliver messages to the masses on his behalf. One of the remarkable events of the same nature is when the people look for His Excellency to hand in their petition, but he instead sends Professor Okong to go and lie to the people that he is busy talking to the President of the United States of America and the Queen of England and that they should consider their needs settled already. However, the masses had needs unattended to as revealed by the truck pushers of Gelele Market and the market women's organisation who could troop on to complain about their needs like the price of stock fish imported from Norway.

Personal hegemony is further demonstrated in *Anthills of the Savannah* in the episode where Chris decides to invite Ikem to his office with only one purpose—to condemn him for writing an editorial that

contradicts His Excellency. On behalf of the president, Chris tries to convince Ikem to stop writing against the government though he could not approve the mere confrontation from him. He tries to express to Ikem how His Excellency questions the Gazette and that he is tired of having to defend him always. Ikem leaves his office in disapproval and waits for what might unfold in the days to come. On the other hand, Ikem narrates that Chris has troubled himself for nothing as a week has passed by and no one from the cabinet questioned him about what he writes. The event of Ikem's confrontation from Chris done on behalf of the president is a confirmation of Fanon (1963) when he talks about the coloniser who uses the soldier and the policeman as mediators between the masses and the people while issuing orders. Moreover, it is told that when the president realises Ikem's connection to the Abazonians, he decides to suspend him. He does so from a dictatorial point of view with an order that the suspension should be done with immediate effect.

Meanwhile, in *Purple Hibiscus*, personal hegemony is reflected by characters like Eugene who turns into the coloniser of his family. He dictates what happens around them and where they go. The event where Eugene beats Kambili for taking food with her menstrual medicine before Mass is one of the personal hegemonic traits presented in the novel. Eugene also controls his family by drawing up schedules of what should be done while emphasising on what they should not do like watching television. The personal hegemony in Eugene is highly linked to that of religion. He goes on for years without talking to his sister and father because of their cultural beliefs and even bans his father from entering his house because he is into African tradition.

Personal hegemony is also visible in Father Benedict who tells the natives at church not to sing and clap so loud as if they lack sense. He even determines which songs to be sung in church. The writer uses these events to reveal how the world of the colonised is shaped by the coloniser in all spheres of life. The colonial subjugated is thus viewed as lacking orientation and needs to be guided to fit in the standards of the oppressor. What is more painful is that the colonised follow this established norms of keeping order thinking that it is the definition of humanity and how things should be done. As a result, the oppressor is converted into a colonial master who should not be questioned.

Through *A Man of the People, Anthills of the Savannah* and *Purple Hibiscus*, Achebe and Adichie continue to expose the odd part attached to colonialism. Therefore, among other hegemonic traits, personal hegemony is embedded in the colonial products who confine their fellow natives to their zones of subjugation while ensuring that they go away with power. It could then be argued that Achebe and

Adichie do not just fictionalise the postcolonial reality but also demonstrate the colonial impact in today's society. In other words, the two writers prove that literature is a reflection of society, and it is the mirror in which the most hidden and fundamental societal aspects are reflected.

5.7.2 Political hegemony

With ever-growing politics in postcolonial society, political hegemony is dominant in political novels like *A Man of the People*. In the novel, *A Man of the People*, corrupt intellectuals like Chief Nanga are worth mentioning in this context because they are the leading figure in the portrayal of hegemonic power. Nanga, among other politicians in the novel, is an image of the coloniser. Through native politicians like Nanga, Achebe clearly presents the oddments in postcolonial Africa where governments use carefully structured strategies to reinforce their ideology with their pervasive power, and this ideology in the novel appears to have been admitted among the subordinates. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1967) presents how the French imperial powers made the colonised to view and accept themselves as inferior. He also mentions of how the colonised tend to admire the oppressor and his ways of living. Like Fanon, Achebe (1966) tries to confirm Fanon's assertion as can be seen from the beginning of his novel, *A Man of the People*.

Fanon (1963) argues that in the colonial countries, the policeman and the soldier maintain contact with the native and advise him through rifles and napalm. Therefore, as he purports, the agents of the government speak the language of force, and they do not lighten the exploitation but bring violence into the home and mind of the native. It is the same when Achebe (1966) tells of the arrival of the members of the hunters at Anata Grammar School who loaded their guns to greet the minister:

Occasionally a hunter would take aim at a distant palm branch and break its mid-rib. The crowd applauded. But there were very few such shots. Most of the hunters reserved their precious powder to greet the Minister's arrival... (p3).

The above quote resembles Fanon (1963) when he argues about the oppressor's manner of instilling fear and violence in the mind of the exploited. In the novel, it is also told that the shootings from the hunters' weapons made the women to grab their children. This form of rule is another mode to maintain the hegemony of the government, and is further noted in the novel when the Minister of Finance sacked and dismissed other ministers, accusing them of being traitors and conspirators. He used the newspapers and the radio as platforms of spreading the message and gain attention from the masses. This is an indication of how those who rule from an imperial stance try by all means to eliminate their opponents who try to fight for justice.

Another example of how political hegemony is at work in *A Man of the People* has to do with the habitat of the masses and those in power. This is what Fanon (1963) argues about when he points out the difference between the zone where the native lives and that of the settler. He argues that the native and the settler live in completely different places, making emphasis that the settler lives in decent places of the town while the exploited native lives in dilapidated locations. It is the exact event narrated in *A Man of the People*, when we get to see that the politicians in power exploit the resources of the state to their benefit and live in luxury. For example, Nanga lives in a seven storey house, a mansion situated in town, while the masses suffer, and he does not care about their wellbeing as their leader. In terms of Fanon, people like Nanga are the native intellectuals, the bourgeoisie who act on behalf of the Europeans and do not serve towards the benefit of the masses. These intellectuals, as per Fanon's views, have studied politics from the foreigners, but the political parties that they form do not benefit those in the rural areas. He also believes that these elites are the only ones who have benefited from colonialism as there is a division among the privileged and the less privileged. In the novel, therefore, cultural hegemony is manifested as the masses come to believe the social and economic conditions are normal and could not be avoided without realising that they originate from the hands of those in power.

According to Fanon (1963), the colonised intellectuals may form certain political organisations with the purpose of achieving autonomy. However, these intellectuals do not serve in the benefit of the masses. These colonised elites who often live in the urban areas neglect the needs of the colonised in the rural areas where the majority of the colonised population is found. He, therefore, seems to emphasise that though the colonised are free from the direct oppression of the Westerners, they still battle against oppression from their own people. For example, in A Man of the People, we get to see how Odili continues to lament on the corrupt system of governance going on. Odili reveals that he once left the parliament depressed and aggrieved like his other fellow educated intellectuals of his country because things were not going well. The people complained about the country's lack of dynamism due to the leadership to which it was entitled. Odili also reveals that there have been whispers and scandals that happened in the high places which even involved large and unbelievable amounts of money. Like Fanon, Achebe's novel depicts the impact of colonialism. The novel, therefore, gives a vivid depiction of today's leadership in postcolonial Africa. As one may agree, the events narrated in A Man of the People are not different from what is happening in today's postcolonial settings. The novels may, of course be dating back to the past years just like Fanon's work, but the content documented in these works carries a degree of timelessness.

The novel, A Man of the People, is an attempt to show how hegemony can be established and maintained in today's politics. One mode of sustaining political hegemony in the novel is that of organising events or gatherings like parties and political meetings. We learn that the minister invites Odili to his house where he stays for a while and special dinners get held there from time to time. Jean and John also invite the Minister and Odili to an informal dinner on the Saturday Mrs. Nanga left for the village. The mode of organising events in A Man of the People is, for the most part, linked to the political parties where the members find a platform to practice corruption and exploitation of the national cake. Even Odili and Max form their political party, the Common People's Convention, CPC. Despite their attempt of creating a new party, there is still deception and bribery involved because Odili's friend, Max, receives secret money from one of the ministers to advance their newly formed party. As a result of the growing competition, the politicians try to convince the masses to believe that their party is the best of all. There is growing opposition and spying as the politicians compete against each other. When Nanga realises that Odili has become his opponent, he decides to host a meeting where he has to convince the masses to refrain from people like Odili. At the same time, Odili chooses to attend the same meeting in secret to observe what his opponent plans to do next. In this manner, the politicians try to use political parties as a mode of influencing the masses to keep them in power. One would argue that the leading people in the novel are all power-hungry beings trying to compete against one another to remain at the top. The above events are in agreement with Fanon (1963) when he argues that the intellectuals form political parties that have no visible benefit to the masses except for themselves only.

Just like in *A Man of the People*, the concept of political hegemony is not left out in *Anthills of the Savannah*. In *Anthills of the Savannah*, it is the native who plays the coloniser's role. The few politicians who possess power feel that they are superior, and they use their positions to look down on their subordinates. Similarly, Fanon (1967) talks about South Africa where there are about two million whites opposed to the thirteen million native people, and as a result of this opposition, the black man has never seen himself superior to any member of the white minority group. Therefore, Fanon argues that the feeling of inferiority of the oppressed is linked to the European's feeling of superiority Achebe (1987) talks about the Chief Secretary who always helps His Excellency to search for the things he could not see in his office. However, if His Excellency was aware of this service, he barely appreciated it and is thus further described:

He takes for granted like the attention of the invisible bell boy who shines your shoes overnight in an expensive hotel (Achebe, 1987, p.12).

The above narration indicates that the ones in power consider themselves the owners of all rights and whatever they decide is what should be followed. The president being the figure of the coloniser disregards any input from anyone under his governance except anything related to the American. Therefore, due to this arrogance, he exploits the service he gets from his subordinates. Fanon (1963) emphasises that the coloniser's constant exploitation of the native has to do with his fear of being defeated by the colonised and remain under him. It is the same picture displayed in Anthills of the Savannah where the government uses force and arrogance to maintain its power. A similar event narrated in the novel is when His Excellency chooses to retire all members of the military force to replace them with civilians. The novel also tells of secret trials and executions performed in the barracks. Additionally, the language used by the president is one that carries a sense of superiority in an unquestionable manner. To further confirm this in the novel, we see that His Excellency chooses to back off the attorney general when he tries to advise him. The attorney general is told that by coming to see the president, he was not called to give him a lecture, but to answer questions and that he may be the attorney general, but that should not make him forget that His Excellency remains the general. This form of treatment from the president reveals the selfishness of the government's leadership in postcolonial Kangan.

In the novel, Ikem narrates the painful experience of worshipping a dictator, His Excellency. Through dictatorship, the president paves a way that allows him to remain in power without opposition. He also dominates in every meeting held at the cabinet and decides which suggestions get implemented at the end of the day. The political leadership of Sam is one that leads the nation into detrimental torture. The selection used by the president is biased because he decides to appoint his longtime friends, Ikem and Chris. As the narration goes on, more opposition surfaces from his two friends though it takes a while for Chris to realise the kind of leader his friend, Sam, is. He leads in a divided manner which causes the visible division between him and some members of the cabinet like Ikem and Chris. Any member of the cabinet or any other ordinary citizen that dares to question his governance should be terminated with immediate effect. *Through Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe tries to expose the strategies used by politicians to practice political corruption in governance.

The dissemination of political hegemony is also visible, to a certain extent, in *Purple Hibiscus*. The political hegemony in the novel is, however, expressed in the most salient mode. In *Purple Hibiscus*, Adichie (2003) presents a postcolonial setting that is preceded by a political coup. The mention of a coup in the novel implies that there had been political activities that led to the political unrest in the

country, and it relates to Fanon (1963) when he asserts that revolutionary violence is applied to construct a new political community. However, the overthrow of the government does not always guarantee that those who take over will apply their politics in a just manner, hence Fanon cautions that the society should not entirely rely on the elites for liberation. Even after the coup, the writer reveals that the government still practices corruption and bribery is narrated to be the order of the day. For example, when Father Benedict tells the congregation about brother Eugene that "...he could have decided to sit home and do nothing after the coup, to make sure that the government did not threaten his businesses" (Adichie, 2003, p.6), this is an indication that despite the new government after the coup, the politicians still found the means to oppress their own people.

Apart from the corrupt politicians, there are also lawyers mentioned as part of the corrupt regime. Kambili tells of Jaja's experience in jail that he was in a better cell for a while where he could have books and mattresses because the lawyers know the appropriate authorities to bribe. The lack of justice in politics brings about the visible effects on the people like the prisoners who suffered in jail. Those who have no money remain in suffering. The politicians use their positions to benefit through bribery, which even leads the county into a diverse crisis. Politics affect the economy of the country, and it is narrated that days could go on without essential services like water, electricity and oil at the fuel stations. The involvement of several people in politics cause them more harm than good as those in higher positions of governance like the head of state try to fight and eliminate any political criticism directed against the ongoing governance. Papa, for example, is not only a Christian devout but he is also involved in politics through his newspaper, the Standard, together with its editor, Ade Coker. Due to rife political competition, Ade gets arrested in the process and eventually gets murdered through a letter bomb. Aunt Ifeoma's criticism of the ongoing politics also leads her into losing her only job as university lecturer. The fact is that, the trauma faced by the people, as presented in the novel, emanates from the rising political failure.

The postcolonial writer does not omit the subject of politics in writing. Therefore, the three novels discussed above document the notion of politics and power in a postcolonial setting. However, the above discussion reveals that political hegemony is more visible in Achebe's novels, *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah* compared to Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*. The reason could be that Achebe being an earlier writer than Adichie, he has witnessed more of the political oddments of his time unlike his literary daughter, Adichie, whose work might have been highly influenced by minimal political reality in postcolonial Nigeria. Nevertheless, all of the three novels discussed above carry, to a certain extent,

the dissemination of political hegemonic ideas that correspond with Frantz Fanon's anticolonial arguments.

5.7.3 Hegemony in education

Education may be used to reinforce hegemony in postcolonial society. The beginning of the novel, *A Man of the People*, tells us how Nanga was due to address the staff and students of Anata Grammar School. In terms of hegemonic power, Nanga's visit to the school could be viewed as a mode of reinforcing the government's ideology through education because in this manner, he is able to spread his propaganda to a wider population in a short period of time. There was also a picture painted on a wall at the school and they called it Mr. Nanga's painting. Achebe continues to emphasise that the dancing group praised the minister, Nanga, through their dance. This practice, in light of Fanon (1967), could be termed as admiration of the coloniser. It is at the same school where Nanga gets to meet Odili. In the novel, it becomes clear how politicians magnify foreign education. For intellectuals like Odili, Nanga and Chief Koko, having foreign education is a treasure. Nanga feels that Odili is too educated to remain a teacher. He promises him a scholarship and invites him at his house where he stays for a while as they prepare to go and meet Chief Koko to discuss further on the scholarship.

Another practice that signals hegemony in education is about Nanga who received an honorary doctoral degree from an American university of which he does not deserve. He tries to create links with the foreigners and use education as means to earn himself more power. He tries to act educated in the eyes of the masses and uses title like "Honorable Doctor" in order for the people to honor him even more. It appears that those in power use titles to feel superior in their political positions. Apart from Nanga, the Minister of Finance of those times is narrated as a first-rate economist who also owned a PhD in public finance. Though it is not clearly stated how some of these qualifications were obtained, it becomes worrisome in a context where corruption dominates. Even the Daily Chronicle has revealed in an editorial that the Miscreant Gang, the group of dismissed ministers, is a category of university people and highly educated professional fellows. Odili disdains the kind of education that misleads the Africans and narrates that they are proud to be Africans. Odili reveals that their true leaders are not the ones polluted with their Oxford, Cambridge or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the masses. Therefore, Odili disregards the damnable, expensive tertiary education that does nothing apart from alienating Africa from the rich and old culture.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, Education as hegemony is not directly presented but it is visible in government officials like the head of state who received British education. He is narrated that his major

flaw is that he is only concerned about what the English expect from him. This trait indicates that he has been molded in such a way that honours the British. Through the mindset developed from the kind of education he received, the society faces the impacts of his education experience.

There is another event that gives an image of how attaining titles through education leads to the subjugation of the clonised. Ikem narrates about the hospital incidence of a "wretched man lying in unspeakable agony for four days and nights in the surgical ward" (Achebe, 1987, p52). The nurses tried reaching out to Dr. Ofe who could not help but instead threatened the nurses with disciplinary action against them if they try to call him again. He instructs them to inject the patient with morphia instead. The above incident means that those with bigger titles earned through education try to use these titles to do whatever pleases them at the expense of the subjugated. In this scenario, both the nurses and the patient played the role of the clonised with the coloniser being the doctor who must have received British education. The doctor knows that he received more medical education and those who need medical attention will have to look for him. He, therefore, uses the education he has received to complicate the lives of those under him. Like Fanon (1983), Achebe compares the patient to a wretched soul that yearns for help.

The phenomenon of hegemony in education is also manifested through education systems presented in *Purple Hibiscus*. In the novel, the reader is presented to a setting characterised by missionary education through Catholicism. Papa, Eugene, himself is a product of missionary education. He received British education and due to the influence of the education he received, his world view is dominated by the norms of the British. He is amazed when villagers try to speak English because he thinks that in that manner, they signal common sense. In terms of Fanon (1967), Eugene is like the teachers in the Antilles who keep an eye on the children to ensure that they do not use Creole but French only.

The education system in which Eugene went through is what convinced him to believe that anything westernised is a symbol of humanity. Therefore, he tries to modify his accent to the British one especially when talking to the whites like Father Benedict. Moreover, we get to see that through education as a system, the Achike children, Jaja and Kambili, try by all means to sacrifice their time into studying. They have strict schedules of study drawn up by their father that should by no means be missed. Even when Jaja and Kambili go to their aunt's house for a holiday, they try and carry out the assigned duty of studying, holiday studying, where Ifeoma intervenes, but Kambili could still imagine her father questioning her for not sticking to the schedule. This corresponds to Fanon (1967) when he asserts that to decolonise the colonised mind is a difficult task as the colonised will always go back to his

oppressor. The situation faced by Kambili and Jaja reveals how the world of the subjugated is shaped in the hands of the coloniser who determiners every kind of move they are to make. Their father, Eugene, is not just pleased by any pass remark. He wants his children to take the first position; that is when he views them as educated. In this manner, Eugene tries to gain power by converting his own children into tools of education.

Adichie (2003) seems to have Fanon (1963) in mind when she gives an account of how Kambili invested her time to get to the first position in her class. Her analysis corresponds to Fanon when he argues that these systems like the education system serve as a means of creating a setting of submission for the clonised in such a way that policing is made easier. Eugene goes to the school of Kambili and asks the whereabouts of her classroom where he scolds her while making reference to the learners who take the first position asking if they have got two heads. The hegemony that comes with education is also central to the school as leaners have been made to understand that whoever takes the first position is a symbol of honour. The classmates make fun of Kambili for losing the first position to Chinwe Jideze. As a result, Chinwe disdains everyone in class because she leads the education race by taking the first position; she feels powerful over her peers. Therefore, with the presentation of the above events on education, the writer tries to reveal how education may serve as a colonial tool which further confirms Fanon (1963) when he makes reference to Professor D Westernmann, arguing that the inferiority complex of the "Negro" is mostly intensified among those who are educated the most.

In light of the above, the phenomenon of hegemony in education has been presented in all of the three novels through different characters who serve as colonial products. The education reflected in all of the novels is entirely that of the colonial era, and the consequences it poses on its products are manifest in a postcolonial setting. As a result, the postcolonial society portrayed in all of the three novels becomes Eurocentric in nature. Therefore, Achebe and Adichie have clearly depicted the colonial reality as presented by Frantz Fanon.

5.7.4 Globalisation hegemony

Globalisation hegemony relates to all those practices in politics that get influenced by the Western modes of living which come with trade, investment and even seeking Western guidance for advancing leadership. Achebe (1987) has presented hegemonic globalisation in his novel, *A Man of the People*, which presents the oddments attached to politics in a globalised setting. Politicians like Nanga and Odili have been working hand in hand with several whites like the British couple, Jean and John which reveals that there seems to be a culture of working in tandem with the white man in the leadership of those in

power. While at Nanga's house, Odili narrates that he was having a very serious talk with Jean's husband who seemed to have been part of the team of experts who advised the government on how to improve its public image in America. It seems that the native pictures America as the center of perfect leadership. John also convinces Odili to believe that America is the only powerful society in the world. The day Mrs. Nanga left to the village, Odili reveals that John had to fly to Abaka to attend an opening of a new cement factory constructed with American capital. Additionally, the fact that the government relied on foreign products is yet another indication of the dependence of the black man on the white man. All of these events relate to Fanon (1963) when he talks about the old colonial power's involvement with the national bourgeoisie, that the old colonial rule has left but the native intellectuals continue to play its usual role.

Odili Samalu is a man that easily gets stunned by anything concerning the European. While at a certain function, he notices one man with expensive robes made from an expensive looking material that caught Odili's attention, a European woolen material it was. The global hegemony aspect that is attached to this event is that Odili reveals how he was stunned by how the local people could put their resourcefulness to good use like designing clothes. This is an implication of foreign trade because though the robe was made by local tailors, the material was made in Europe. On the robe, bold letters could be read as: "100 WOOL: MADE IN ENGLAND" (Achebe, 1966, p.42), and the tailor was careful not to remove the label which one would say it was an intention to promote foreign trade. It appears that those who took over after the colonial forces could not get innovative to come up with locally made products which then validates Fanon (1963) when he argues that the national middle class which takes over after the colonial regime is underdeveloped, and has no practical economic power. He also opines that the national bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped nations is not involved in production or invention. As one may agree, this is the reality that contributes to a rise in globalisation in postcolonial Africa.

In relation to the role played by foreign companies in postcolonial Africa, Fanon (1963) argues:

From now on it will insist that all the big foreign companies should pass through its hands, whether these companies wish to keep on their connections with the country, or to open it up... The national bourgeoisie will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie's business agent, and it will play its part without any complexes in a most dignified manner (pp. 152-153).

In agreement to the above quote, the novelist in *A Man of the People* presents global hegemony through American organisations that took over Africa. While seated with the American couple, Odili talks about the white man who asks: "What do you think of Peace Corps?" (Achebe, 1966, p.34). The

man whom he asks responds that he has no problem with it as one of his daughters is part of the Peace Corps. Peace Corps is an American organisation that sends its people to different countries to join different sectors including education. Therefore, like Achebe, Fanon (1963) continues his argument that the national bourgeoisie identifies itself with the Western bourgeoisie which helps it on the way to decadence.

The rise in globalisation in Africa could be linked to the Westernisation from the superpowers of America and China. Any nation that works in conjunction with the superpowers is perceived as progressive. On the contrary, the damage cause by globalisation is often silent and invisible. Therefore, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, the novelist tries to demonstrate the damage linked to hegemonic globalisation when he argues:

No, the English have, for all practical purposes, ceased to menace the world. The real danger today is from that fat, adolescent and delinquent millionaire, America, and from all those virulent, misshapen freaks like Amin and Bokassa sired on Africa by Europe (Achebe, 1987, p.90).

With the above words, the novelist reveals how the governments in postcolonial Africa have been greatly influenced by the Westerners. As a result, the masses face the consequences and only those in power enjoy the benefits. However, this not to claim that foreign trade brings no good to postcolonial societies, but in the fictitious state of Kangan, the damage caused outweighs the benefits. With autocratic leaders like Sam, selfishness in governance is a daily practice as those in power only consider what has to do with the Western manner of living. Therefore, the argument made by Fanon (1963) is true when he opines that the national bourgeoisie organises centers of rest and relaxation to meet the desires of the Western bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, *Purple Hibiscus* is centered around a family experience and religion. However, the writer does not entirely omit the subject of globalisation as hegemony as we read about the connection of several politicians with the Europeans like the head of state who sneaked heroin to the foreigners and the natives flocking to the West to get education. The fact that aunt Ifeoma relocated to America to make a living also puts America at the center of global hegemony, but her relocation emanates from the negligence of those who ruled the Nsuka University of Nigeria where she previously worked. These events contribute to foreign dependency in Africa, and consequently, the native remains clinked to the white man to such an extent that he regards him as his source of life.

In light of the above, the three novels have given an account of how global hegemony is reinforced through the ones that hold high positions of governance. For global hegemony to spread, the western

society first ensures that it has established channels of communication with high governance offices beginning with the head of state. This is not to claim that foreign trade does not benefit the postcolonial African societies, but when the whole process includes treacherous schemes like corruption and bribery, it does more harm than good. Therefore, Achebe and Adichie demonstrate the actual impact posed on the society through global hegemony.

5.7.5 Colonial hegemony

In *A Man of the People*, The manner in which Odili describes Nanga tells the reader that the government signifies neocolonial rule. Nanga would try by all means to assassinate anyone that tries to criticise the government. Odili narrates that Nanga has been an unknown backbencher in the People's Organisation Party, P.O.P. In *A Man of the People*, however, colonial hegemony surfaces as the novel goes on. The novel is a depiction of the master's world and the manner in which he rules. Chief Nanga is further described, "Chief Nanga was a born politician; he could get away with almost anything he said or did" (Achebe, 1966, p.43). The manner of description used by Achebe reveals the cunning techniques used by those in power to manipulate the masses. Fanon (1967) comments on the inferiority complex ascribed to the colonised by the coloniser. In the novel, Achebe reveals how the native intellectuals like Chief Nanga and Chief Koko treat their fellow native men as slaves. The language used in the quotation below says it all:

The Minister sprang at him with an agility which completely belied his size and condition. 'Wait, Master,' pleaded the cook. 'Wait your head!' screamed his employer, going for him (Achebe, 1966, p.23).

A Man of the People demonstrates hegemony in a context where the oppressed embrace their state of oppression. The above narration reveals how the colonised people have accepted and normalised the hegemonic rule of the coloniser. The fact that the cook had to label Chief Koko as his master implies the impact of the white man and his imperial power on the mind of the colonised. Apart from Chief Nanga, Chief Koko is also a colonial product. He is brutal seeing that he deceived Max and killed him. He rules from a colonial perspective where he treats his subordinates as his servants and he is the master. This resembles the colonial world where slavery was the norm and masters tortured their fellow human beings in slavery. Therefore, in terms of Fanon (1963), one will agree that the native has become the oppressor of his own people.

Anthills of the Savannah (1987) is yet another political novel where the impact of colonialism can be observed. The novel documents a postcolonial African setting dominated by the principles of tyranny through the government spearheaded by His Excellency, Sam.

YOU'RE WASTING everybody's time, Mr. Commissioner for Information. I will not go to Abazon. Finish! Kabisa! Any other business? (Achebe, 1987, p.6)

The above quote is from the beginning of the novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*. The beginning of the novel gives a clear revelation of how the president, His Excellency, uses autocratic modes of leadership to reinforce hegemonic rule. The people of Kangan are presented in a context where they face unquestionable oppression from dictatorship. Mention must be made that there are clear boundaries that the novel puts in place to represent the settler, in other words the coloniser, as well as the colonised. In *Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe (1987) portrays characters like His Excellency in the form of the oppressor, the coloniser, while the subordinates like the masses, especially the people of Abazon, are treated as the "other" and are, therefore, a representation of the colonised world.

The manner in which Achebe presents the two opposing forces in *Anthills of the Savannah* is a confirmation of Fanon (1963) who argues that the colonial world can be understood as the encounter between two forces which include the settler and the native population characterised by continual violence. The setting presented in *Anthills of the Savannah*, however, is not exactly a colonial one but rather a postcolonial setting where the native oppresses the fellow native. Moreover, Fanon narrates about the inferior experience assigned to him by the white man in France; Achebe presents this form of othering through his novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*, when he tells about how the oppressor of the colonised treats his subjects. Achebe reveals that the masses in Kangan remain the "other" because the ones in power see them as not part of them, they do not need luxuries that the elites have, and "they have the animal capacity to endure the pain of, shall we say, domestication" (Achebe, 1987, p. 42). The writer emphasises that the same words used by the white man in his reign to address the entire black race are now used by the national bourgeoisie to address their fellow natives, the poor.

In *Purple Hibiscus*, colonial hegemony is imposed by the colonial products like Eugene. Eugene is a colonial product that dictates his family from a colonial perspective. He is an image of the coloniser in the lives of Kambili, Jaja and their mother, Beatrice. He becomes a dictator who rules on a family basis, he who shall not be questioned. That is why the environment in which the Achike family lives if dominated by deep silence resulting into a setting of inhibition and submission for the oppressed

Therefore, one would argue that Eugene is a representation of the empire in his family. While narrating the wicked treatment that Eugene creates for his family, Adichie (2003) notes:

Papa looked around the room quickly, as if searching for proof that something had fallen from the high ceiling, something he had never thought would fall. He picked up the missal and flung it across the room, toward Jaja. It missed Jaja completely, but it hit the glass etagere, which Mama polished often. It cracked the top shelf, swept the beige, finger-size ceramic figurines of ballet dancers in various contorted postures to the hard floor and then landed after them (p.8).

The above quote carries the tone of a violent setting, an environment of torture inflicted on the subjugated, the colonised. Eugene is portrayed as the oppressor and Jaja takes the figure of the oppressed. The physical abuse faced by Eugene's family is, therefore, a confirmation of Fanon (1963) when he argues about oppression. He notes that the intermediary does not remove the oppression or seek to conceal control but he instead acts like the upholder of peace. Yet, as he further highlights, the intermediary is the bringer of violence into the home and mind of the native. The same argument made by Fanon is what Adichie (2003) presents in *Purple Hibiscus* through those that act like they are there maintain social order, yet they turn into the oppressor of their own people. Eugene uses his Christian ideology as a mode of maintaining order in the lives of his family, yet he is the one to abuse them physically and emotionally. Therefore, *Purple Hibiscus* is an accurate definition of violence in a postcolonial setting.

In *Purple Hibiscus*, the reader is also presented with the colonial view that the congregants of the Roman Catholic Church hold towards the white priest, Father Benedict. Kambili describes how the church people still call Father Benedict as their new priest despite the fact that he has stayed there for a period of seven years. It is emphasised in the novel that had the priest not been white, they would perhaps not call him as their new priest after such many years of staying at the parish. This is the same priest that also dictated the movement of the people at St. Agnes. He would question their reason for missing even two church services in a row. Therefore, he serves as a colonial master based at the church premises that he turns into the headquarters of colonial hegemony. It would seem that the writer has subscribed to Fanon (1967) who talks about the universally known experience that the rare Negro living in France went through. Fanon recounts of a priest making fun of the black face among the whites on a pilgrimage. He then argues that the white man addresses the black man like an elder with a kid and begins "smirking, whispering, patronizing, cozening" (Fanon, 1967, p. 31).

The inferiority complex that Fanon (1967) purports surfaces in *Purple Hibiscus* when Kambili narrates about the racist treatment that Father Amadi gets from an old German lady who refuses to shake his hand. The German lady does so because she believes that a black man should be a priest. This treatment based on colour is what Fanon laments on when he argues about the coloniser and racism directed towards the black people in France. The event of the segregation from the German lady reveals that there is still colonial issues in postcolonial Africa. Racism is still reinforced in postcolonial settings of Africa even though the brutal nature of colonialism has ended. Therefore, when Fanon tells his experience with the white boy who called him a "Negro", it is to indicate that the white man holds this racist view towards the black man in all contexts. He then continues to argue about the white man's belief towards God:

Indeed no, the good and merciful God cannot be black: He is a white man with bright pink cheeks. From black to white is course of mutation. One is white as one is rich, as one is beautiful, as one is intelligent (Fanon, 1967, pp.51-52).

The above racist words are an indication that racism has not just started in postcolonial setting but it came with colonialism too. When Adichie (2003) includes the racist German lady, she intends to demonstrate the kind of experience the black man goes through as long as he is among the whites. The black man is viewed as contradiction to humanity while the white man views himself as a symbol of humanity, beauty and intelligence. *Purple Hibiscus* demonstrates colonial hegemony in subtle ways and one would argue that it is because of the century in which it was written. However, the writer still maintains the colonial impact that is reflected in the various characters that make up the book. Therefore, one would still argue that Adichie was still conscious about Frantz Fanon when she crafted her novel, Purple Hibiscus, where colonial hegemony is presented to include dehumanisation, torture and deprivation of human rights in a postcolonial fictional setting.

In light of the above, Achebe and Adichie's novels do not disregard the phenomenon of colonial hegemony. As discussed above, the two authors have exposed the hardly unspoken reality of colonialism in postcolonial societies. They demonstrate that though the old colonial regime has left, its mantel is still being reinforced by the few individuals, the national bourgeoisie that got the privilege of power. Sadly, this power is often misused to an extent that exploits the masses. Achebe and Adichie have used literature as a platform of enlightening the masses.

5.7.6 Monetary hegemony

The events that include money laundering, self-enrichment and exploitation of the masses' income could be linked to monetary hegemony. The hegemonic manifestations in *A Man of the People* include economic exploitation and money laundering practices. At the beginning of the novel, it is revealed how politicians like the Prime Minister have full control over the national cake including the money owned by banks. The Prime Minister is said to have ordered the National Bank to print fifteen million pounds as the government faces a dire financial crisis. The mention of politicians giving instructions to the bank to print money marks the beginning of all events related to money laundering and the exploitation of the national cake in the novel. It is narrated that the Daily Matchet published a story about Chief Nanga who once held the portfolio of Foreign Trade for over two years had been implicated in money laundering and had constructed three blocks of luxury flats with ill-gotten money worth hundred thousand pounds. These flats, as Achebe (1966) narrates, where each registered in the name of his wife and were each leased by British Amalgamated at fourteen hundred per month. This conforms to Fanon (1963) who argues that the native intellectual's aim is about self-enrichment and not to serve in the benefit of the masses.

The money laundering events narrated in the book denote the everyday monetary hegemony as well as the material aspect attached to hegemonic rule. The novel also tells another monetary aspect of hegemony when we read about corrupt individuals who held high positions. For example, Odili tells about his Irish lecturer who has been misusing money as a president of the Students' Union. The same lecturer was also a Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and Production. This Irish man had not only become one of the wealthiest and most corrupt landlords in Bori, but was also reported in the Press as part of the trade-union leaders to be put in detention. However, Odili is not without his flaws just like other politicians. After the formation of the CPC, the audience is told that Odili uses the party's money to pay for Edna's dowry. In this manner, Achebe (1987) gives a revelation that at the end of the day, politics is all about self-enrichment which comes at the expense of the masses.

In Anthills of the Savannah, Ikem talks about how the masses get exploited by the corrupt government. He makes reference to the fat civil servants and the urban employees who benefit from the oppressor to a certain extent. These civil servants and the urban employees are portrayed as being part of the oppressor since in the actual context of present day Africa, they do not realise that they are not a body of the subjugated but of the coloniser instead. Ikem reveals that these civil servants and the urban employees are responsible for the sabotage of the masses through their unproductivity and corruption

as a way of keeping the benefits of modern life outside the zone of the subjugated in rural areas. The example that Ikem provides as a mode of exploitation used by the civil servants and the urban workers is the Electricity Corporation of Kangan among others. The corporation comes up with chaotic billing techniques purposely made to cover their huge corruption, and the staff approves illegal connections as well as the practice of forging electricity readings. In relation to the above exploitation Achebe (1987) argues:

To blame all these things on imperialism and international capitalism as our modish radicals want us to do is, in my view, sheer cant and humbug... It is like going out to arrest the village blacksmith every time a man hacks his fellow to death... No! I will say simply that these people are not workers by any stretch of the imagination. They are parasites, I tell you. And I will not agree to hand over my affairs to a democratic dictatorship of parasites (p.157).

In the above quote, Achebe (1987) tries to demonstrate that the exploitation of the masses could not entirely be viewed as a result of imperialism and capitalism which came with the colonial regime. It is the native who carries out the same exploitation the colonists once did. He compares the workers who exploit the money of the masses through electrical bills to the parasites. Therefore, he agrees with Fanon (1963) who sees the hegemony inflicted on the colonised as a universal technique rather than being a practice of the capitalist nations only. One may, however, agree that the manner in which Achebe presents the monetary hegemony is an accuracy of what is happening in postcolonial society today where prices of essentials like oil, water and electricity are on the rise every single year.

Monetary hegemony is also presented in *Purple Hibiscus*. The novel portrays Eugene as wealthy man who had factories and a newspaper company, the Standard. The people bought their children chocolate wafer and banana wafer from his factories. Eugene's financial status, as one may agree, is probably what motivates him to control his inferiors like his family. He acts as a humanitarian through making huge donations to Peter's pence and St. Vincent de Paul as well as paying for the cartons of communion wine and the ovens at church used for baking by the Reverend Sisters. He also spends money on the villagers to attract their attention, for them to honour him more. On the contrary, he acts as a tyrant at home. He would abuse his children and tell them that he did not take them to expensive schools just to fail. In the house, he controls every movement made because he knows that he is the sole financial provider of the family.

Another monetary hegemonic practice in the novel is denoted by the mention of ministers of the cabinet who practice money laundering. It is told that the Standard has numerous stories about the politicians who stashed money in foreign banks, the money that was intended for teachers' salaries and

upgrading roads. It is also told that the roads were not safe because people in Abuja stole the money that should have been used to work on some of the drive ways like the expressways dual-carriage. Through these events, the novelist seems to agree with Fanon (1963) when he talks about the national bourgeoisie who exploit the resources of the state in their benefit only. He then argues about the spoilt children of the former colonial regime and the ones of the current national governments who arrange the loot of any natural resources in existence. As he further notes, they mercilessly use today's national crisis as method of succeeding through scheming and legal theft through import-export companies and gambling on the exchange of stock. Therefore, like Fanon, *Purple Hibiscus* tries to demonstrate that exploitation of state resources has not ended with the old colonial regime.

The above discussion which presents monetary hegemony in the three novels is a confirmation of how money laundering takes place in the hands of the ruling class. It is this negligence towards the resources of the state which leads the masses of the people into the yoke of poverty while the top class remains in its comfort zone. With these events narrated in the novels, Achebe and Adichie have portrayed the real economic situation in postcolonial Nigeria, but at the same time, the economic situation presented in the novels may apply to other African postcolonial settings.

5.7.7 Religious hegemony

Biographically, Achebe has been influenced by Christianity. This is why his novels are presented in such a way that the residues of religion become visible. Literature does not present meaning directly, but it uses different incidences that indirectly signal what happens in the actual society. In *A Man of the People*, the audience is presented a postcolonial setting that once got dominated by the missionaries and the Christian religion. The features of religious hegemony are quite salient in the novel. The religious influence left on the native by the white missionaries is portrayed trough the manner in which the novelists characterises the events in the novel. When Nanga responds to his companions, Odili and the journalist,: "Everybody here sabi say me na good Christian? No be so James?" (Achebe, 1966, p.14), it reveals how he has absorbed the Christian religion brought by the missionaries. He then uses the religion of Christianity to attract the attention and approval of those he rules, calling himself a good Christian of which everybody must believe. There is not much mentioned about the practice of religion in the novel, but the mention of movements like the Students' Christian Movement at the university indicates that the residues of Christianity are in the novel. The missionaries brought Christian education and to maintain it in a postcolonial society, it is practiced in schools. With the above events, Achebe writes from the perspective of Fanon (1963) who argues that the structures of moral reflexes including

religion and education serve as the modes of creating a restricted environment that allows for easy implementation of colonial policies.

When Fanon (1963) condemns the colonial rule, he goes on to argue that the colonies are characterised by naked exploitation driven by violent means of oppression. He also notes that the economic exploitation of the masses is hidden in the superstructure based on institutions such as the organised religion as well as the education system. Like Fanon, Achebe (1987) uses fiction to present how colonialism uses religion as a tool of reinforcing hegemony in postcolonial Nigeria. It is in the same novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*, where we read about how the oppressed embrace their torture and worship the coloniser on the basis of religion. The attorney general is narrated in the novel that while speaking to the president, he tells him that as for those like him, the poor dullards who attended bush grammar schools, know their position and could identify those who are better than them when they set their eyes on them. The attorney general tells His Excellency that they have no problem worshiping men like him because he went to Lord Guard College where he was taught by the Englishmen. The college mentioned here was run by the missionaries that disseminated their ideology of Christianity during the colonial regime. The mention of Lord Guard College is an indication that the president himself is a colonial product performing the old that has left, the national bourgeoisie who play the role of the old colonial rule in Fanon's terms.

Mad Medico, a white medical doctor whom they address as MM, disdains the native people in Kangan. He has some Christian writings written on his medical room's wall. "Blessed are the poor in heart for they shall see God... To the twin cities of Sodom and Gonorrhea" (Achebe, 1987, p. 56.). Mad Medico uses his Christian beliefs as a basis for creating inferiority for the native. Instead of writing "Gomorrah", which is the actual word used in the bible, he replaces it with "gonorrhea", a venereal disease. The whole inscription then becomes devaluing for the patients who deserve recognition of dignity from him as medical doctor. It is also revealed in the novel that the strange graffiti on his wall once led to chaos at the hospital which almost caused him job loss and residence in the country, but His Excellency and Ikem rescued him. Therefore, like Fanon (1967), the coloniser assigns this inferiority complex to the black man, and it remains, regardless of what position he assumes in society; all that he sees is his skin. Mad Medico's conduct towards the blacks seems to be a demonstration of Fanon who argues that the white man in a colony will never feel inferior in any way, making reference to the two hundred whites in Martinique who perceive themselves as superior to three hundred thousand people of color. While in South Africa, as Fanon highlights, there are two million whites against the thirteen million natives and

never in history has it occurred that a black man considered himself superior to a member of the white the white minority.

Hegemony in religion is also presented in *Anthills of the Savannah* when we read about Beatrice who describes her house girl, Agatha who goes to one the new revival churches that spread over Bassa. Beatrice reveals how restricted Agatha's life is due to the strict rules of Christianity. The Yahwe Evangelical Sabbath Mission Inc. does not even permit its members to light a match stick on Saturdays to use a stove. The irony, however, is that Beatrice reveals how she can light the match to light the stove on behalf of Agatha, and when Beatrice cooks, she will not be prohibited from eating the food cooked on the day of the Sabbath. She would go to church early before Beatrice goes to work and then return around five pm exhausted. Beatrice would do the shopping at Gelele market alone while Agatha is busy clapping her hands and admiring the prophet in white robes and white robes and shower cap at church. In this manner, the novelist tries to expose the most draining part that comes with religion. The whole doctrine brainwashes the mind of the native to end believing that whatever is mentioned on the altar, one should follow.

Beatrice narrates her experience growing up in the hands of her father who served at the diocese. She recalls of her father who whipped them at home as a stern man, distant from his children and their mother. His whip was known at home, in the school house as well as the diocese. The chief applauded his whip that it was good for the upbringing of the children, an accurate confirmation of Fanon (1963) who argues that the native now tortures his very own people. The restricted Christian setting in which Beatrice grew up is further described:

I can see, looking back at my earliest memories, a little girl completely wrapped up in her own little world—a world contained, like Russian dolls, inside the close-fitting world of our mission-house, itself enclosed snugly within the world of the Anglican Church compound (Achebe, 1987, p.85).

In the above words, it becomes visible how the white man is very wise to contain the native through religion. The missionaries use stern regulations which the native imitates in bringing up his children. Religion is described above as a closed cage where one has no choice but to dance to the song of his tormentor. Beatrice reveals that her father would conduct long prayers that she could doze off and still wake up to find him in prayer. Whoever makes a mistake not reciting the word of prayer gets a thrashing. When Beatrice does the same mistake during one moment of prayer, her father grabs a dried sugar cane he always kept by his side and gave all the children a good whip.

With colonial products like Eugene, *Purple Hibiscus* is probably one of the most accurate texts that present the religious hegemony in the postcolonial setting of Nigeria. The content of the novels is dominated by religious ways of living rooted in Christianity. The novel begins with the subject of Palm Sunday and the reader is brought to an atmosphere where religion is used to create oppression for the ruled. The family of Eugene in immersed in Catholicism where he gets the means to oppress his family. When Jaja misses the Mass, his father reacts violently against him. Kambili's narration reveals the restricted life her family lives due to her father's belief in Christianity. Anyone who breaks the rules of Catholicism in the house of Eugene will face the consequences. The oppression is further expanded when we see Kambili getting beaten with his father's belt because she ate before the Holy Communion. We also see that the dressing codes for the subjugated like Kambili is shaped around the norms of Catholicism. Even at Church, the priest tries to admire those who remain committed to their Catholic standards, and would hold accountable the rest of those who do not.

Through *Purple Hibiscus*, the novelist tries to present how religion is used as tool that helps the native to become the oppressor of his own people as Fanon (1963) would put it. The coloniser is very careful to establish channels of indirect colonialism prior to his departure. Religion is one of the channels where indirect colonialism is reinforced. Fanon (1963) talks about how religion inhibits the black self as he recounts of his experience with religion in Martinique where the native tradition was expelled as the French Catholicism advanced. Like Fanon who argues about the institutionalised religion through Islam and Catholicism, Adichie (2003) uses fiction to present the religious hegemony in postcolonial Nigeria and the impact it poses on the black man. Therefore in Purple Hibiscus, the church serves as a social institution to spearhead hegemony.

The portrayal of religious hegemony in the three novels is with no doubt one of the characteristics of formerly colonised societies. Achebe and Adichie seem to have advanced the argument of Frantz Fanon who argues that the coloniser uses religion to reinforce his colonial rule, to maintain the treasure of power in his hands. Therefore, as presented in the three novels, religion is a tool of colonial power which implants its stern ideologies in the mind of the native. Through characters like Eugene, the impact of religion becomes visible. The native's mind is thus ruined, and to decolonise it would be nearly impossible.

5.7. 8 Cultural hegemony

Cultural hegemony in the novel, A Man of the People, is visible in the way of life that people have selected as the norm. The hegemony in culture is presented to reflect how the lives of the African natives have been westernised and have been made to believe that to live a life that resembles European ways of life means civilisation. For example, at the beginning of the novel, Odili narrates that when Nanga visited Anata Grammar School, he went with a white lady by his side. Instead of using the local language to speak to the audience, he tells the people that it is better to use English because there are people among the audience who may not understand the message if it is told in the native language. By this, Nanga refers to the only white lady by his side. Even his children attend school at a white owned private school where they assimilate a Western lifestyle. In most of his talks, Nanga mentions that he prefers doing things the European way. This reveals that the native in Africa has been made to believe that Europe is the epitome of civilisation and advancement. The novelist presents these events that resemble European culture to reveal how westernisation has been accepted as a norm that creates a custom-made culture that extends to the whole society. However, though the people normalise such practices, it only serves the ruling social group. In an indirect manner, the Western world still maintains its culture in postcolonial African societies where most of the times, the masses strive to fit into this cultural hegemony, while the national bourgeoisie benefit from it. Therefore, in light of the argument by Fanon (1963), the national bourgeoisie imitate the Western bourgeoisie.

Cultural hegemony may also include the most valued western food, celebrations, and even the manner in which people dress. The Igbo people had an intact culture that valued traditional food like yam. In *A Man of the People*, there is no single mention of yam festivals. Instead the national bourgeoisie replace their native culture with the European culture. During parties, it is narrated that Nanga and Odili always keep the white in their company and held parties in a westernised manner from food to the buildings. While Mrs. Nanga and the kids visit the village, Chief Nanga arranges to visit America. He tries to remain in contact with the American so as to remain visible to the European. Therefore, "the black man wants to be white" (Fanon, 1967, p.11). The only destiny for a black man, as Fanon asserts, is only one, to become white.

Intellectuals like Odili have been carried away by westernisation to such an extent that they value Western ways of life at the expense of their indigenous foundation. Odili is portrayed in way that magnifies whiteness. He feels proud when he gets recognised through his way of speaking English and is

always on the lookout for white companions including females. For Odili, all that matters for him is to go outside Africa and get educated in a European setting that allows him to interact with the white people. The fact that Odili admires the material of the robe made in England resembles that in postcolonial societies, there is cultural hegemony that emanates from the practice of foreign organisations that produce products that would attract the interest of the native. Even Chief Koko chooses not to take coffee that is locally made but rather takes the one that has been imported. All of the above practices that resemble Western life could be linked to colonialism which brought this influence to African societies and imposed them on the native to such an extent that erodes the African culture. Therefore, even after colonialism, cultural hegemony still prevails and is spearheaded by the national bourgeoisie who inherited the mantel of the coloniser.

Meanwhile, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, cultural hegemony is reinforced through social institutions like schools. The event of Reginald Okong who has attracted the interest of the American Baptist at Ohio where he served as a student teacher is one example of cultural hegemony. The missionaries realise the intelligence in Okong and seeing a bright future for him ahead, they decide to ordain him at the age of 26. They call Okong the youngest Native American Baptist minister of the world. In the process of grooming Okong, they also decide to take him to the secular universities of a southern Black College in the United States of America. Achebe (1987) tries to show that the white man is very careful in his own ways. The missionaries see the intelligence level of the African, and they therefore, choose to mix their western culture in the mind of Okong because they believe that he will make a good tool that will disseminate their cultural hegemony further with the education he gets. This indicates that both religion and education result into cultural hegemonic products of colonialism like Reginald Okong. However, when Achebe talks about the college solely meant for blacks, it brings in Fanon (1967) when he talks about negrophilism and philanthropy in South Africa. Fanon argues that the white proposes the separation of the natives from the Europeans in order to allow the blacks to build their own civilisation under the guidance of the whites, with limited contact among the races.

His Excellency is also presented as being cultural hegemonic. He received missionary education which makes him to admire the English customs. He imitates the European way of life which downgrades his native culture and his fellow native Africans. In support of the above, Fanon (1967) blames white civilisation and the European culture for having forced the existential deviation of the "Negro". The manner in which Sam treats his fellow natives is a representation of Fanon who argues that the "Negro" behaves differently with a white man and with another "negro" which then gives him two dimensions.

The president of Kangan would play a role of a tyrant in the lives of the indigenous people, when it comes to working with the American, he becomes compliant and approachable. Therefore, Fanon links this sell-division to colonial subjugation where the black man went through the stage of slow evolution of monkey into man.

Purple Hibiscus is a novel where Western norms dominate which makes it a perfect portrayal of cultural hegemony in postcolonial society compared to the above discussed novels. At the beginning of the novel, the audience is brought to a missionary dominated setting where European culture is embraced over the native culture. This happens through the church as a social institution. Kambili thus narrates how the arrival of the white man drastically changed the way things are done:

Father Benedict had changed things in the parish, such as insisting that the Credo and kyrie be recited only in Latin; Igbo was not acceptable. Also, hand clapping was to be kept at a minimum, lest the solemnity of Mass be compromised. But he allowed offertory songs in Igbo; he called them native songs, and when he said "native" his straight-line lips turned down at the corners to form an inverted U (Adichie, 2003, p.5).

The above narration carries a downgrading treatment of the native and his traditions. The replacement of Igbo with Latin would mean a great loss of the cultural treasure that comes with one's native language. Language is culture; once it is lost, all of the values that came with it are flooded away in the process. The novelist seems to agree with Fanon (1963) when he argues about the loss of the native values due to colonialism. Father Benedict seems to have declared the native insensible to ethics as Fanon would put it. Fanon points out that the white man views the native as an image of the absence of values and the complete opposite of values. He also argues that for the white man, the black man is the enemy of values, the absolute evil. Therefore when the novelist narrates that the natives gather at church and would recite all the religious practices in Latin as taught by Father Benedict who would observe them from distance, it implies how the colonised is easily carried away by the Western way of life. The coloniser is very careful enough to convince the black skin to understand that the native is corrosive, destructive, deforming and disfiguring to beauty or morality as Fanon argues.

Purple Hibiscus is also dominated by a much rather Eurocentric way of life as we read about Eugene who tries to admire Western languages like English and their lifestyle in general. He tries to speak English in a British accent with Father Benedict, and he lives in a house that glitters with westernised materials. In that manner, he feels that he possesses some whiteness too which confirms Fanon (1967) who asserts that the returned Negro adopts a language that differs from the one of his native group, an evidence of

a dislocation and division. It is this adoption of Western values that motivates Eugene to prohibit his own father from entering his house because he worships idols. In his prayer, he prays for the conversion of Papa Nnukwu. It then becomes true when Fanon (1963) emphasises that the colonialist bourgeoisie looks for connections with the native elite through which he gets chance to carry on the familiar dialogue about values. He also affirms that once the colonial bourgeoisie finds out that he cannot maintain his dominion over the colonised countries, he tries to guard them with culture, values and techniques. Therefore, in *Purple Hibiscus*, the phenomenon of Eurocentrism is broadened through colonial products like Eugene.

Through the three postcolonial novels, Achebe and Adichie have shown how the rich Igbo tradition has been flooded away by the advent of colonialism with its tool of cultural hegemony. The native is portrayed in the three novels as a lost soul detached from his African roots. He has been immersed in the cultural hegemony that came from the West. The novelists thus prove that colonialism is a harmful tool to the mind of the African, a difficult experience that can hardly be undone. The magnification of the Western culture is, however, dominant in *A Man of the People* and *Purple Hibiscus* compared to *Anthills of the Savannah*. The point that the three novels try to prove is that, the postcolonial African society is highly Eurocentric.

5.7.9 Military hegemony

Military hegemony implies that the competition for dominance comes with the use of fire arms and other tools might have to do with self-defense. A number of military hegemonic events can be pointed out in *A Man of the People*. At the beginning of the book, the novelist presents us with a narration of a group of hunters that use gun powder to fire their arms as a manner of honouring the minister's visit at Anata Grammar School. It is narrated that while the hunters focus on the gunshots, the women could be seen holding their children in fear. After the formation of the CPC, Odili keeps armed as he holds his meeting just in case he need self-defense. Additionally, it is narrated that Chief Koko killed Max on the day of the election. The manner in which the novel is concluded marks a peak in military hegemony. Chaos and anarchy got on the rise as people fight to overthrow the government which leads the country into a military coup.

The setting presented in *Anthills of the Savannah* is characterised by violence from the military against the citizens. The incident at the Motor Park is one example of military hegemony where it is narrated

that from time to time, a stampede could be observed among the sellers of second hand clothes once they notice the police or the Market Master who do not permit them to do business in that area. In addition, Ikem narrates his shock when an army vehicle drove up violently at a high speed towards a young man who sells clothes. The driver who almost killed the hawker gets out of the car and when the poor hawker asks if he meant to kill him, the soldier answers: "If I kill you I kill dog" (Achebe, 1987, p.49). This remark from the soldier is an indication of the colonial product he is. When Fanon (1963) argues that the colonial masters use soldiers and police officers to maintain order, it is the same argument that Achebe (1987) presents through the incident of the army car. For Fanon, the coloniser views his subject as an animal, and when the soldier compares the hawker to a dog, he implies that killing him will mean slaughtering an animal like a dog.

The death of Ikem is also a manifestation of military hegemony because the police officers murdered him and made up a story to cover up the murder, claiming that it was resultant from a conflict. The military hegemony reinforced by the army emanates from the Head of the State, Sam. The fact that he leads from an autocratic perspective means that all of his servants will follow his footsteps. Sam got influenced by the English man, John Williams, the headmaster, who convinced him that the army is a career for gentlemen. This is why he dropped the dream of becoming a doctor to become a soldier.

Military hegemony is also narrated in *Purple Hibiscus* when the novelist brings to the attention of the reader the violent acts committed by the people and the government officials. Kambili narrates about the political coup that happens on a Saturday and how a general with a strong Hausa accent came on the radio after the martial music to announce that there had been a coup. The coup is an implication that the people are not happy with the government which corresponds to Fanon (1963) when he mentions that the mismanagement and misuse of power may lead to political coups. The government is portrayed in Purple Hibiscus as a violent group of people. When Jaja gets visits from his family, a police officer will interfere and strictly tell him that his time is finished. Additionally, when the novelist brings in the theme of playing chess, it could symbolise military hegemony. Eugene and Jaja play chess on several occasions. Chess in the novel is a symbol of military hegemony because the game involves kings, queens and knights involved in a fight.

Through *Purple Hibiscus*, the novelist brings in the voice of Fanon (1963) who asserts that the entire colonial project is characterised by violence which the coloniser uses to maintain his control over the

colonised subject. Therefore, the novelist continues to present military hegemony as denoted in the narration below:

In later weeks, when Kevin drove past Ogui Road, there were soldiers at the roadblock near the market, walking around, caressing their long guns. They stopped some cars and searched them. Once, I saw a man kneeling on the road beside his Peugeot 504, with his hands raised high in the air(Adichie, 2003, p.28).

The above narration reveals military hegemony because the government uses force to control the citizens. The movement of the people is controlled with strict measures employed by the soldiers which validates the argument made by Fanon (1963) that the soldiers and the policemen are used as intermediaries between the people and the coloniser. He also notes that the feet of the coloniser, the top head, are never seen. This is the same situation presented in *Purple Hibiscus* where the Head of State seldom acts but only uses the government officials like the soldiers to control the people. Kambili recounts of the three men who just got publicly killed because of drug trafficking. However, due to the military control that rests in the hands of the head of state, nothing is done to him when he smuggled heroin to foreign countries. The three man have been broadcasted on television as they were tied to poles and their bodies continually shuddered even after the shootings stopped. Through these bloody acts, the novelists asserts how the whole colonial regime is dominated by violence and it is used to maintain power in the hands of the oppressing group.

More events that symbolise military hegemony in the novel include the arrests done by the government officials against the citizens like Ade Coker. The police decide to arrest Ade because of the criticism that he does against the corrupt government through his writings reported in the Standard. His car was left on the side of the road with an open front door. Kambili imagines how the soldiers pushed him out of his car and squeezed him into another car, which could possibly a wagon packed with soldiers with guns hanging out of the windows. It was all because Ade published a story that questioned how the Head of State and his wife paid some people to export heroin and how it does not add up with the killing of the three men in relation to drug trafficking. The whole environment is that of terror where fear is imposed on the ordinary people. The reign of terror further emerges in the narration when Kambili tells of the woman who lays in the dirt crying as she gets abused by the soldiers who would raise their whips in the air to beat women hawkers and kick down trays of fruits and other valuables sold by the women at the market. They soldiers have allegedly been told to destroy the vegetable stands because they are illegally set up. The coloniser uses the mediators like the policemen and the soldiers to create an environment of

submission and inhibition. Therefore, the native becomes the coloniser of his own people as presented in *Purple Hibiscus*.

Military hegemony has been presented in the three novels as a means of reinforcing colonial rule among the oppressed. The two authors have accurately pictured how military hegemony is practiced in a postcolonial setting despite the end of the old colonial regime in Africa. Of the three novels, there seems to be more military hegemony in *Anthills of the Savannah* and *Purple Hibiscus* compared to that presented in *A Man of the People*. However, this manner of presenting military hegemony does not make it less visible in postcolonial Africa. Therefore, the novelists prove the point made by Frantz Fanon that violence dominates the whole colonial project to maintain power in the hands of the coloniser.

To conclude this section, the manner in which Achebe and Adichie crafted their novels does not leave out the foot prints of colonialism. The novels depict the impact of the colonial regime on the African's mind. Having discussed the above, the novels reveal how the ones in power find the means to exploit the masses for their own benefit through hegemonic rule. The above discussion, therefore, confirms that there is a close relationship between the novels and the anticolonial views established by Frantz Fanon. The next section of this chapter will look at resistance against hegemony in the three novels.

5.8 Resistance in the three novels

In this section, the analysis outlines the measures of resistance against hegemony in the three novels. This is done by categorising the ways in which the colonised group in the novels devise strategies to resist the oppression from the side of the coloniser. While looking at the strategies of resistance employed in the three texts, the analysis also makes close reference to Frantz Fanon's anticolonial arguments articulated in one of his works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). It is noteworthy to mention that this postcolonial study does not serve by any means as a political fight for the colonised societies which is why it was solely done within the boundaries of postcolonial literature.

The phenomenon of resistance in postcolonial studies is hardly mentioned without making reference to Frantz Fanon. Therefore, it is deemed necessary to briefly discuss Fanon's views on resisting colonialism through what is called decolonisation. In his anticolonial arguments, Fanon (1963) argues that decolonisation is an ever violent process, a program that comes with complete disorganisation. It "is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature..." (Fanon, 1963, p.35). He believes that to achieve liberation for the captive it must take force. However, it may appear that in the three

novels, the different modes employed in resisting the coloniser may not entirely be violent in nature. He then further argues:

In decolonization, there is therefore the need of a complete calling in question of the colonial situation. If we wish to describe it precisely, we might find it in the well-known words: "The last shall be first and the first last." Decolonization is the putting into practice of this sentence (Fanon, 1963, p.36).

In resisting the colonial yoke, Fanon (1963) advocates for the use of violent measures to reclaim freedom from the hands of the coloniser. He seems to propose no other measure of resistance apart from the use of violence. He believes that for liberation to take place, there is a need of a turn around so that those who were last should come first and vice versa, and for this change to take place, a murderous and decisive struggle must take place between the two protagonists. For Fanon, decolonisation demands of practical measures to succeed. In this section, the analysis is parted in two sides of resistant measures visible in the three novels. Firstly, the analysis looks at the role of the native intellectuals who become the fighting literature, in terms of Fanon (1963), for their people. Secondly, the analysis moves on to discuss the manner in which violence is applied to liberate the captive in the three novels. It may appear that some measures of resistance against hegemony discussed here seem to dominate in some novels only.

5.8.1 The intellectual in resisting the coloniser

In his anticolonial arguments, Fanon (1963) calls on the honest intellectuals to assist in defeating the national bourgeoisie and bringing independence. In *A Man of the People*, the narration brings the reader's attention to native intellectuals like Odili Samalu who appears to be the centre of resistance in the novel. Though, he is narrated in the beginning of the novel as a companion of corrupt natives like Nanga, we get to see that Odili's narration has, in many ways, questioned the kind of leader Nanga is. Therefore, Odili forms part of the intellectuals who choose to stand up for the rights of the masses in *A Man of the People*. Odili's early narration reveals how he wished to show the people that the leaders they follow are corrupt: "I wished for a miracle, for a voice of thunder, to hush this ridiculous festival and tell the poor contemptible people one or two truths" (Achebe, 1966, pp.3-4). In *A Man of the People*, Odili is presented as a voice of the voiceless; he is part of the educated intellectuals that felt that things were not going right in the country where the leaders have turned into sellouts who prefer to hear things from the mouth of the white man and block out the input of their own people. Therefore, the novelist presents the reader with a setting characterised by the white man and his connection to the

native. When Jean, a white lady, talks to Odili about the way things are done in France and how different it is in Africa, Odili is careful enough to resist the European culture:

'I have often wondered,' she said completely insensitive to my silent resentment, 'why don't they call some streets after the many important names in your country's history or past events like your independence as they do in France and other countries?' 'Because this is not France but Africa,' I said with peevish defiance (Achebe, 1966, p.36).

In view of the above words, the white man values his way of doing things and now wants to replace the black man's culture with that of the European. However, in the novel, resistance from the side of the intellectual surfaces more when the novelist brings in the establishment of political parties like the Common People's Convention Party (CPC) run by Maxwell and Odili. The meeting between Odili and Max to discuss on the establishment of the CPC marks the journey to resistance in the novel. Like Fanon (1963) who advocates for the formation of new political parties, the novelist mentions of the same technique with the formation of political parties in opposition like the CPC. Fanon argues about the nationalist militant who left the town disappointed by the reformist movements of the leaders. He also highlights that these militants are the ones to discover in reality a new form of political activity which is completely different from the old. In the same way, Odili left Nanga's house after he had an argument with him, and he goes to meet Max and discuss on the formation of the CPC.

These politics are the politics of leaders and organizers living inside history who take the lead with their brains and their muscles in the fight for freedom. These politics are national, revolutionary, and social and these new facts which the native will now come to know exist only in action. They are the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets, which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by these facts (Fanon, 1963, p. 146).

In light of the above revolutionary quote, a new form of leadership which calls for the involvement of the masses of the people is advocated. The political resistance is further brought to the surface when Odili tells us that the very first night he met Max, he has not only learnt that a new political party was to be formed by Max and his intellectual friends, but he also gets to know that he is to be involved as a foundation member. These political parties are the revolutionary movements that Fanon (1963) advocates for when he calls for the unison of all of the people in fighting against colonialism. Therefore, like Fanon, Achebe also emphasises on the role of the intellectuals in fighting against the colonial regime which in the novel is signified by the corrupt political movements run by people like Nanga and Chief Koko. However, what is quite interesting in the novel is when the novelist brings in the white man who chooses to support the revolutionary movements in the fight for freedom: "His English had an exotic

quality occasionally---as when he said that it was good to see intellectuals like Max, myself and the rest coming out of their 'tower of elephant tusk' into active politics" (Achebe, 1966, p.51). Therefore, the novelist seems to imply that freedom shall only be attained when action is done, and when someone decides to finally stand out and speak up for the silent and bring the long waited freedom to the masses.

The educated intellectual is presented in the novel to be fully immersed in the revolutionary movements against the colonial regime when we read further about Odili who reveals his interest in the CPC. He reveals that the idea of the formation of the opposition party has immediately taken him, and apart from anything else, it would serve as an additional string to his bow as he goes to fight with Nanga. The novelist further reveals how the revolutionary movements were formed in such a way that they embrace all of the masses of the people. The CPC plans to involve not only the professionals but "the worker, the farmer, the blacksmith, the carpenter...' 'And the unemployed," (Achebe, 1966, p.52). It seems that the novelist wrote his book from a revolutionary point of view because he makes reference to the revolutionary thinkers like Karl Max when he narrates: "The great revolutions of history were started by intellectuals, not the common people. Karl Marx was not a common man; he wasn't even a Russian" (Achebe, 1966, p.52). Therefore, the novelist uses intellectuals like Odili, Max and other educated intellectuals to play the role of the intellectual in fighting the colonial regime.

While in *Anthills of the Savannah*, it is important to comment on educated intellectuals like Ikem and Chris who play the role of intellectuals in bringing liberation to the captive. Ikem uses his intellect to sensitise people on the ongoing oppression, and he feels the need to open the eyes of the masses of the people on this matter. The events narrated in *Anthills of the Savannah* may carry more meaning than what they imply on the surface. In the novel, Achebe (1987) presents a number of events and images that signify oppression and silence. In other words, the hegemony of the government is maintained by means of silence and oppression. In the first chapter, the narrator uses metaphoric language that projects more than what is on paper:

The sun in April is an enemy though the weatherman on television reciting mechanically the words of his foreign mentors tells you it will be fine all over the country... No my dear countrymen, you will not be fine until you can overthrow the wild Sun of April. Later tonight, fellow countrymen, you will hear the full text from General Mouth himself—I am only a mouthpiece—you will hear the words direct from him after the national anthem shall have been played backwards. Until then, beloved countrymen, roast in peace (Achebe, 1987, p.30).

In light of the above quote, the narrator compares the coloniser to the wild sun of April as he continues to oppress people. The narrator sees the oppressed to be going through a burning experience, and when he tells them to continue roasting in peace, he implies that until the government is defeated, they will continue suffering. In this regard, the writer presents the effect of hegemony and how it feels like to be ruled in a context like that of fictional Kangan. The novelist, therefore, uses the intellectuals who practice storytelling to educate the people on their rights. Ikem, being the editor of the National Gazette, is the leading figure in the role played by the educated intellectual, the role of enlightenment. His friend, Chris, tries to interrupt his criticism of the government, however, but he remains focused on his mission of having the rights of the people recognised. Ikem's resistance is one that stems from his intellect, and he uses his mind to devise ways of resistance as he narrates: "Our best weapon against them is not to marshal facts, of which they are truly managers, but passion. Passion is our hope and strength, a very present help in trouble" (Achebe, 1987, p.40). These words signify the hope and confidence that the intellectuals hold in their quest for freedom which keeps them motivated in resisting the oppression they have been put through by the colonial regime.

As an educated intellectual who decides to speak for his people, Ikem uses his writing skills to question the government. He writes his first crusading editorial meant to call the president "to promulgate a decree abrogating the law that permitted that outrageous and revolting performance" (Achebe, 1987, p.44). The same point is made by Fanon (1963) when he argues that after realising the need to reclaim his culture, the intellectual will embark on a crusade of enlightening the masses where he becomes the one to awaken his people. He terms the intellectual as a "fighting literature, a revolutionary literature and a national literature "(Fanon, 1963, p.223). Therefore, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, the novelist presents characters like Ikem to be the ones taking the role of revolutionary minds, the fighting literature who, in Fanon's words, throws himself body and soul as he embarks on the national struggle. Ikem then continues to reveal his determination in the whole process of resisting injustice against all odds:

Nobody told me either. But the great difference between me and Chris is that I never did expect to be told. I happened to feel a certain way in the matter and like a free agent, sat up at night after Elewa had gone away in the taxi and composed my thoughts. I keep telling Chris that life is simpler that way. Much simpler. Stop looking back over your shoulder, I tell him. There ain't no deliverer running just a little behind schedule. March to the stake like a man and take the bullet in your chest. Much simpler (Achebe, 1987, p.47).

The above narration reveals that Ikem has been trying to convince his friend to open his eyes that the master to which he submits is not just an ordinary one. He tries to enlighten his friend, Chris, that change will not come until someone brings it. However, Chris seems to have taken long to realise that Sam is not a leader that serves his own people. In terms of Fanon (1963), Chris has kept the unqualified assimilation to the colonial system for a while unlike Ikem who was quick to wake up and get immersed into the reclamation of his own voice.

As Chris finally wakes up, he dares not to take the order from the president, the one of writing a letter of suspension to his colleague, Ikem. In fact, he was even prepared to resign from the ministry once Ikem gets fired. The event of suspending Ikem marks the peak of resistance in the novel. His Excellency gives a stern order that he wants that letter written immediately, but Chris couldn't answer him. He leaves his office without a word but "unshaken in his defiance" (Achebe, 1987, p.143). The suspension letter instead gets delivered by a police dispatch-rider to Ikem's flat, a chairman that Ikem has never seen ever since he assumed the role of an editor.

Contrary to Fanon (1963) who advocates for violent resistance, the novelist in *Anthills of the Savannah* not only presents resistance in a violent manner but also subscribes to other means of resistance that are not violent. For example, the beginning of the novel presents a setting where His Excellency holds meetings and arrogantly talks to his subordinates who take his harsh treatment in a sense of humour. They laugh at some of his bad remarks instead of retaliating back. The reader also gets to know how the experience between a hawker and a violent soldier was taken in humour as the men laughed at the mention of killing a dog. They made fun of it and laughed instead of reacting in a violent manner to the soldier who almost killed the street vendor. The writer also chooses to rely on proverbial language and storytelling as a form of resistance. For example, while enlightening the masses at the university of Bassa, Ikem calls his lecture "The Tortoise and the Leopard-A political meditation on the imperative of struggle" (Achebe, 1987, p.150).

The revolutionary reaction to the leadership of Kangan increases after the death of Ikem, but the whole setting becomes threatening for people of his circle including his friend, Chris, who joins other intellectuals where he disguises himself because only keeping his identity a secret will spare his life. The army has been dispatched in all corners of the country with strictly controlled road blocks. Chris disguises himself and completely denies the fact that he was the Commissioner of Information. In light of Fanon (1963), this environment of violence and menace, with rockets brandished on both sides, does

not really frighten or deflect the oppressed people. He also adds that the recent history of the colonised people has prepared them to fully understand and absorb the ongoing situation. This is the same atmosphere that Chris has learnt to adapt to and devises ways of survival instead of succumbing to the threatening military situation. As Fanon further opines, the colonised people are well adapted to this kind of atmosphere.

Meanwhile, in *Purple Hibiscus*, the role of the intellectual in resistance is carried out by the few individuals like Jaja and his aunt, Ifeoma. At the beginning of the novel, the novelist presents Jaja as a stubborn man who refuses to sink in the pool of religion by force. He resists his father's orders of attending the Mass and is bold enough to tell him that if missing the Mass means death to him, then he finds it better to die. Therefore, in terms of Fanon (1963), Jaja becomes the fighting literature who throws himself body and soul to fight the oppressor. Jaja notices the colonial product his father is, and he is no longer afraid to stand up and face him. On one normal day while having dinner, he decides to do something they are never allowed to do in the house— leaving the dining table before their master, Eugene. Kambili narrates that Jaja did something that they are never allowed to do by leaving the table first before their father. The environment of submission and inhibition that Fanon mentions of is thus challenged here. The oppressed has now realised the need to fight, the necessity to break the shield of torture.

Eugene has also played his part in resisting the injustice of the government even though he falls in the category of colonial products that stage oppression in the novel. His news publishing firm, The Standard, challenges the government by publishing some of the odd acts committed by those in the ruling positions including the head of state with Ade Coker being a pivotal figure in these writings. The Standard newspaper has published numerous stories about the cabinet ministers who laundered money in foreign banks, money which should have been used to pay teachers and construct roads. Kambili further narrates how criticism from the daily papers increased. The newspapers Kambili and her family read sounded more different, critical and subdued including The Standard as they questioned the situation in the country more than they did before.

Apart from Jaja, Ifeoma also dares to challenge the autocracy held by Eugene in the manner he treats his family. Ifeoma suggests that the children, Jaja and Kambili, be allowed to visit their cousins at their aunt's house. She is not afraid to question the restricted life he created for his family. Therefore, she tells her brother to let the children go and spend their holiday in Nsukka as they will be glad to meet

their cousins. Eugene hardly agrees, but he lets them go there anyway. The house of Ifeoma is presented to be a point of liberation bringing freedom to the captive. The oppressed people like Jaja and Kambili find their true self at their aunt's house, and it is where they get to know that the world is full of new challenges opportunities waiting for them. They have been living in captivity back at their father's house until their aunt speaks up for them.

The skill of writing has also been used by other individuals like Amaka who questions the official status of Jaja which has been waiting for nearly two years. She used to write to the office of the Head of State as well as the Nigerian Ambassador in America where she complained about the poor conditions in the Nigerian justice system. Sadly, nobody acknowledges receipt of these letters, but she still found it necessary to continue doing so. The every little attempts done by educated individuals like Amaka form part of the enlightenment process where they try to expose the evil side of the society and how it should be corrected.

Therefore, the role of the educated intellectual is acknowledged in all three novels discussed above. The intellectual has contributed in many ways to the liberation of the captive in all of the three novels. The novelists try to reveal to the reader that the role of bringing liberation lies in the hands of all, and that anyone who can read and write can become a fighting literature in an oppressed society.

5.8.2 Using violence for freedom

In his argument about the fight against colonialism, Fanon (1963) advocates for the use of violence to free the captive. He believes that only violence committed by the people and organised and educated by its leaders can allow for the masses to get the societal facts. In literary texts like *A Man of the People*, the application of violence to free the captive is also visible. The novelist begins to hint on the use of violence in a fictional Nigerian state when he presents us with an episode of Josiah who tempers around a blind man by stealing his walking stick. It becomes evident how the people unite to condemn this kind of unjust act committed towards the poor blind man as the crowds gather around Josiah's shop pronouncing deadly curses on him and his trade. Within a week, he was ruined and people vowed not to step at his shop again. Not a single man, woman or child went there and even strangers. His shop closed, and he disappeared for a while. This joint action from the people reveals the unison that comes with the revolutionary movements targeting the societal oppression that happens in postcolonial society.

As the narration goes on, the reader is convinced how violent acts get on the rise with the corrupt leadership in place. The novelist tells of an event where the Opposition Progressive Alliance Party published detailed evidence to reveal that somebody tipped off the firm of the British Amalgamated of the Minister's plans to bring in three shiploads of the textiles, an idea that angered the masses. Therefore, the reaction from the people was that of a violent nature, and it is told that the cabinet was split overnight into savage warring camps of those who challenged the government to resign and those who said the matter had to do with the Minister of Foreign Trade alone, so he should be the one to resign. This action from the people against the government is an example of putting violence into practice and, it corresponds to Fanon (1963) who advocates for a turn around that the first shall come last and the last shall come first.

It seems that the atmosphere of violence prevails as days go by as it is revealed in the novel that the country was on the verge of chaos, and the Trade Unions and the Civil Service Union turned into loud noises and displayed notices of nationwide strikes. The shops have also been closed in fear of looting. Odili reveals how he was impressed by the joint moves taken by the society to restore justice:

We were exhilarated like everyone else by the heady atmosphere of impending violence. For we all knew that the coming election was going to be a life and death fight. After seven years of lethargy any action seemed welcome and desirable; the country was ripe and impatient to shed in violent exercise the lazy folds of flabby skin and fat it had put on in the greedy years of indolence (Achebe, 1966, p.66).

The above words from Odili are an accuracy of a setting where the first shall be forced to come last and the last shall take the top. The setting described above is one that is of a do or die situation, and because of corrupt leadership, the ruled finally get fed up with the oddments of the government to such an extent that they resort to retaliation in form of violence only. The people seem to agree to Fanon (1963) who believes that violence that is jointly arranged by the people will take away oppression and bring liberation. Therefore, like Fanon, Achebe presents some events that advocate for the armed struggle in order to restore the long waited liberation of the captive, the colonised.

The opposition that is described in the novel is centred on Odili Samalu who has now turned into Nanga's opponent. Odili gets involved in several fights with the people on Nanga's side as well as Nanga himself. Even Edna's father and Mrs. Nanga have turned against him. However, he remains determined to continue fighting his opponent, Nanga. Odili had to carry weapons when campaigning with his followers. The followers of Nanga relied on violence for them to project a true spirit if Nanga. Boniface

who walked by the side of Odili once grabbed two leaders of "Nangaism" and made them fall on the ground. Odili dares to attend Nanga's meeting in secret where he was beaten and shamed but he still kept his confidence. His car was purposely overturned and set on fire. This proves Fanon (1963) when he claims that decolonisation comes with chaos and bloodshed. Meanwhile, Chief Koko deceives Max by assassinating him with a gun, but Eunice retreats by firing bullets into Chief Koko's chest. There was rage and people like Dogo lost body parts, his ear. The narrator further tells the growing resistance from the people that the army obliged with the opposition groups by staging a military coup at that point and hunting for every member of the government. Nanga was found attempting to escape with a canoe.

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, the violent acts committed are no different from those in *A Man of the People* as the people still continue to battle against the injustice of the government. The novelist mentions of several riots like when the students on National Service destroyed a new maternity ward built by peasants claiming that there is a need to provide water and electricity at a rural fuel station. It is like Fanon (1963) who argues that at the level of individuals, violence is a clearing force which frees the native from his inferiority complex and from the despair and inaction. He also adds that violence makes the native fearless and restores his self-respect. Therefore, "the political leader is forever calling on his people to fight: to fight against colonialism, to fight against poverty and underdevelopment, and to fight against sterile traditions" (Fanon, 1963, p.95).

Another event that signals violent resistance is when Ikem addresses his audience where he expresses his disappointment at the proposal to place the president's image on the nation's currency. He tells his audience: "My view is that any serving President foolish enough to lay his head on a coin should know he is inciting people to take it off; the head I mean" (Achebe, 1987, p.160). This expression signifies violence and bloodshed. The message projected here is that there might be a military coup, but the revolutionary literature chooses to begin with enlightening the masses before taking his words into action. He is sensitising the masses to devise strategies to defeat the oppressor by means of violence only. Therefore, he suggests that the president be killed if any attempt is made to put his image on the nation's currency.

The situation begins to fall apart, however, especially after the suspension of the editor of the National Gazette. We hear that Ikem is nowhere to be found before we learn that he has been arrested by a bunch of security officers. They have come up with several claims that he has disturbed the peace of the country. The press on the radio announces that Ikem was the key figure among the plotters in Kangan

and their foreign collaborators. And he coordinated the plotters in Bassa and a group of disgruntled and unpatriotic chiefs from Abazon Province. Another accusation laid against him is that he furthered the aim of the plotters by means of a lecture at the University of Bassa where he incited the students to rebellion against the state and the life of His Excellency as well as the peace and security of the country. The whole scenario, however, gets twisted as we learn that another announcement was made that Ikem tried to grab a gun from the officers and injured himself. The state goes silent on his whereabouts, but it becomes obvious to his people that he was no more. The death of Ikem reveals that he has given his soul and body, as Fanon (1963) would term it, for his country. Though he could not complete what he has started, he has played his part and paved a way for other revolutionaries to follow.

The death of Ikem does not mark the end of resistance in the state of Kangan. The novelist tells of the odd situation in the country after the death of Ikem. The situation is no longer safe for Chris and the government is now on the lookout for him. The violent acts spread from one section of the country to another as the masses also join the revolutionary movements in place. The reader learns that there has been an overthrow of the government, and the president was kidnapped. The whole country gets into chaos leading to a military coup. The novelist tells of some of the chaotic moments as:

Chris plunged into another section of the crowd which was fast degenerating into drunken mayhem. Bottles were smashed on the road after they were emptied and sometimes before, and more than a few unshod feet were already bleeding. Any promising informant he approached was too drunk and, what was more, critical of him for asking sober questions amounting almost to mental harassment of his victims (Achebe, 1987, p. 210).

As narrated above, the people have been disgruntled in Kangan due to the leadership of the autocratic government. Therefore, they resort to violence and riots that lead to the destruction of the state's resources which is called looting. The angry mob attacked a government lorry transporting beer, and bottles were smashed and thrown on the road. In these chaos, it is where Chris loses his life.

Resistance in *Purple Hibiscus* happens in a differently structured manner. The novelist does not mention much of these events that signify violence but they can be filtered out in the novel. The occurrence of a military coup mentioned in the novel reveals that the masses did not get their expectations from the government. Therefore, the fact that the novelist comments on a military coup, though in brief manner, forms part of the numerous violent acts committed by the oppressed to reclaim their rights. Kambili briefly talks about the happening of this coup:

It was during family time the next day, a Saturday that the coup happened. Papa had just checkmated Jaja when we heard the martial music on the radio, the solemn strains making us stop to listen. A general with a strong Hausa accent came on and announced that there had been a coup and that we had a new government. We would be told shortly who our new head of state was. Papa pushed the chessboard aside and excused himself to use the phone in his study. Jaja and Mama and I waited for him, silently. I knew he was calling his editor, Ade Coker, perhaps to tell him something about covering the coup (Adichie, 2003, p.25).

It appears that the military coups have become the tool of restoring social justice in postcolonial society. Eugene tells his family how coups have been the order of the day since the sixties, mentioning of the bloody coups of those years which brought about civil war when he left to study in England. He reveals to them how a coup always happened in a vicious manner where military men always overthrew one another because of their deep quest of power. Therefore, the soldiers are motivated to act in the benefit of the masses, the oppressed group, so as to restore morality and justice while maintaining a just cause. There is, therefore, correspondence here to Fanon (1963) who argues that the first shall be the last and vice versa when he talks about decolonisation, a process of reversing power relationships which for him could only succeed if violence is applied. He further emphasises how it is necessary to apply force to bring liberation that the pure truth of decolonisation involves the searing of bullets and blood stained knives which stem from it.

Several demonstrations have been initiated which made it difficult to drive around the country. Kambili tells that their drive way was a bit different in the first week after the coup. Their driver, Kevin, had to pluck green branches every morning which he stuck on the car above the number plate for them to be allowed to pass through the drive way blocked by the demonstrators at Government Square. To them, having green leaves attached meant solidarity. The novelist uses these events to reveal how a disgruntled society turns out to be, that there will always be mass uprisings and riots as the revolutionaries advance movements to bring social order in the society. These happenings are not different from Fanon (1963) when he claims that the clonised man will first demonstrate his arrogance which is deposited in his bones against his very own people, and this is the time when you get to see niggers beat each other up leaving the police and magistrates with nothing to do when faced with the rising waves of crime in North Africa.

Another violent act that is carried out to resist oppression in *Purple Hibiscus* is when we read about the death of Papa Eugene. The family of Eugene having gone through enough oppression from him finally gets fed up with it. It happens then that Beatrice poisons his food; the poison is what killed him. This

event remains a top secret in the family, and Jaja decides to take the blame and pay the cost on behalf of his mother. He tells the police that he killed his father, and the police arrest him instead of his mother.

With the above discussion on the three novels, resistance against hegemony has been employed in different but closely linked ways in the three novels. It could be argued here that in these three books, the intellectual has done his part to reclaim his rights as a fighting literature. The novelists have also showed the violent acts advocated by Frantz Fanon in different ways. The similarity in these novels is that there is a mention of military coups in each of these novels. Therefore, revolutionary thinking has been employed in writing these works of art to expose the reality in today's postcolonial society. All in all, Fanon's revolutionary ideas are highly applicable to the three novels. In these novels, the oppressed has resisted the oppressor in the best way he could.

5.9 Identity construction in the three novels

Literature is a mirror of the society that documents the colonial impact on the African native in a postcolonial stetting. The identity of the native has been shaped around a colonial dominated matrix. After the colonial regime, the identity of the ruled has since then been shaped into what Fanon (1967) would term as an "illusionary identity" (p.17). Identity is a complex term to give a final definition. Several practices that we involve ourselves daily define us and determine whom we identify with. These practices include the food we eat, clothes and the language we speak. One's identity is what keeps his culture, and when this identity is altered, it results into a crisis in identity as one fails to keep self-knowledge due to the colonial experience. Mention must be made here that this analysis does not disregard the learning of more than one cultural practice, but it is based on the argument that when one loses his own identity while maintaining another culture that is foreign to his homeland, the whole process becomes harmful to his original identity.

Fanon (1967) argues about the illusionary identity that emanates from the colonial experience of the native. He also argues about the native who now identifies himself with the white man while neglecting his own culture after returning to his home land. He reveals how the coloniser considers the culture of the black man as inferior and savage, something that is likened to the animal status. He then comments on the crisis of identification where the black man finds himself:

The black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question... (Fanon, 1967, p. 17).

In light of the above quote from *Black Skin White Masks*, the alteration done to the identity of the native emanates from the colonial experience brought to the land of the black man by the West. As result, the native eventually holds towards himself an inferiority complex as he struggles to possess some whiteness. When the colonial powers left the colonies, Fanon (1963) however emphasises that there are national bourgeoisie who inherited the mantle of the former colonists to carry on the colonial practices against their fellow natives. All these hegemonic practices from the white man have been imposed to keep control of the black mind. Identity construction is one of the most important subjects in the three novels by Achebe and Adichie. Therefore, this section analyses how the identity of the native is constructed in a postcolonial society with dominant colonial ideologies and social systems like education and religion which revolve around a white dominated matrix. The analysis outlines how the native identifies himself in a formerly colonised world. The analysis is done in tandem with Frantz Fanon's works, *The Wretched of the Earth* as well as *Black Skin White Masks*. Specifically, the analysis outlines how the identity of the ruled is constructed as well as point out the identity crisis that arises in postcolonial Africa as presented in the three novels. The section also looks at visible attempts meant to revive identity in the three novels.

5.9.1 The dislocated and separated identity

According to Fanon (1967), the black man who returns from France adopts a culture that is different from the group into which he was born which indicates a dislocation ad separation from his culture. *A Man of the People* is one political novel where the novelist has presented the postcolonial reality and its impact on the identity of the postcolonial native. The beginning of the novel signifies a setting where western-education dominates the lives of the natives. The atmosphere in Achebe's novel reveals how the once honoured Igbo culture has been eroded away due to the arrival of the Western culture that came with colonialism. For the most part, the Western culture that involves education plays a major role in shaping the identity of the native in *A Man of the People*. The novelist comments on Mr. Nanga who always speaks English or Pidgin while his children attend school at private schools run by the Europeans. These children speak fluent English, but they do so at the expense of their own language. However, Mrs. Nanga always tries to speak her own language while throwing in some odd English words from time to

time. With these language related events, the novelist tries to confirm how the language of the coloniser is magnified at the expense of the native languages. The novelist, therefore, seems to agree to Fanon (1967) when he talks about the "Negro" and the language of the coloniser, emphasising on the black man who has been in France and returns to his home country radically changed. "To express it in genetic terms, his phenotype undergoes a definitive, an absolute mutation" (Fanon, 1967, p. 19). This argument by Fanon implies that the native's identity is shaped according to the atmosphere in which he lives which eventually harms his original identity while he adopts that of the West.

With people like Nanga, the novelist reveals how the colonised drops down the treasure in his own language because he has been made to believe in his inferiority complex assigned to him by the colonial rule. This is the same view that Odili holds for the English language. He admires anyone that speaks immaculate English and believes that it would add value to his life to be educated in Europe.

Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality— finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country (Fanon, 1967, p.18).

The above argument is true because it is confirmed in *A Man of the People* how Nanga's children lost the roots of their native language as a result of the European culture. They have been educated in a European manner to such an extent that damage is done to their own culture and, therefore, lack self-knowledge. Fanon (1967) condemns this cultural damage when he notes that because the newly returned "Negro" adopts a language that differs from that of his place of birth, it is an indication of a dislocation and division. This is what Achebe (1966) tells in his novel about the colonial products who sideline their culture due to the European culture in which they are immersed. We learn in the novel that Nanga limits his children from going to the village and only allows them to go there once a year, and when they go to the village, the environment is different from the one they have adjusted to. They fail to identify in their own homeland.

In A Man of the People, there is magnification of the European culture as we read about the fancy house of Nanga where everything glitters in gold. The same applies to Odili Samalu who was fascinated to see a man wearing expensive robes made in England. The novelist, however, does not leave out the cultural roots of the African because he brings in an event where talks about selling locally made products like coffee. OHMS, which stands for Our Home Made Stuff, is one of the companies that produced locally made products. Odili narrates that it was the common name used to refer to one big campaign mounted

by the government across the country in order to uplift the consumption of locally produced goods, and newspapers, radios and televisions have encouraged the buying of these products. As for people like Chief Koko, consuming these locally made products in their houses is a taboo. This is why he claimed to be sick from the locally made coffee that his cook once brewed for him. In light of the above, the argument below is true:

The wearing of European clothes, whether rags, or the most up-to-date style, using European furniture and European forms of social intercourse; adorning the native language with European expression; using bombastic expressions in speaking or writing a European language, all these contribute to the feeling of equality with the European and his achievements (Fanon, 1967,p.25).

The above argument is based on the observations of Fanon (1967), and is validated to a lager extent in *A Man of the People*. This is the lifestyle led by people like Nanga and Odili who adjusted their lifestyles to the European standard. Odili and Nanga even turn into womenisers, a practice that is considered as a taboo in the African culture. Their companions are white and the way they socialise aligns to the European's way of life. The novel seems to dwell much on the issue of sexuality which becomes a matter of great concern as to how this may shape one's identity. On the contrary, however, the current analysis does not claim that there is one culture which is deemed better than the other. The fact that the native makes use of the European utilities like furniture does not make it any bad practice. The main argument here, though Fanon does not seem to comment on both sides of the coin, is that, once an inborn culture is eroded by a foreign culture, the whole practice becomes threatening to one's cultural identity. The western dominated culture may eventually divert the native from his own roots. Therefore, one would argue that any native who masters the culture of the coloniser while damaging his own has not yet won.

During a conversation about the proceedings of the CPC, Odili and Max could be heard in their talk that there has been an ongoing restricted identity in the country. "We are either independent in this country or we are not.' 'We are not,' said Max... We will leave mass bribing of the electors to P. O. P. and P. A. P." (Achebe, 1966, p.53). It shows in the above words that the people have been subjected to an atmosphere where their rights are denied, and the government practiced corruption. The government led by colonial products will rule in a manner that resembles the old coloniser where the identity of the masses is fabricated and very few to little attempts are made to give them recognition.

There is further denial of identity when we learn about Odili's nomination paper which is prevented from the electoral office. The ones in power also arrest Odili and keep him in the hospital on purpose. It was to prevent him from signing the nomination paper. Max was also killed because he tried to investigate the unfair handling of the votes at the ballot. These colonial products who play the old colonial role are then described:

Our striking power has been given the mission of changing this abstract certainty into reality: the order is given to reduce the inhabitants of the annexed country to the level of superior monkeys in order to justify the settler's treatment of them as beasts of burden. Violence in the colonies does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm's length; it seeks to dehumanize them. Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours (Fanon, 1963, p.15).

As per the above argument, the dehumanisation of the native by a fellow native is what continues to delay the revival of identity in postcolonial Africa. The national bourgeoisie continue to carry on the colonial mantel left by the white coloniser. Through this subjugation, the Western culture overpowers the native's culture, and through violent means, the native accepts the identity created for him by the colonial figures. It is not part of the African culture to rule in a divided manner as the African society has been known for its unison in leadership. However, due to colonialism, the traditions of the natives are wiped out, and his language is eventually substituted with that of the West thereby destroying the black culture.

Anthills of the Savannah is another text where the identity of the native has been shaped around a white dominated matrix. The leaders of Kangan like Sam have received colonial education and are, therefore, colonial products. The African leadership is not one that comes with divide and rule as it is practiced in Kangan. The people of Kangan live in a setting where they have been captivated by the prevailing autocracy of the government. Achebe (1987) uses Anthills of the Savannah to expose how leadership that derives from colonialism subjects its own people to oppression which leads them into a crisis of identity. Decisions that pertain the ruled in Kangan do not come from their hearts but are determined by how the dictator president finalises them. Therefore, their daily actions are not reflective of their actual self. As revealed in the novel, it is told that in Kangan, days were good or bad for the people depending on how His Excellency wakes up in the morning. The reader also gets to know how His Excellency silences his subordinates during meetings which is an indication of how the coloniser uses

silence to maintain his control of the people. In this restricted setting, the ruled shall fail to identify what they want which gives them a fake and restricted identity.

Fanon (1967) claims that colonialism has a harmful effect on the psyche of the colonised. In a dictatorial setting like Kangan, this effect is visible on the people of Kangan as their government rules in an autocratic mode that is influenced by the old colonial regime. This colonial effect eventually projects to the minds of the ruled people of Kangan who are left with no choice but to follow the subjugation. The members of cabinet in Kangan cannot decide for themselves. Fanon (1963) argues that there is an atmosphere of inhibition and submission created by the coloniser for the colonised. This is the exact situation in Kangan. In one meeting, the secretary tells Chris that His Excellency is not in a good mood. Therefore the topic that Chris had for that day should be brought up the next day. The Chief Secretary does not act on her own but has become a tool for His Excellency. When she talks, she is not really talking her actual self because her "presence of mind is only inhibited by the presence of His Excellency..." (Achebe, 1987, p. 13). This inhibition that the novelist refers to is what continues to deny the people of Kangan their actual identity.

The problem that Achebe addresses in Anthills of the Savannah appears to be a continuation of the one addressed in A Man of the People. The government of Kangan led by Sam is a result of a coup d'état, but it does not bring any change as the leadership is still corrupt and people continue to suffer at the hands of dictatorship. With the advent of colonialism, both personal and cultural identity is at stake in Anthills of the Savannah. The novelist tries to use the story in this novel to expose how colonialism with its social systems like religion contributes to the fall of indigenous culture. The leaders in Kangan have been transformed by the arrival of missionaries that brought Christianity to their homeland resulting into individuals with fragmented personalities that make them incomplete social subjects. The novelist tells of Regnald Okong who as a bright student teacher in lower primary school attracted the interest of the American Baptist. Therefore, he gets ordained at the age of twenty six. The process of ordaining is a European ritual that is rooted in Christianity. This implies a huge transformation and dislocation in his original identity as a black man. The white man uses these social systems to deform the identity of those he subjugates so that they can begin to identify with him. Fanon (1967) emphasises how the native's culture is downgraded by the white man who perceives it to be the enemy of morality and, therefore, an image of absolute wickedness. Thus, Achebe (1987) tries to be the fighting literature that exposes the damage done to the African culture due to the advent of colonialism.

As put by Fanon (1963), the coloniser uses religion as a tool to spearhead colonialism. The novelist in *Anthills of the Savannah* agrees to this statement when we read about the experience of Beatrice in her childhood. She did not know the traditions and legends of her people as their involvement was limited in her upbringing. She was born in a world where things have already fallen apart and got baptised and sent to schools emphasising the English, the Jews and the Hindu. "So she came to barely know who she was" (Achebe, 1987, p.105). Through Beatrice's upbringing, the novelist demonstrates how an identity crisis is formed in the life of the subjects of colonialism. It is further told that Beatrice carried a vague sense, a more critical one than just that of being two different people. It appears then that Beatrice' identity is in crisis as she fails to identify who she really is. Her life has been shaped in a way that differs from her homeland. This is what Fanon (1967) condemns because it leads to a dislocation and separation in identity.

In the fictitious state of Kangan, the leadership which applies divide and rule tactics creates the spirit of "other" identity which leads to social division between the government and the people of Abazon which His Excellency views as the other group. The president considers the Abazonians as the outsiders and he does not have their interests at heart. Therefore, the president being a product of Western education, sidelines his own people and is portrayed as a leader who favors working with the white man only while disregarding the views of his fellow black people. Eventually, the identity that is portrayed in Kangan is dislocated and separated from its native roots. The subjects have been forced to adapt to the surrounding of dictatorship which brings about the spirit of losing one's identity at the hands of subjugation and exploitation. As a result, the ruled group in Kangan is alienated and objectified leading to a crisis in their self actualisation.

Identity dislocation and separation is also immaculately presented in *Purple Hibiscus*. The novel ponders much on the Christian religion which makes it a perfect example of how an "illusionary identity" (Fanon, 1967, p.17) can be formed. The advent of colonialism has done severe damage to the African norms and traditions through missionary education that reinforced Christianity into the mind of the black man. *Purple Hibiscus* is a perfect example of the argument made by Fanon (1963) that the coloniser uses social systems like religion and education to maintain control. The novelist tells of colonial figures like Eugene and Father Benedict who play a major role in the deformity done to the identity of the colonised. The beginning of the novel reveals to the reader how the family of Eugene is living in a cage where it is subjugated to violence that is religiously affiliated. Kambili, Jaja and their mother have no

voice of their own. Their identity is in crisis because of the subjugation they get from the head of the family, Eugene.

Eugene is deeply immersed in the religion of Catholicism and as result, he despises his native culture leading him to ban his father from entering his house because he worships idols. He also limits his children from spending time with their grandfather and restricts them from attending any heathen festival. This conforms to Fanon (1963) when he recounts about the French who shuns the black man's culture, portraying it as "the enemy of values and in this sense, he is absolute evil" (p. 41). While at church, Father Benedict teaches the congregation how to live a holy life and has changed the way things are done there. He removed all the activities that have to be done in Igbo which causes a remarkable damage to the native and his language. Therefore, the way the congregants act is not carrying a sense of their true self but one that has been molded within the boundaries of Christianity. They drop all their norms and traditions that their homeland once valued leading to a deformation in their identity.

The lifestyle led by Eugene is one that answers Fanon (1967) when he tries to ask what the black man wants. In terms of Fanon, the black man in *Purple Hibiscus* is striving to possess some whiteness, he wants to be white. Eugene's house is European with an electric wire and all sorts of glittering furniture, and it is huge enough to accommodate a hundred people. He admires anything that has to do with the European including language. When the villagers speak English, he gets amazed because he believes it is a sign of common sense. He tries to sound British when speaking with Father Benedict. It is a practical example of Fanon (1967) when he recounts of the "Negro" who tries to learn the language of his master in the most accurate way by rolling his tongue to pronounce the letter "r" in the same manner the white man does and would lock himself up learning the diction of the white man. This admiration of the language of the coloniser is what beings about a deformed identity in the black man as he drops his own language that carries his culture and tradition to sacrifice for the language of the white man.

The black man's identity is fabricated in *Purple Hibiscus* as it is shaped in a way that transforms one's actual self. Eugene remains determined to change the beliefs of Papa Nnukwu who believes in the gods of his homeland. In one prayer he could be heard praying for his father's conversion:

Finally, he prayed for the conversion of our Papa Nnukwu, so that Papa Nnukwu would be saved from hell. Papa spent some time describing hell, as if God did not know that the flames were eternal and raging and fierce (Adichie, 2003, p.66).

Eugene associates all the evil forces with any native practice which probably motivates him to describe the imaginary hell to be a scary and haunting place where raging fire prevails. His children have been made to believe all of these doctrines and now fail to identify what they really want in life. Kambili's identity is especially caged up because whatever she does, she makes sure that it pleases her father and she imagines that her father sees her even when he is not around. Her personal identity is restricted and cannot decide for herself.

5.9.2 Revival of identity

In A Man of the People, a few events can be highlighted which contribute to the lost identity of the native. Our Home Made Stuff (OHMS) is one of the company that made locally made products. It is told that the government made efforts to promote the use of the locally manufactured goods. The newspapers, radio and television also promoted these products. The writer brings in this event to promote the African native culture. Therefore, his novel is not only dominated by the Western culture, but there is a sense of African identity too.

One of the artists made a huge wooden figure of a god for a public square at Bori. This god attracted the people's attention. However, the English man finds it odd and lacking something. One of the old women could be seen admiring this very figure, shaking her fists at the statue. "Shaking the fist in our society is a sign of great honour and respect; it means that you attribute power to the person or object" (Achebe, 1966, p.33). In the African culture, it has been a norm to consult the gods in times of trouble to ask for their guidance and intervention. Achebe presents some of these African traditions to maintain the African culture which is under the threat of the Western culture. The novelist uses fiction to revive the lost African culture. The fact that very few of these native practices are visible in the novel is an indication that the advent of colonialism has eroded most of the African culture. Achebe is one of the African writers who have put their effort into writing to revive the African identity.

Another practice which contributes to the revival of identity in *A Man of the People* has to do with the formation of political movements like the CPC. It is told in the novel that the newly found party plans to involve not only the professionals but also the peasants, workers, farmers, black smiths and the carpenters. In terms of Fanon (1963), these newly found parties could be termed as the fighting literature reviving the lost voice of the oppressed. Fanon mentions that where there is oppression, the

voice of the peasants is hardly listened to, but the intellectuals like Max and Odili find it necessary to include their voice through political movements.

The novelist uses the role of the writer to shape identity through educated intellectuals like Max. It is narrated in the novels that during the intoxicating months of high hope, Max decides to write his heart touching poem "Dance-offering to the Earth-Mother". This poem could be seen as a metaphor to reconstruct the lost identity of the colonised land. Achebe (1966) uses this kind of imagery to portray the long lost autonomy of the colonised black man. Part of the poem reads: "I will return to her... many centuries have I wandered... And I will make my offering at the feet of my lovely mother" (Achebe, 1966, p.53). The above lines from Max's poem indicate how his heart longed for a new beginning where everything will be back to normal. The mother that Achebe uses in the lines above is the African image that has been shattered by colonialism, the lost culture and identity that has been worn out by the white man is what the speaker longs to restore. Therefore, the novelist presents the image of postcolonial Africa through his art and reveals how it has been damaged.

Part of the same poem also reads: I will rebuild her house, the holy face they raped and plundered...Poor black mother" (Achebe, 1966, p.53). The above lines from the poem are more than the ordinary meaning projected by the words they carry. From a literary perspective and in postcolonial terms, the author uses words like "rebuild", "raped" and "plundered" to signify the black man's identity that has been shattered due to colonialism. The novelist, therefore, chooses this metaphorical language to use fiction as a platform of identity reshaping. Additionally, the novelist's use of proverbial language is his way of maintaining his African culture: "I felt a tingling glow of satisfaction spread all over me as palm oil does on hot yam" (Achebe, 1966, p.71). For the Igbo, palm oil and yam are considered as great resources that keep their culture in motion. Therefore, one would say that *A Man of the People* is a multidimensional text that is meticulously weaved to such an extent that it does not merely narrate from a fictional point of view but it presents the many realities that surround the actual postcolonial African society today.

Meanwhile, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, a number of attempts to revive the lost identity can also be highlighted here. Achebe (1987) tries to bring in the African culture when he talks about the old traditions of Africa as he tells us of the bird that just sounded at night and woke Beatrice. She remembers how her mother once told her that the bird is the chief servant of the king and asks the

guards of the treasury every morning if his property is in order. The novelist then exposes the damage that the advent of colonialism has done to the African traditions:

The British when they were here would not have stood for it. They had totally and completely ruled out the keeping of domestic animals in their reservation. Except dogs, of course. That habit, strange to say, has survived but not for the reasons the British established it (Achebe, 1987, p.107).

The arrival of the white man has ruled out the African traditions that are of great value to the society. Through his novel, the writer tries to awaken the postcolonial native to realise how much of his tradition and culture has been lost due to colonialism. This ruling out of the African native culture by the British could be the reason why the novel is titled *Anthills of the Savannah* implying the colonised people who are trying to recover from the damage caused by colonialism just like the anthills of the savannah trying to cope and survive from the bush fire.

The novelist presents the role of the writer in *Anthills of the Savannah* to demonstrate the significance it holds in reviving the lost identity. Ikem Osodi is a journalist who finally realises the subjugation faced by his people. Therefore, he turns into a fighting literature who awakens his own people (Fanon, 1963). The writer confirms Fanon who calls on the educated intellectuals to stand up and fight for their rights to reclaim the lost identity. The government of Kangan is hardly questioned on the lack of justice it creates in the country. Through organising meetings for the masses and writing crusading editorials that publish the unjust acts of the government, the people are enlightened and they get to realise where their country is headed to. There is growing mass mobilisation and eventually the army works together with the masses to stage a political coup to bring a change in the lives of the silenced citizens.

Anthills of the Savannah does not leave out the African tradition. After the death of Ikem and Chris, Elewa and her fellows organise a baby naming ritual that is done in an African traditional way. The name given to the child carries meaning and signifies hope and a new beginning:

There was an Old Testament prophet who named his son The-remnant-shall- return. They must have lived in times like this. We have a different metaphor, though; we have our own version of hope that springs eternal. We shall call this child AMAECHINA: Maythe-path-never-close. Ama for short (Achebe, 1987, p.218).

The significance attached to the baby naming ritual in *Anthills of the Savannah* is that of keeping the African values and traditions. Though the father of the child is late, a promising name is still given to the child. Achebe contrasts the African culture to that of the European when he compares the Old

Testament prophet who named his son in line with the bible. The ritual is done traditionally compared to the way it may have happened in the religion of Christianity. Giving a name to the child means giving it an identity. Therefore, this event in the novel marks a newly created identity for those who fought for the long lost identity. One will argue that the novelist writes in cognition of his native culture despite the damage it has been put through by the colonial regime. Achebe is one author who uses his intellectual ability to revive the lost African image with the manner in which he presents the events in his novels. Therefore, the novelist does not only narrate from a fictional basis but also presents images that pertain to the real postcolonial issues faced in present-day Africa.

Purple Hibiscus is a postcolonial novel dominated by the religion of Christianity. Despite the dominant Christian ideologies faced by Eugene's family, Jaja finds a way to speak for himself. We learn that when Jaja refuses to attend the Mass, his father reacts violently against his decision. He throws the hymn book across the sitting room meant to hit Jaja but it instead breaks the figurine on the wall and breaks it into pieces. In terms of identity construction, it could be said that the novelist uses the figurine pieces on the floor to represent the brokenness in the hearts of the oppressed people. When Beatrice tries to pick up the pieces of the broken figurine with her bare hands, it denotes how the colonised attempt to reshape their identity in the eyes of the coloniser. It becomes valid when Fanon (1963) posits that the colonial project is characterised by violence which is used by the oppressor to maintain control of his subject.

Papa Nnukwu in *Purple Hibiscus* is a symbol of the remaining African culture that is at great stake due to Westernisation. Adichie (2003) tries to reveal the importance of preserving the African tradition through Kambili's grandfather. He is one of the few who have not been influenced by Christianity; he sticks to his native roots. He is portrayed as an embodiment of the old traditions that stand before colonialism and does not give in when his son persuades him to become a Christian convert. However, the novelist further reveals the threatening context in which the African traditions survive:

"What is he doing in my house? What is Anikwenwa doing in my house?" The enraged timber in Papa's voice made my fingers cold at the tips... "What is Anikwenwa doing in my house? What is a worshiper of idols doing in my house? Leave my house!" (Adichie, 2003, pp.80-81).

The fact that Eugene despises the heathens makes him chase away the old man who worships idols. The response from the old man is used to reveal how the African is blindly getting lost in the world of Westernisation at the expense of the native's tradition. The old man tells Eugene that he is like a fly that

blindly follows a corpse into the grave— the African culture is dying. The novelist is aware of the deformed identity created for the African due to colonialism and is careful enough to present this in fiction without directly referring colonialism itself.

Apart from Jaja who refuses to go to church on a Palm Sunday, aunt Ifeoma also tries to live a native life. She goes with the children at the heathen festival to see the masquerades. However, the identity presented for her is a hybrid one as she still partakes in the Christian way of living. She at times goes to church with her children and can recite the rosary during the prayer times at her house. She also moves to America with her children and leave her homeland, Nigeria. This hybrid life is not only with Ifeoma but at Eugene's household too. Kambili tells of some traditional food eaten at their house, the lunch of "fufu and onugbu soup" (Adichie, 2003, p.12). Though it is a town house, Kambili reveals that Sisi pounded the yam using a mortar and a pestle. The pounding of yam in this manner is usually done in rural areas, but Adichie, being aware of her own tradition and culture, mentions of traditional food including palm wine to keep the African culture alive through fiction.

In light of the above the identity of the colonised societies have been severely transformed by colonialism as portrayed in the three novels discussed above. Achebe and Adichie have crafted their novels to ponder into the issue of identity in postcolonial Africa. Therefore, there is a dislocation and separation in the identity of the colonised as a result of the colonial experience. The above analysis on identity in all of the three novels reveals that the colonised society faces a crisis in identity, an alienated identity. However, the two novelists have tried to revive this deformed identity through fiction.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented the analysis and discussion of the study. The chapter began with the synopses of the three novels as well as brief biographical information of the two authors, Chinua Achebe and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The chapter then moved on to the major analysis and discussion of the three novels as per the objectives of the study. With the main objective of investigating the concepts of hegemony and resistance in *A Man of the People* (1966), *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) and *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), the specific objectives of the study were to discover the ways in which the hegemonic power is imposed on the colonised as depicted in the selected novels as well as exploring how characters in the selected novels resist the hegemonic power of the coloniser in independent Nigeria. The study also sought to analyse how identity is constructed in the selected novels. In other words, the

analysis presented the hegemonic manifestations in all of the three novels by outlining the types of hegemony found in the texts. The discussion also looked at resistance against hegemony in the three novels. As for the construction of identity, the analysis provided subthemes about how identity is shaped in a postcolonial setting as portrayed in the three novels. The discussion also commented on how the writers reshape the identity of the colonised by means of literature. Postcolonialism was used as a theoretical framework while subscribing to Frantz Fanon's anticolonial views expressed in his two works, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin White Masks* (1967). The next chapter will be the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, conclusions and recommendation are made in line with the objectives of the study. This study analysed the concepts of hegemony and resistance in three postcolonial novels, *A Man of the People*, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *Purple Hibiscus*. Postcolonial theory of literature was applied as a theoretical framework of this study while making close reference to Frantz Fanon's two works, The *Wretched of the Earth* (1963) as well as *Black Skin*, *White Masks* (1967). The main objective of this study was to investigate the concepts of hegemony and resistance in the two novels of Chinua Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *A Man of the People* as well as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*.

The specific objectives were:

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- to discover the ways in which the hegemonic power is imposed on the colonised as depicted in the selected novels;
- to explore how characters in the selected novels resist the hegemonic power of the coloniser in independent Nigeria and
- to analyse how identity is constructed in the selected novels

The concepts of hegemony and resistance were deemed necessary for analysis in the three novels because they pave a way to the discovery of how identity is shaped in postcolonial literature. The novels have also been analysed in line with Frantz Fanon's books because they create a blueprint to analyse the concepts of hegemony and resistance in the three novels in line with postcolonial theory of literature.

6.2 Conclusions of the study

Hegemony and resistance are key concepts in the study of postcolonial literature. The postcolonial texts used in this study document these concepts in a range of ways. The postcolonial writer uses literature to present the actual postcolonial situation resultant from colonialism. In the three texts, it was found that there is relatedness in the way the three novels present the concepts of hegemony and resistance. The three novels are all postcolonial Nigerian texts that challenge the colonial reality in the lives of Nigerians. The analysis was done in light of the anticolonial arguments in *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skin, White Masks*. There is a close connection between hegemony and resistance manifested in the novels and the selected anticolonial arguments by Frantz Fanon. Based on the study's findings, a number of types of hegemony has been identified in the three novels. The forms of hegemony found in the three novels include personal hegemony, political hegemony, hegemony in education, globalisation hegemony, colonial hegemony, monetary hegemony, religious hegemony, cultural hegemony, and military hegemony. However, due to the different contents of the books, not all of the types of hegemony provided above are dominant in all of the novels. However, the analysis was done in relation to the dissemination of the hegemonic ideas in the novels. Therefore, as found in the texts, there is still hegemonic rule in postcolonial society.

In terms of resistance against hegemony in the three texts, the analysis found that the texts employ two ways of resisting the coloniser. The first mode of resistance is about the role played by the educated intellectual in resisting oppression, and the second one includes the violent ways in which the oppressed

oppose their coloniser. Therefore, the analysis outlined the role of the native intellectuals who become the fighting literature, in terms of Fanon (1963), for their people. It also discussed the ways in which violence is applied to liberate the captive in the three novels. However, some measures of resistance against hegemony discussed here seem to dominate in some novels only. All in all, the similarity in these novels is that revolutionary thinking has been employed in writing all of these works of art to expose the reality in today's postcolonial society. Fanon's revolutionary ideas have been found relevant to most of the parts in the three novels.

In terms of identity construction in the three novels, the analysis concludes that the colonised societies have been severely transformed by colonialism. Despite the few attempts to revive the black identity, the identity of the colonised as portrayed in the novels is one that is dislocated and separated from its native roots. The analysis on identity in all of the three novels reveals that the colonised society faces a crisis in identity, an alienated identity. However, the two novelists have tried to revive this deformed identity through fiction. Therefore, this research will be a useful tool for the current literature on identity construction.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the nature and scope of this study, the researcher recommends the following for future research:

- Future research on hegemony and resistance should be done on African novels to contribute to the available research.
- More postcolonial studies should be conducted with reference to Frantz Fanon's books.
- Researchers should look more into the issue of identity construction in postcolonial Africa.
- Hegemony, resistance and identity should be investigated in other literary works that are not Nigerian based.

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