

REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

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THE UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE 1

FACULTY OF ARTS LETTERS AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS,
LANGUAGE, AND CULTURES

DOCTORAL RESEARCH FOR ARTS,
CULTURES AND CIVILISATION



REPUBLIQUE DU CAMEROUN

Paix-Travail-Patrie

UNIVERSITE DE YAOUNDE 1

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CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET
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UNITE DE RECHERCHE ET DE
FORMATION DOCTORALE EN ARTS,
CULTURES ET CIVILISATION

REPRESENTATION AND HEGEMONY: IN

TESS OSONYE ONWUEME'S *WHAT MAMA SAID* AND DEREK WALCOTT'S
DREAM ON MONKEY MOUNTAIN

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Award of a Master's Degree in English

Specialization: Commonwealth Literary Studies

BY

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JAN 2024

DEDICATION

To

My Father Elias Tangong

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I humbly wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to everyone who directly or indirectly contributed to the realization of this study.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Professor Sarah Anyang Agbor, whose scientific experience and materials provision permitted me to acquire the orientation needed for the realization of this research endeavour. .

I owe gratitude to Dr, Denis Mbah, Dr, Veronica Achengwang, Dr Mrs Delphine Alobwede Epie and Dr Judith Ngantu. for their material and academic assistance

I owe gratitude to my sister Tangong Constance for her support and understanding during my absence as a mother and elder sister.

I am equally thankful to my friends Dr Maurine Jam, Dr Rita Nfon for their academic support.

Special thanks go to my husband Alexandre Kong Long Souma for his financial and moral support and also to my children for their understanding.

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project entitled “Representation and Hegemony in Tess Osonye Onwueme’s *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott’s *Dream on Monkey Mountain*” was carried out by Tangong Gladys Same of The University of Yaounde 1, Department of English, and was supervised by me

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ABSTRACT

This study entitled “Representation and Hegemony in Tess Osonye Owueme’s *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott’s *Dream on Monkey Mountain*” examines the evolution of the dimensions and intricacies of representation and hegemony manifested in postcolonial discourse. Firstly, this study looks at power negotiation in the texts and the effects of dominance and discrimination in the Nigerian and Caribbean societies. It also examines how existence and co-existence is made meaningful within a context whereby there is the binarism of superior and inferior race, culture and competent and incompetent persons. This work stands on the hypothesis that Tess and Walcott showcase societies in which history has created unequal hegemonic balance. This therefore created a clash of values and the vehement negotiation for representation. Secondly, this study portrays how the playwrights highlight in the plays self-realization, resistance, negotiation and reconciliation of the supposedly superior and inferior parties, the only solution to the struggle for representation and hegemony. New historicism and Post-colonial theories shall use to examine and to analysis the plays.

This study arrives at the conclusion that representation and Hegemony is but a historical and existential matter. Hence, in these plays, the subalterns, the dehumanized, the oppressed and the non-represented who are mostly the colonized -‘The blacks’- are struggling to own a place in the world of representation and hegemony headed by the colonizers. As a result, mutual hegemonic negotiation for representation seems to be the only way out for the colonized and the colonizers, the superior and the inferior in the society. This is proven when the subaltern comes to self-realization, resists and then redefines him / herself. Hence, reconciliation and acceptance of both parties as demonstrated at the closure of the texts.

RESUME

Cette étude intitulée «Représentation et Hégémonie dans les œuvres de Tess Osonye Owueme et de Derek Walcott intitulés Respectivement *What Mama Said* et *Dream on Monkey Mountain* » examine l'évolution des perspectives et de la complexité de la représentation et de l'hégémonie manifestées dans les textes postcoloniaux. Premièrement, cette étude vise à percevoir la négociation du pouvoir dans les textes et les effets de la domination et de la discrimination dans les sociétés nigérianes et caribéennes. Par ailleurs, elle étudie comment l'existence et la coexistence prennent du sens dans un contexte où il y a la dichotomie de la race supérieure et inférieure, de culture et de la compétence et de l'incompétence des individus. Ce travail se fonde sur l'hypothèse selon laquelle Tess et Walcott présentent les sociétés dans lesquelles l'histoire a créé une hégémonie inégale. Ceci a par conséquent créé un conflit de valeurs et une négociation intense pour la représentation. Deuxièmement, cette étude présente comment les dramaturges exposent dans les œuvres la réalisation de soi, la résistance, la négociation et la réconciliation de la supposée supériorité et infériorité des parties comme l'unique solution à la quête de la représentation et de l'hégémonie. La présente étude se fonde sur les théories postcoloniales et de la nouvelle historicité pour analyser les textes.

La présente étude est parvenue à la conclusion selon laquelle la représentation et l'hégémonie relèvent des questions existentielles et historiques. Par conséquent, dans ces pièces ; les subalternes, les déshumanisés, les opprimés et les exclus de la société, qui sont pour la plupart les colonisés- « les noirs » - se battent pour avoir une place dans le monde de la représentation et de l'hégémonie dominé par les colons. Comme conséquence, la négociation mutuelle de l'hégémonie pour la représentation semble être l'unique issue pour les colons et les colonisés ; les supérieurs et les inférieurs dans la société. Ceci est observable au moment où le subalterne fait face à la réalisation de soi, résiste, et se redéfinit. En conséquence, la réconciliation et l'acceptation des deux parties est à l'ordre du jour comme le démontre la fin des pièces.

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INTRODUCTION

Post-colonial literature has been generated and shaped by the same forces that have transformed much of the continents during the past hundred years. Writers have served not only as chronicles of contemporary political history, but also as advocates of radical social change. Consequently, their works both reflect and project the course of the African Cultural Revolution, (*African Literature, An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*)

It is believed that a Post-colonial or Commonwealth writer has gone through three vital facets. The fifties, to the colonized writer, was the decade of tremendous, imperial and anti-colonial revolutionary upheavals accessioned by the forcible interaction of the masses in history. It was a moment of hope, optimism for a bright tomorrow freed from colonialism. Its writers were born on the crest of anti-colonial upheaval and revolutionary ferment. It was a season of writing explaining and speaking for itself and interpreting its past, It was the writing of the transplanted rejecting the images of its past as drawn by the artist of imperialism. The literature produced by this time, treats imperialism and the class forces it generated as an integrated economic – political and cultural system of its opposition, national independence, democracy and socialism. It was a work that seeks to be represented, and to have a voice.

But to most people, freedom or independence did not; bring useful changes. In Ngugi WaThiong'o's words,

It was an independence in which the rulers are holding a begging bowl and the ruled holding a shrinking belly. A questionable independence as it bore a new class and a new leadership quite similar to the old one. It was a black-skin; white masks or rather white-skins, black mask holding colonialists' motives. (Writing Against Neo-Colonialism. (160)

The new regimes under the independent states come under dilemma from external forces from the West wanting these new states to maintain Western economic and political status quo. But where a system or a regime tries to resist or show a breakage from the West representation, destabilization through economic sabotage and political intrigue was set in place. Apart from this; internal forces came from those leaders who saw independence as a hindrance to them getting rich and a go back to advert poverty, the case of Pipeline in *What Mama Said* and Corporal in *Dream on Monkey Mountain*.

Hence, this makes the new regimes' rulers see dependence on foreigners, grand-mismanagement, and a well-maintained police boots as an option to hybridize. Hence, anger and a mood of disillusionment engulfed the Commonwealth writers and the literature of the period. Thus, these writers write to showcase the lack of moral fibre in the new leadership. They blamed their leaders for being recipients of crimes and perpetrators of crimes against their people.

Then came the seventies; the transitional period from colonial regime to neo-colonial regime. From here we got into the eighties, an era in which former colonial powers re-entered the colonized states in new ways and new forms of powers- imperialist interest. This led to a new fight different from that for independence; that of anti-imperialist struggle. It was a period of resistance beyond color and race; a fight against imperialism. This conflict had two dimensional structures which were: firstly against the West hegemonic tendencies and secondly, against the anti-national, anti-democratic and neo-colonial character of the ruling powers. In other words, it was a conflict and resistance against the perpetrators of imperial domination of the ruling class. It was a fight against internal classes or the new profiteers that allied with imperialists. (Ngugi in *'Writing against Neo-Colonialism. 160-161)*

To affirm Ngugi's statement above that the post-colonial writers' writing is against anti-national, anti-democratic and neo-colonial characters of the ruling power, Tess Osonye in *What Mama Said* says:

Yobe: ...*Pump a million barrels or more a day. No records. Ships waiting at sea. Sale seals. Paid in dollars or pound sterling overseas into your account and mine. No hassles, just that we'll have to displace more villagers... we'll silence anybody who dares speak against, challenge, or sabotage our government. We've displaced our boys into all nooks and conners of the land. Even in the marketplace.*

Pipeline: (A local chief but a representative of the whites) Make sure you tell them about us. Represent our interest.

Yobe: Always. Always. (82, 84)

The above quotation indicates that the post-colonial leaders are not different from their predecessors the Whitemen. Though, black leaders ruling their fellow blacks, we see that their motives and intentions are corruptible and exploitative. They care about nothing but their personal interest. Hence they have become hybrid leaders who have refused to break away from international and national structures of exploitation, inequality and oppression. They are rulers, who rather than use their power to represent their citizens as well as their continent, use it to satisfy their ego. Pipeline in *What Mama Said* says 'Oh yes. They will get... I mean, through me. I'm their chief, their leader. No one goes to the community... land...except through me. And no one comes to it or you, except through me...Sure! I am the way. The ~~~~~~truth. (87) This is an act of terrorism, dictatorship, corruption

and inhumanity. A ruler who ought to protect his subjects is contrary the one exploiting them. He now crowns himself a god. It is in bitterness to this neo-elite disruption of cultural norms that writers like Tess, Walcott, Soyinka and many others thereby defined commonwealth literature as literature against social decay and human progress. They see Literature as a medium through which the socio-political, cultural and economic exploitation, discrimination and humiliation of history and the system can be unveiled. As it was in the days of colonialism, so now in the days of post-colonialism, the colonized are still struggling for a world in which they can own and control that which their collective sweat produced. They seek for a world in which they will control the economic, political and cultural to make their lives accord with where they want and with who they want to be. (African Literature an Anthology of Criticism and Theory, (157-164).

Talking about the post-colonial writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'O in '*Writers in Politics*' holds that:

A creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of the contemporary times will end up being completely irrelevant like the absurd man in the proverb who leaves his house burning to pursue a rat fleeing from the flame. He urges the commonwealth writers to see the world as 'a grain of sand on which the past, present and future are involved; a world that reflects the actual state and struggle of the people'. (478)

Thus, in response to traumatic and cultural fragmentation brought since independence, the postcolonial writers moved from the effects of colonialism such as the sociological and psychological damages to universal themes that explore domains of the human condition. They choose the medium of drama as an efficient genre that can showcases the different approaches to reality such as political intrigues, social disillusionment and economic corruption.

This work is thus concerned with comprehending the socio-economic, cultural and political effects of the actions of representation and hegemony such as marginalization, conflict, resistance, trauma, exploitation and social dislocation in a post-colonial system. A system that does not only make people and things fall apart like the case in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, but also plunged them into oblivion by forces beyond their strength. Thus making them like Okonkwo in *Things Fall Apart*, try heroically to resist the dehumanization that is overtaking their world. In the same light, this work sets out to reveal the Nigerian and the Caribbean societies are dominated by white culture hegemony, the haves over the have non and the patriarchal over matriarchal. It also seeks to find out how the down trodden; the subdued or the second class breaks away from the shackles of identification. This study will try to point out that the achievement of freedom by most colonized or Commonwealth states is nothing but

utopia given that the post-colonial rulers emulate their predecessors and as such are nothing but their representatives.

Aim of Study

This study aims at examining hegemonic representation in Tess Owueme's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain* as the major concepts in the colonized drama. It looks at the evolution of power domination as a cankerworm that runs deep into all eras of history - from colonisation to the present date. This study aims to show that white racial hegemony, suppression and Eurocentricism are some causes of the colonized non-representation. We wish to look at the metamorphosis of representation and hegemony to reveal that the colonized exert hegemony on themselves even in the absence of white hegemony. This shows that despite the colour difference, men are the same for they all have that innate desire to dominate, control and subjugate others. The study aims at showcasing that to overcome obstacles and to transcend the borders

of hegemonic representation is not only by counter reacting others records, but rather by coming out of one's comfort zones to the realization of the fact that one can avert one's responsibilities but will never dodge the effects of bypassing those responsibilities. We also aimed at showing that for colonized to avert colonial effects, they need to begin with what they have for no matter how tiny the achievement, success is success; and by so doing, we would be recorded and identified in history. Is it not said that Rome was not built in a day and that little drops filled an ocean? Finally, we will examine resistance, as a tool for deconstructing stereotypes that served as hindrances to the colonized representation and hegemony

Significance of Study.

This study is significant in that it creates a link between history and hegemonic representations as well as deconstructs stereotypes that serve as barriers to representation and hegemony in the society. It is important in that it will create in citizenries the awareness for negotiation and coexisting that can lead to a mutual hegemonic representation. Finally, this research is vital in that it brings together, two authors from two different cultural and educational backgrounds, to show how their artistic work enhance the bridging and the developing of a multicultural postcolonial society.

The Research Problem

The researcher wants to find out how Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on monkey Mountain*, present representation and hegemonic inequality as legacies of colonial and post-

colonial eras. It wants to find out how knowledge of history and memory helps to reconstruct a hegemonic society. It seeks to know why whites succeed in their various hegemonic representations while the colonized after fifty years of independence are unable to do the same. It seeks to uncover how the post-colonial predicament is entirely of their making and not as a legacy of colonization. It seeks to find out how resistance and deconstructing stereotypes by the subalterns create a balanced ground for both the colonized and the colonizers in a postmodern hegemonic society?

Motivation

After reading Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, we discovered that representation, power, resistance, exploitation, betrayal, conflict, fragmentation and rebuilding are recurrent themes in their texts. Thus the researcher got triggered by the fact that Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott writing from different continents showcase that the ordeals such as disillusioned, alienated, betrayal and dream deferred witnessed during the colonial era are still represented in the post-colonial Nigeria and Caribbean societies. We are also motivated noticing that the goals of independence were unachieved because of the colonized inability to stop the influx of neocolonialist's hegemonic representation. Hence, Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott texts under study are colonial and anticolonial

Research Questions

The work will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Is the notion of Representation and Hegemony in the Nigerian and Caribbean societies a reality or is it a mere misrepresentation of history as memory?
2. How effective is resistance a weapon to representation and hegemony in the texts under study?
3. How and what does the unrepresented, the colonized need so as to join the circle of Hegemonic Representation
4. 4 Why is there no social justice at the end of the plays?

Hypothesis

This work is based on the hypothesis that Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott in the plays under study, present representation and hegemony as concrete facts in the Nigerian and the Caribbean postcolonial societies. It supposes that history has created unbalanced power relationships and a clash of values and identity hence the constant struggle to negotiate for hegemonic representation. It assumes that

representation and hegemony manifested in different ways the society. It assumes that dream deferred dehumanization and traumatization and resistance are the effects of celebrating other's hegemonic representation. Finally, it assumes that the authors showcase in the plays that the solution to this power struggle can be achieved through self-realization, unity, reconciliation and coexistence by the colonized and the colonizers.

Definition of Terms

Representation.

Plato and Aristotle key figures in early literary theory considered literature as a simple form of representation. Aristotle sees each mode of representation: verbal, visual or musical, as being natural to human beings. Representation is thus the repositioning of a situation so that certain aspects of it are highlighted for emphasis.

Politically, they look at representation in government as the process of enabling the citizenry of some of them to participate in the shaping of legislation and governmental policy through deputies chosen by them. They went forward to saying that political representation is the activity of making citizens voices, opinions and perspectives “present” in the public policy-making process. To them, political representation is realized when political actors speak, advocate, mobilize and act on the behalf of others in the political arena. ([https://plotostanford.edu/entries/political representation](https://plotostanford.edu/entries/political%20representation) 3rd Jul, 2019.)

In an online journal on “Social representation”, representation affects a society in that strong and positive representation can help fight and break down stereotypes that can be detrimental to individuals and limit the society. When a group of people is only represented in negative ways it adversely affects the way others see them, as well as the way they see themselves. (<https://www.metrix.edu.au>) Literary, reading books with accurate representation helps us to understand how we see the world, and why we see the world the way we do. It allows us to see the world through the eyes of somebody else. This thus creates a community where we acknowledge our shared humanity, our experiences and respect our differences. Post-colonial literature tends to depict non-Westerners, the native other –as a homogenous mass, portrayed as carrying all the dark human traits (<https://www.diva.postal.org> 20th Sept 2021.)

Cultural representation according to Stuart Hall is the presentation of meaning through language, discourse and image. It allows people to explore their identity freely without needing to conform to any stereotype depiction in a particular movie or show. It can help minorities realize that they are more than the stereotype that surrounds them. (<https://www.theemagazine.com>)

Post colonialism which is the theory and the study of the political and cultural changes of the colonized sees postcolonial representation as the representation of the natives in relation to the colonizers. To this, Spivak Gayatri in her essay 'Can the Subaltern speak' underlines how representation, especially of the marginalized group from developing countries are intimately linked to the socio-economic, gendered, cultural, geographic, historical and institutional positioning. She goes further to say that representation embodies a range of meanings and interpretations.

Ethnologically, representation, she argues, can be understood as a presentation drawn up not by depicting the object as it is but by representing it or constructing it in a new form and or environment. She insisted on the fact that in a semiotic sense, representation must be reconsidered in connection with representation in politics, representation in the sense of any capacity for a person to be the agent of, to stand for, the will of other people. The term representation cannot be given a definite meaning because there will always be a gap between intention and realization, original and copy (<https://www.encyclopedu.edia.com>)

Christopher O'Reilly in his work *Post-colonial*, sees representation as how individuals, people or historical events are portrayed, To him, no representation is ever neutral (125). He further holds that: 'Writing is not a mirror which reflects the world but a means through which it is constructed. In a post-colonial context, Representation is linked to the issues of bias, stereotyping and the influence of discourse' (O'Reilly 125).

Ross Murfin and Supryia M. Ray in *The Bedford Glossary of Critical and Literary Terms* define Representation as 'the use of one thing to stand for or substitute for another through some signifying medium. A representation of an event is not the actual event in itself but rather a statement about or rendition of that event (338). Moreover, they explain that "an artistic is an image or likeness of something achieved through some medium such as language, paint, stone or film'. They further affirmed that 'representation maintains the position of a dominant class or classes by representing the belief system and preserving the status quo upon which their power depends' (338).

Ngadja Dassi Dorcas in her work entitled "Terrorism and Representation" holds that in the colonial context, which often shows the relationship that exists between great nations and weak ones, the concept of representation has to do with the image the colonizers have of the colonized. To her, it is a situation whereby the former sees themselves as the 'subjects' while they view the latter as 'objects. According to her, this type of representation automatically leads to what Ashcroft, Griffiths and Helen

Tiffin call ‘resistance’ on the part of the unprivileged who in turn build up his or her own ideology of the other. She further claimed that the principles of alterity that existed between Europe and its former colonies are defined in Edward Said’s *Orientalism* where he talked of the “ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident” It is an image that brings about stereotypes that the Occident always ascribes to the Orient. She further notes that ‘representations are formations, or as Roland Barthes said that of all the operations of languages, they are deformations (*Orientalism*.273). So, they deform the image of the other who is thus misrepresented. By this we get to understand that representation leads to misrepresentation as well as giving a faulty view of the other.

Veronica Achengwang in her work entitled “Representation and Hybridity” quotes Aristotle in *Critical Terms for Literary Study* who says:

Representation differs from one another in three ways: in object, manner and means, the object is that which is represented and the manner is material that is used. Representation, Plato reasoned are more substitutes for the things themselves, even worse, they may be false or illusory substitutes that stir up anti-social emotions (violence or weakness) and they may represent bad persons and actions, encouraging imitations of evil.(13)

She adds that James A Kavanagh in “Ideology” supposes that ideology is less tenacious as a set of ideas than a system of representation, perception and images that precisely encourage men and women to “see”| their specific place in a historically peculiar social – formation as inevitable natural, a necessary function of their “real life” (310). Therefore, the individual lives in an environment that is shaped by history. As a result of representation, the individual is made to internalize a certain mindset of himself or herself that affects his or her attitude. Hence, we come to the concept of the New Historicist that holds that ideologies operate and form personal and group identity. (294)

Veronica Ackengwang further quotes W.J.T. Mitchell who in his article “Representation” in *Critical Terms for Literary Study* posits that:

It should be clear that representation even purely aesthetics representation of fictional persons and events can never be completely divorced from political and ideological questions: “One may argue, in fact that representation is precisely the point where these are most likely to enter the literary work. (15)

From the examination of the above, we see that representation is geared at dominating the mindset of the subalterns, who, due to their inferiority complex, are gullible into accepting the representation offered to them by the European masters at the time of colonization. It is for this that literature focuses on examining the representation of people and events that occurred across cultural boundaries, rather

than within them, such as the representation of immigrants, political refugees, and colonized people. The center of such study, Bhabha says, “would rather be the sovereignty of national cultures, nor the universalism of human culture, but a focus on ... the unspoken, unrepresented past that haunts the historical present (375). By this, we get to the presumption that a frame work helps us through a literary work of art to know the personal experience of a people whose history has been denied , ignored, disenfranchised, marginalized and then unhomed.

Hence, a work of art illuminates and constructs events and ideas in the manner in which a writer or a critic will want it to be. Representation therefore cannot be neutral for this study; for as defined by O’Reilly, representation is important as it will help us look into issues of bias and stereotypes for the validation of some of the hypotheses. In regards to this study, representation will be use as a tool that affects a society given that positive representation can help fight and break down stereotypes detrimental to both individuals and society. Representation shall be seen as the various ways through which the dominant class use to oppress, to suppress, to exploit, to marginalize and to dominant the downtrodden so as to maintain their status quo. From a New Historical perspective, it will be used as the products and means by which the dominant class used to propagate their existing ideologies and cultures. Representation shall be mirrored as a tool that enables people to freely explore their identity without needing to conform to any stereotype depiction of them in a particular society. It will be used as a stimulant for the colonized to realize that they are more than the stereotype that surrounds them.

Hegemony

As long as commonwealth literature or post-colonial literature is concerned, one will notice that the term hegemony has been variously used and defined by different authors and scholars in the world of art. Hegemony from the Greek word ‘hegemonia’ is defined by Gramsci as the way those in power use their power to control public perception in a way that ensures their stay in power. Hegemony in the 19th century, denotes ‘social or cultural predominance; predominance by one group within a society or milieu’. It also states that hegemony is the geographical method of indirect imperial dominance, with hegemonic rules; the leading state subordinates other states, by the threat of intervention, and implied means of power, rather than by direct military force.

The Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines hegemony ‘as the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others. Mearsheimer, on his part defines a hegemon as a “state that is so powerful that it dominates all the other states in the system”. He adds, that “no other state has the military wherewithal to put up a serious fight against it.” Hegemony, to

Marsheimer “means domination of the system, which is usually interpreted to mean the entire world (2001, 41).” The *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, again defines hegemony as ‘the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others.

According to *The International Studies Encyclopedia*,

The concept of hegemony refers to international leadership by one political subject, be it the state or a ‘historical bloc’ of particular social groupings, whereby the reproduction of dominance involves the enrollment of other, weaker, less powerful parties (states or classes) involving varying degrees of consensus, persuasion and, as well as political legitimacy. as a polis at the head of an alliance consisting of a number of parties that come together freely in order to address a common military threat. Implying that hegemony is a system of alliances in which a state exercises power and leadership over a mutually consenting state. (Methodology. net. Hegemony.)

The Oxford English Dictionary sees power as a ‘personal, social or political ascendancy, influence and national strength’ It goes on to define hegemony as: “leadership, predominance, preponderance; especially the leadership or predominant authority of one state of a confederacy or union over others.” In addition to preponderant power, Hegemonic Stability Theory posits, that one of the roles of the hegemon, especially liberal hegemons such as Great Britain in the 19th century and the United States in the later part of the 20th century, is to ensure international order by creating international institutions and norms that facilitate international cooperation. (Krasner, 1983, p. 2).

Gary A. Dymski in an online journal “Post –Hegemonic Interegnium.TheU.S. Economic Hegemony” posits that Hegemony is a nation’s ability to determine the terms and conditions on which cross-border exchanges of goods, services, and financial assets are made. A global hegemon can dictate these terms and conditions globally. A nation that achieves economic hegemony over a given sphere must stand ready to stabilize financial flows in that sphere when these become disorganized. A hegemon is not responsible for maintaining prosperity in its sphere of influence; but to continue as hegemon it must at least prevent other nations from replacing it, and this depends largely on military power.

According to Robert Keohane in his book *Power and Interdependence, and After Hegemony*, hegemony is related in complex ways to cooperation and to institutions such as international regimes. It adds that hegemony enables the hegemon to get others to acquiesce without the use of coercive power. In this light hegemony is gotten more cheaply as other states voluntarily agree to comply with the hegemon based on shared interests and a sense of legitimacy. (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/101>).

In international relations, hegemony refers to the ability of an actor with overwhelming capability to shape the international system through both coercive and noncoercive means.

Ian Clark in *The English School or International Society Approach to International Relations* posits that hegemony is not equivalent to predominant material power. Nor is it solely an attribute of the dominant state itself. Rather, it is ‘a state bestowed by others; and rests on recognition by them (2011). By this, we realize that hegemony has to do with power, leadership and material wealth. From all of the above, we see that hegemony is a very complex concept that entails a relationship between a dependent state or a social group and an independent group. This given, we realized that hegemonic notion has brought about a high level of competition over human and natural resources. The fons, the politicians and the invaders are best indicators of the national and regional political structures.

Each of these structures occupies ranks and is progressively using its available resources to accede unto higher heights within the hierarchy, an accession that is gotten through pacific or violent methods. The urge for accession at all costs gives birth to a rising dimension of the politics of representation which brought about hegemonic eyeing among groups in the society and nation. Owen Worth writes, hegemony, in Gramsci’s terms, “appears as the result of a class struggle between the dominant and the ‘subaltern’ classes in society, whereby the former win over the ‘hearts and minds’ of the latter through the pursuit of consent” (2015, 66).

Hegemony in every era or state seems to be the main focus for power seekers. It is an ascendancy that robs man of his humanity given that with power comes chaos, intimidations, disorder and insecurity in the society. A clear case of this is that of the soldier, Corporal Lestrade and pipeline in the texts under study who failed to realize that power is not all that matters in the life of a man but self-discipline and that power control is a school built on self-knowledge. Rather their attitudes give us room to question if they are in any way different from the colonizers.

In this work, we shall look at hegemony to mean the different ways the rich or the superior social or political individuals or groups exercise leadership and preponderant material power through rules and institutions. It shall mean the domination of the powerful over the poor or subalterns. It will use hegemony as the means through which a particular social group goes beyond its narrow interest to universalize, neutralize opposition, transform or incorporate their power into other social forces or group. This work will use hegemony to stand for the ability of an actor with overwhelming capacities to shape the international system through both conceive and non-conceive meanings. Or as Ian Clark

puts it, as “a status bestowed by others, and rests on recognition by them. New Historicism will be of importance here as it will able us to examine the deconstructive insight about human knowledge and experience as well as see how the text and the context are mutually constituted.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHORS

Tess Osonye Onwueme

According to an online article Tess Osonye Onwueme, Tess Osonye Onwueme was born Osonye Tess Akeake in Ogwasi-uku, present-day Delta state on the 8th of September 1955 to the family of barrister chief Akeake and Maria Eziashr. She was educated at the Mary Mount secondary school: it was while at the school that she first dabbled in writing. After secondary education, she married an agronomist, I.C. Onwueme, and bore five children, during the time she attended the University of Ife, for a bachelor’s degree in education (1979) and Masters in literature (1982). She obtained her PhD at the University of Benin, studying African drama. In 1998, she again married Obika Gray, a Jamaican political scientist. She is a Nigerian playwright, scholar and poet, who rose to prominent writing plays with themes of social justice, culture, and the environment.

In 2010, she became the University Professor of Global Letters, as a result of her exceptional service as a Distinguished Dr of Cultural Diversity and English at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. She has won several international awards, including: the prestigious Fonlon-Nichols award (2009), the Phyllis Wheatley Nwapa awards for outstanding black writers (2008), The Martin Luther King, Jr. Caesar Chavez Distinguished Writers Award (1989/90), the Distinguished Authors Award (1988), and the Association of Nigerian Authors Drama Prize. She has published sixteen plays among which are: *The Desert Encroaches* (1985), *Tell It To Women* (1995), *Shakara: Dance-Hall Queen* (2001), *Then She Said it* (2003), *The Missing Face* (1997), *Riot in Heaven* (1996) and Three Plays: *The Broken Calabash*, *Parables for a Season* and *The Reign of Wazobia* (1993).

She has also written short stories, poems, books and articles within and outside Africa and numerous honors and international productions of her drama. She is currently a professor of English and a distinguished professor of cultural diversity at the University of Wisconsin in the USA. In her plays, she showcases historical silenced views of African Women. She shades light on African life, and sustains her advocacy for the global poor and the youths in her writings. Onwueme chooses the platform of the stage to promote the cause of the voiceless and the women. She treats a wide range of

issues from the local to the global. She uses women to critique, assess and promote perspectives and views on these issues thereby also speaking for the voiceless and also giving them a voice.

Besides highlighting the exploitation and subjugation of women in the society, she also presents them as an emerging force that in conjunction with the youths must arise and save the nation from the downward spider of destruction. She uses her plays to showcase historical silenced views such as African Women. By shedding more light on African life, she sustains her advocacy for the global poor and the youths in her writings. Tess in most of her work is concerned with injustices, human rights, environmental degradation, and the ills of capitalism, neo-colonialism, nepotism, racism, international trade, and women's issues. (<https://www.encyclopedia.com>arts>)

Summary of the play *What Mama Said*

Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* is an explosive drama that presents an African people's confrontation with the government and the foreign oil corporations' forces that have taken over their land and shut up the voices of their mothers and daughters. The text is set in the metaphorical State of Sufferland, a land in which despite its abundance, its people are starved, exploited and terrorized by corrupt government officials as well as multinational oil companies.

The text presents to us the battle for human rights, dignity, compensation, and the right of a nation's people to control the resources of their land. It portrays the effect of national and global oil politics representation and hegemony on the lives of poor rural Nigerians. Because of the extremity of the injustice, a voice springs up to challenge traditional norms, to resist injustices, and to call for change, equality and to ask for the people's share in their God natural resources. This voice of the voiceless presented by Omi, move the ordeal angered youths and agonized women to rise and demand for justice.

As a response to this call The Chorus of women, say:

We! We! Our land! We must-must take back what is ours. (Chanting) Resource Control! Resource Control!...Enough! We reject all leaders of falsehood. We reject leaders that take and take and never give anything good in return. Away! Away with their lies! (146)

Aggrieved youths and militant women-whose husbands and sons work in the refineries and were slaughtered in the violent struggle to claim their rights. Determined they finally confront the multinational forces that have long exploited, terrorized and humiliated them. This retaliation led to the burning of the oil pipelines and kidnaping an oil company director.

Ikpoba: I hear say dem don catch... catch...

Oceana: Who now" Speak?

Ikpoba: ...Yes. Dem catch Dat red oga. De one wey get hair like like...horse...

Oceana: Are you sure they kidnapped the offshore oil Director? (160)

The play draws our attention to the loss of rich farmlands by the natives for the economic benefits of Western oil companies and Nigerian government authorities and local rulers, perpetrators of environmental violence towards downtrodden. To this Omi cries:

...shell must go! Agip must go! Chevror must go! Texaco must go! Agip must go! Mobil must go! Wiilbros must go! Kiilbros-Wiilbros must go! Pollution Pollution must go! Leave! Leave our land Leave! Leave our land Oil! Oil! We have the oil! We want our Oil! Oil! Oil! Oil! We want our land! Resources! Resources! Resources! Control Resources! ...Resources Control! (33)

This illustrates a turn round and emerging new breed in the women deconstructing the notion of them being care-giving, silent listeners, domestically occupied-being and second-class citizens to that of courageous, bold, capable leaders and mobilizers. Hand in hand with the youths, the women demonstrate that they have the competence and skills to take charge of their resources. Hand in hand with the youth, the women showcase the fact that it is time they benefit from their sweat and resources. In on spirit, Tess Osonye through her characters, tells us that it is time the leadership and hegemonic representation of tomorrow be given the youths and the women vibrant pillars of stability.

The play gets to the peak when activist leaders Oshimi and Cross River are put to trial before a global jury. ‘Bonny/Prosecutor: Yes, your Honor. Here. The state wishes the court to note that some of the dangerous criminals are hereby charged with treason” Bonny/Prosecutor: Women. Two of them old hags, I should say are here *Imo, Their names? Bonny/Prosecutor: Oshimi and Cross River” (186-73).*) From the above, one sees that *What Mama Said* is a picture of the battle for Human Rights violation, dignity, compensation, and the right of a nation's people to control the resources of their land.

The text ends on a reconciliatory note when we find chauvinist, criminals and terrorists like Pipeline and Oceanna asking for forgiveness. Pipeline “...Forgive...daughters! Sisters, forgive! Never! Never shouldn't I...” Oceana “Save! Save me... I will never be the same” Yobe “We know” (199)

DEREK WALCOTT

Derek Walcott was born in Castries, St Lucia as son of Alix a teacher at the town Methodist School and Warwick. His family is of English, Dutch and African descendent. His father Warwick, a painter and poet died on April 23, 1931 from mastoiditis, while his wife was pregnant with the twins Derek

and is twin brother. Their mother Alix Walcott, who was a headmistress of a Methodist Grammar School in Castries, then assumed the burden of educating the twins and their elder sister, Pamela, at St Mary's college.

Walcott studied at the University of the West Indies in Kingston Jamaica and graduated in 1962. His love for poetic was greatly influenced by the mother who at his early age, kept on reciting Shakespeare's to him. Thus, at 14, Derek had his first poems published at the Voice of St Lucia, a local paper. Apart from his love for poetry, he was also trained as a painter.

He later moved to Trinidad in 1953 where he became a critic, teacher and journalist. He founded the Trinidad Theatre Workshop in 1959. Though Walcott's first language was French-English Patois, he received an English education. The influence of the French-English patois seems in most of his works. Derek Walcott contributed to the creation of a Trinidadian workshop in 1959, which has been a vital venue for the staging of most of his plays.

In regards to his achievements, he had a good number of national and international achievements (Legacies) such as: The Guinness Awards for poetry in 1961, The Second prize in the first world festival of Negro Arts, A Royal Society of Literature Award, The Cholmondeley Award (1971), The Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Lucia in 1992.

In West Indies, he was awarded with the Trinidad's Gold Humming Bird Medals in 1993, The Lucia Cross in 1993, an Honorary Doctorate from the University of West Indies in 2008, and the 'Nations Highest Honor'. After being hired as a teacher by the Boston University in the United States, where he founded the Boston Playwrights Theatre in 1981, he was awarded a MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in the United States, Bocas Prize for Caribbean Literature in 2011.

Derek Walcott in *What the Twilight Says: An Overture* (1970) showcases art and the theatre of his native country. In *Ti-Jean and His Brothers* he epitomizes the sadist effects of colonialism on both the colonized and the colonizers, In *Macochon, Franklin A Tale of the Islands, Drums and Colours and Dream on Monkey Mountain*, he presents the West Indies as a colonial world as well as a space full of deep colonial damage. In *Castaway* (1965) and *Pantomime* (1978), Walcott uses the metaphor of a shipwreck and Crusoe showcases the cultures of the colonized and what is vehemently needed of an artist after colonialism and slavery. In these plays, he explores his identity with both Caribbean and the English ancestry. He also deals with sociological and political issues in the Caribbean culture and

history and the aftermath of colonization. In regards to his complex colonial history represented in his works, Derek foreshadowed freedom and the challenge for the colonized to begin again, salvage the best of other's cultures to create from it something new.

Summary of the play *Dream on Monkey Mountain*

Dream on Monkey Mountain is a representative play that showcases the emasculate state of the black Caribbean in a world where identity is the cry of the day. It is a play in which the dream is two sided. First is the dream for the colonized to get rid of the shackles of colonialism and secondly is the mission to awaken the colonized for hegemonic identification. Hence, Makak used of coal for healing is a deconstruction of the west medical ideology and a valorization of colonized cultures. But ignorant of who one is and what one is capable of doing is what takes Makak from a charcoal burner to a prisoner "Corporal let me repeat the query; where is your home? Makak: I forget Corporal: What is your race? Makak: I am tired" (219).

Due to a fractured identity, and his inheritance of colonial legacies, Makak finds it hard to be culturally represented so much that he even loathes his image for thirty years. He looks at life with a 'black skin, blue eyes'. This puts in a dilemma that he could neither be identified as a black nor be represented with the white culture. As a result, he is sent to a double prison. we discovered that it is in this God-forsaken four conner structures prison that Makak has a dream in which he sees the apparition of a white woman who reminds him of the fact that he is the king of Africa. It is only after this dream that the feeling of belonging and acceptance filled Makak so much such that he now like Moses ready to set the Israelites free from Pharaoh's net, confidently says that people are like trees without a name, or like a forest without roots to believe in. He says:

*... Like the cedars of Lebanon,
Like the plantains of Zion,
The hand of God plant me
of Monkey Mountain.
He calleth to the humble.
And from that height
I see you all as trees,
Like a twisted forest,*

*Like trees without names,
A forest with no roots!
By this coal in my hand,
By this fire in my veins
Let my tongue catch fire
Let my body, like Moses,
Be a blazing bush.
Now sing in your darkness. (248)*

From the above quotation, we now see but a transformed Makak, from a colonized Makak to a revived and self-conscious liberal man. The Makak we see now is the opposite of the former that was internalized; brain washed and oppressed. The Makak in front of us now has succeeded in breaking the inferior complex nature planted in him by leaders of imperialism and neocolonialism. He says 'When your eyes open, you will be transformed, as if you have eaten a magic root' (291). Makak's

freedom is a reality because he is determined to come out of the yoke of suppression and oppression. He has broken loose from the ingrained of colonization to a self-consciousness of which he truly is Felix Hobain'. This leads to the discovery of his potential and savoir-faire. He now discovers-what he can offer in a global world of representation and hegemony. But to do this, he needed to get rid of that which serves as a blockage and bully to him, the Western culture.

Thus beheading the white goddess is a cut off of white culture. It is the goddess that has kept Makak and the rest of the captives for thirty years in suppression and mis-representation. So, even in the eyes of the white representatives like Lestrade, 'she is the wife of the devil, the white witch. She is the mirror of the moon that this ape (Makak) looks into and fine himself unbearable. She is all that is pure, all that he cannot reach' (319). The beheading of the white goddess is the downtrodden way of telling the whites that they are now masters of their faith and destinies. It is an existential act that showcases that the god they used to depend on and worship is dead and that they are now themselves gods.

As it is commonly said that one man's meal is another's poison, we realized that while Makak is fighting for the liberation and identity which will give the colonized the green card needed for representation in today's hegemonic world, Lestrade on the other hand; fails to realized that it is not all that easy for him or the colonized to take another's (the white man's) identity and have the power to be represented like the colonizer. He fails to uncover the fact that to be adopted and given a name will never make you an equal to that person.

So, out of ignorant, Corporal brakes of his adopted and seasonal identity saying 'I am an instrument of the law, Souris. I got the white man work to do. Besides, if he crazy he dangerous. If he is not, a night in jail will be good for his soul... (279). Because of his status as a representative of the colonizers, he does not share in Makak's fight for liberation. He in contrast sees Makak's optimism and belief as absurd. Hence, he calls the dehumanized faith as good business. But like Jesus in the Bible, Makak tells him that 'The crippled, crippled. It's the crippled who believe in miracles. It's the slave who believes in freedom. (262). This implies that Lestrade who is an ardent student of imperial and colonial doctrines sees representation and gaining of power as far fresh. Thus, putting the colonized identification to the test when he mocks "... I would like to see them challenge the law, to show me they alive. But they paralyzed with darkness. They paralyzed with faith. They cannot do anything, because they born slaves and they born tired. I could spit. (261)

The above portrays Walcott's intention or optimism that the colonized should resist the colonizers. It is the colonized writers desire that a day should come when even the stung hybrid and assimilated colonized will come to the individual and collective awareness of the fact that giving your seat, confidence and resources to a stranger is worse than being a slave for no one loves to see another greater than him /her.. Was not God angry to the point of chasing Lucifer (Satan) out of heaven just because he desires to share power with him? That is why Lestrade who thought the explorer's ways, ideologies and philosophies were perfect now says "Once I love the law, I thought the law was just universal; a substitute for God, but the law is a whore. She will adjust her price. In some places, the law does not allow you to be black, not even a tinge of black (280). Thus this indicates that the corporal is now conscious of his duty as a colonized. He now knows he has to join in the Negros struggle for hegemony and representation.

He now understands that for this struggle to be effective, both individual and collective efforts have to merge. For this join efforts to be realized the need to be individual and collective purging or confession to set the mind free and prepare for the future race. Thus the dialogue below:

Basil: You have one minute to repent. To recant. To renounce.

Corporal: Repent? Renounce what?

Basil: You know, Lestrade. You know.

Corporal: My mind, my mind. What's happened to my mind?

Basil: It was never yours, Lestrade.

Corporal: Then if it's not mine, then I'm not mad.

Basil: And if you are not mad, then all this is real. (297-8)

Because in deed he was not mad but rather that his mind and soul were now free and because it has found a solid ground to stand on; Lestrade, celebration his new found peace and identity proclaims that:

Lestrade: I kiss your foot, O Monkey Mountain...I return to this earth, my mother. Naked, trying very hard not to weep in the dust. I was what I am, but now I am myself... now I feel better. Now I see a new light. I sing the glories of Makak! The glories of my race! What race? I have no race!...was that my voice? My voice. O God, I have become what I mocked. I always was. Makak! Makak! Forgive me, old father. (299)

Given the above declaration and confession of Corporal, one feels joyous that at last the colonized are freed. One would have imaged that they will for once gladly celebrate their monopoly most especially in the cultural and political domains. No! The game is not over as Lestrade puts it, a colonizer is

cunny wicked and self-centered to sit and watch a 'slave' leave or to give representation and hegemony to a colony. They failed to accept the fact that:

Times change, don't they? And people change. Even black people, even slaves...But that are only what they dream of. And before things grow clearer, nearer to their dream of revenge, I must play another part. We'll go hunting the lion. Except... They're not lions, just natives. There's nothing quite so exciting as putting down the native. ...so I let them escape. Let them run ahead. Then I'll have good reason for shooting them down...Attempting to escape from the prison of their lives. That is the dangerous crime. ... (286-87).

The above statement by Lestrade and Makak glaring shows that the colonized complete freedom is but a dream. The colonizers are so comfortable and find freedom in the socio-cultural, economic, religious and political exploitation as well as free labour, cheap labour and resources that is will be but over their dead bodies to sit and watch their subject gain permanent freedom. Reasons as to why they keep on coming back in different sheep clothes. Coming back is not the issue but rather, their refusal to give the colonized total monopoly over their resources is that those who champion this blatant blockage are but their own fellow citizens the assimilated, the hybrid and money mongering political leaders

Hence, Makak's used of coal for healing is a deconstruction of the west medical ideology and a valorization of colonized cultures. But ignorant of who one is and what one is capable of doing is what takes Makak from a charcoal burner to a prisoner.

Corporal: ...let me repeat the query; where is your home?

Makak: I forget

Corporal: What is your race?

Makak: I am tired. (219)

The above indicates that the subalterns are moving for grace to grass because they are ignorant of who they are and what they are filled with. They are too lazy and weakly that they are afraid of facing tomorrow's challenges. So they prefer to find comfort in their today's muddy state.

Thus, Micheal Standford in an article "History: Should We Trust It?" holds that 'man is nothing without a past' (3). He goes further to say that:

To live without history is to live without a form of memory, without roots, without a past. The present would seem to have no foundation... History can be a vast reservoir of lessons for life. It can help us avoid falling into the pitfalls time and again... History opens our minds to amazing discoveries, fascinating people and different ways of looking at things (3)

The above quotation makes us understand that every tribe, community or society like the Nigerian society, depends on its past heritage or historical experiences. This implies that every modern society's harvest is but a reflection of the seed planted in the past. On this, most post-colonial writers

have it as their calling to adjust the foundation so as to better the future. On this note, this chapter highlights the fact that in Nigeria and Caribbean colonial societies, marginalization, trauma, discrimination, oppression and dehumanization are the root causes of the existing problems.

Structure of the Study

This study is made up of a general introduction that embodies: the statement of the research problem, the aim of the study, the research questions, the hypothesis and definition of key terms, four chapters, a conclusion, and a biography.

Chapter One entitled ‘Theoretical Frame Work and Literature Review’ discusses the selected theoretical frame work, the lenses with which we shall carry out the analysis of the selected works as well as a critical review of related literature.

Chapter Two ‘Representation of History as Memory’ situates the texts within their societies, taking into consideration the vitality of history as memory in a literary work of art. With history as memory, we shall give a glance at historical perspectives of some eras of the past like: Colonialism, Post Colonialism and Neo-colonialism which act as spring boards to the socio-economic, political and cultural issues in the texts. By this, we shall be able to connect and prove that events in the past are the roots of the writing of the plays under study. Using New Historicism, we will portray that conflict, dream deferred, dehumanization, corruption, marginalization and resistance are but fruits of hegemonic representation manifested in the texts. The link between history and post-colonial literature will be of great help in the understanding and analyzing of the concepts of representation and hegemony to be demonstrated in the next chapter.

Chapter Three entitled ‘Resistance and Deconstructing Stereotypes’, looks at resistance at the point of cultural, socio- economic, political, gender, patriarchal, violent, and nonverbal resistance as the different ways through which Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott through their characters demonstrate resistance in the selected texts. In other words, we shall revisit the different forms of opposition to hegemonic representation showcased in the texts. However, resistance does not always prove to be the best solution to oppression, as some forms of resistance further destroy the victim and the society.

Chapter Four entitled ‘Negotiation and Maintenance of Power’ examines the metamorphosing forms and intricacies of representation and hegemonic negotiation in the texts such as: political, economic, socio - culture and religious hegemonic negotiations. By so doing, we will be able to see power in the

suit of the white dominating blacks, blacks domineering blacks and male chauvinism that are still eminent in the Caribbean and the Nigerian postmodern era. It shall illustrate the fact that the lack of power is tantamount to dehumanization, subjugation and lack of identity, trauma and fragmentation. While on the other hand it will look into what and how it takes to have power to be represented and what it takes to maintain power. Post colonialism and New Historicism shall be applicable in this chapter.

Finally, the conclusion sums up the key issues of representation and hegemony raised up in the texts.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL FRAME WORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Frame Work with regards to the online encyclopedia “Shippensburg University” is any approach to social philosophy that focuses on society and culture to reveal critique and challenge power structures. It applies to the interpretation, evaluation and analysis of a work of art that helps readers to see themselves and their world in valuable new perspectives that can influence our reaction toward those we do not agree on social, religious and political issues. They show human productions like literature, films, arts, music, science and many others, as the result of human experience as well as human desire, conflict and potential. Critical theory apart from helping us see ourselves, our world and its product through useful lenses, also fortifies our ability to think logically and creatively. Thus, a theory serves as the eyeglass through which certain elements of the world are brought into focus while others fade into the background. A frame work serves as a mindset of a person. Still, critical theory enables us to explain the assumptions and values on which varying literary criticisms stand. Literary theory according to M.H. Abram, in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, “is the overall term for studies concerned with defining, clarifying, analyzing, interpreting and evaluating values of literature” (50). This tells us that every reading of a work of art is subjected to multiple interpretations. Hence, the critical theories to be used in this work are New Historicism and Postcolonial Theory

New Historicism

New Historicism a theory propounded by Stephen Greenblatt in the 1970s is defined as a practice rather than a doctrine. He holds that “historical criticism must be conscious of each status of interpretation” (*Critical Theory today* 232). So, New Historicism pays attention to the historical context, the author’s biography and the aesthetic aspects of the work of art. For it is a vital aspect for the understanding of a work of art since the text represents major information and realities lived in a

particular era. They also assume that ‘works of literature both influence and are influenced by historical reality, and they share a belief in referentiality, that literature both refers and is referred to by things outside itself’ (Ross Murfin 239-240) They go ahead to hold that “New Historicists look at representation as a product and as well as the means of propagating the cultures of prevailing ideologies and power relations” (338)

According to New historicists, a literary text is a cultural artifact that can tell us something about the interplay of discourse-Social, patriarchal, cultural agenda, and the web of social meaning during the period. This implies that the historical aspects of Nigeria and the Caribbean create the events and the context of representation and hegemony. It is because of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism class distinction that the need for power and representation step up. New historicists view historical events or issues not only as facts to be documented but as a text to be read to enable us speculate how human cultures at various historical times have made sense of themselves and their world. We cannot know what happened at a given point in history but we can know what the people concerned believed happened by interpreting their interpretations. This is so because great literary works are timeless. (*Critical Theory for Today*, 288).

The New Historicists see a literary text as a deconstructed text used to reveal the ideological limitations and to examine the explicit and implicit patriarchal, racist, and homophobic agenda of a society. The primary and secondary sources are important to the new historicist as it brings to the foreground, the marginalized group such as women, people of color, the poor, and the working class and how ideologies operate in the formation of personal and group identity.

M. Rosenblatt in *The Reader, the Text, the Poem*, holds that in the course of reading, a reader brings to the text his/her past experiences and present personality. Under the magnetism of the ordered symbols of the text, the reader marshals his/her resources and crystallizes out from the stuff of memory, thought-and feeling a new order, a new experience that he/she sees as the poem.(375)

From the above hypothesis, one can say that the past, the present or history and memory are vital instruments in the understanding of why certain issues occur the way they do to ameliorate and create a better future. These ties in to the fact that a theory questions the assumptions, beliefs, and feelings of a reader giving that the meaning of issues or events are ascribed depending on our past experiences. To add to this point, Forest Robinson in *A Hand book of Critical Approaches to Literature* holds that ‘Literature is at once socially produced and socially productive ‘always existing within a particular socioeconomic context and always transforming that context as well. At the same time it re-histories

the text, the New Historicism retextualises history'. (322) The above suppositions shows that a literary work of art is purely a product of society as well as a contributor to society's development. This entails that a work of art is a cultural construct that shapes and in turns is shaped by various consciousnesses. This assertion helps us look at New Historicism as a product of time, history, place and event.

Tyson in *Critical Theory Today*, holds that Power does not emanate only from the top of the political and socioeconomic structures. According to the French philosopher Foucault 'Power circulates in all directions, to and from all social levels at all times'. To him, the vehicle by which power circulates is a never ending proliferation of exchange. It could be the exchange of material good such as the exchange of buying and selling, taxation, gambling, charity and various forms. They also add that even the dictator of a small country doesn't wield absolute power on his own. To maintain and dominate, his power must circulate in numerous discourses.

Jerome McGann stipulates that:

New Historicism critics will study the literary world 'point of origin' via biography and bibliography. Critics must then express intention of the author, because, if published, these intensions have modified the development of the work. Next the New Historicist must learn the history of the work's reception... (qtd in Bedford 241)

As locally said 'the apple does not fall far from the tree', so it is with every writer's writing that does not fall far from his or her historical origin. To add to this, Tyson Lois in *Critical Theory Today: a User's Friendly Guide* postulates that New Historicism discusses the author's life to discover the authorial vision of the work. He adds:

Dominated literary studies in the nineteenth and early decades of twentieth confined itself largely to studies of the author's life in order to discover his or her intentions in writing the work, Or to study the historical period in which the work was written, in order to reveal the spirit of the age. (228)

The underlined revealed that Tyson puts importance on the author's life and the historical era in which the text was written. Thus, according to Tyson and McGann above, the authorial intension of a text can only be gotten through both the biography and the bibliography of the writer. Consequently, this becomes realism with the texts under study given that the plays depict the historical time and the authors' background and lives.

Anne Marie in her work 'The Politics of Power' examining Michel Foucault's work on the issue of history and power says according to Foucault, no historical event has a single cause; but that every event in history is linked to a vast web of economic, social, and political factors. Thus Foucault draws

our attention to the fact that history is situated as well as written at a given time by the dominating class. This is factual for during colonialism the colonizers wrote history from their perspective and now the independent countries are rewriting it to tell their story from their point of view. From a postcolonial angle, the texts under study deal with white's encounter with blacks and the disruption of their culture. Thus, showcasing how history has created the difference in both texts under study resulting in resistance and negotiation of existence in both plays.

Given all of the above stances, New Historicism will be of great use in analyzing the concepts of representation and hegemony in this work. It will be used to evaluate the varying forms of representations and hegemony and how the author tactfully expresses the socioeconomic, political and cultural realities of representation and hegemony. Paul McGann's notion of biography and bibliography will be of great importance to this work as it will enable us to examine the playwrights as products of a particular society and history as the raw material useful to our study. It will also help us to see the various ways that Tess and Walcott use to redeem a cursed society.

Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory was propounded by Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin, Bill Ashcroft and others. It is a theory that is concerned with the cultural, socio-economic and religious issues brought about by the marriage or the relationship between the colonized and the colonizers. It also tries to understand the political, social, cultural and psychological ideologies of the colonialists.

Homi Babar says "we have to analyze world literature by examining the representations of peoples and events that occur across cultural boundaries rather than within them". Here, the focus is on ...the unspoken, the unrepresented past that hunts the present history. That is, the personal experience of people whom history ignored.

Tiffin Helen, in an online article "The Rereading and Rewriting of European Historical and Fictional Records", argues that most postcolonial literature attempts to investigate how European imposed and maintain colonial domination on the rest of the world. So, postcolonial theory is concerned with the theoretical structures that dominate Western structures, it gives an insight into the relationship of power of domination and the economic, cultural and racial as well as reveal the fragmentational trauma that resulted from this crash (<https://www.scribd.com>> document).

Postcolonial theory which deals with people who colonialism is their only history will be vital to our study as it showcases the demise, the contestation of colonial hegemony and its legacies such as the geographical displacement of people and the history of anti-colonialism. Postcolonial theory will help us show how a text reinforces or resists colonial and neo colonial oppressive ideologies. This can be done as stated in *Critical Theory Today* through a positive portrayal of the colonizers, negative portrayal of the colonized or the uncritical representation of the benefits of colonialism for the colonized, revealing the misdeeds of the colonizers, the suffering of the Colonized.

More still, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin and in the *Post-colonial studies Reader* say that:

Post-colonial studies involves discussion about experiences of various kinds, Migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, Gender, place and responses of imperial Europe such as history, philosophy and linguistics and the fundamental experiences of speaking and writing by which all these came into being. (2)

Given that Literary theory refers to any principles derived from internal analysis of literary texts or from knowledge external to the text that can be applied to the contexts, New Historicism and Postcolonial theory will help us analyzing the concepts of representation and hegemony, in revealing the people's culture and the different ideologies put in place. They will enable us to see how the authors tactfully express the socio-economic, cultural and political realities of representation and hegemony. By the lenses of these frames, we will know how history, the past and the society shape the individual's identity and Tess and Walcott's contributions to the redemption of the society. More still, these frame works will enable us understand why Osonye and Walcott as post-colonial writers are so preoccupied with the concepts of: representation and hegemony, resistance, identity, ethnicity, trauma, exploitation, dream deferred, terrorism, dehumanization, oppression, marginalization and memory.

Literature Review

A Literature review surveys books, scholarly articles, and any other sources relevant to a particular issue, area of research, or theory, and by so doing, provides a description, summary, and critical evaluation of these works concerning the research problem being investigated. This said, we are going to look into the four parts of a literature review which are: surveying the literature in our chosen area of study, synthesizing the information in that literature into a summary, critically analyzing the information gathered by identifying gaps in current knowledge; show limitations of theories and points of view; and then formulating areas for further research and reviewing areas of controversy.

Judith in “Hegemony and Resistance” in Anna Deavere Smith’s *Twilight Los Angeles*, Pearl Cleage’s *Flyin West at the Borders* states that hegemony and resistance have become worldwide concepts that are often used in analyzing a variety of issues in literature. She says that Thirven Reddy in his book *Hegemony and Resistance: Context Identity in South Africa*, studies the idea of representation and identity in relation to the socio-political situation of South Africa. He uses the “hegemony” concept of Foucault’s “Discourse” and Said’s “Orientalism”, and using theories like Postcolonial Theory; Marxism and Post-structuralism, he shows how dominant whites have represented others, as savage and laborers. Hence, while Thirven in his work uses “Hegemony and Resistance” to illustrate an unjust society whose activities were built on the notion of race, we shall be using hegemony to show the domineering tendencies of the upper class or classes.

Arturo, Madrid in his article “Diversity and Discontents” studied hegemony in the American society. His study was based on demonstrating that Euro-centricity affects the lives of non-Europeans. The Non-Europeans are seen and treated as the “Other”. Thus, Madrid though with a Spanish name was discriminated and called the other as she was constantly asked ‘where are you from’. She goes further to say that although all Americans, learn English in school; the non-Europeans do so with an accent that makes them different. Thus, the cultural hegemony here entails that all the non-American subdue their cultures and accept the English culture should they want to be seen as American citizens. The denying of their culture includes abandonment of their native names; manner, and dress codes. Hence, total dominion, hybridity and assimilation of a foreign culture all in the name of trying to fit within the American society.

Patty Fisher dealing with the issue of gender in her essay “The Injustice System” portrays the case of Brock Adams, a respected democrat who drugs and molests a woman in his office. He was judged and charged for maltreatment ladies and forced to resign from his post. To Fisher, this punishment was not enough. She finds it hard to accept the fact that in the American law no punishment or serious charge is levied for maltreatment of women. To her, it reveals the hegemonic rule of the unjust system on women issues. According to her, this gap in the official justice system is what has made so many women like the case of Omi in *What Mama Said* to be afraid to report cases of rape.

Anne, Marie Vibian in her work entitled ‘A New Historicist Analysis of George Ryga’s *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* and Anold Fugard’s *Master Harold’... and the Boys*’, examines the socio-political and cultural aspects of the playwright’s societies that acted as sources of inspirations for the playwrights.

She looks at race and class distinction and their effect in these societies. Through her historical analysis, she tackles the aesthetic ideology in the works of art and the authorial vision of the playwrights. By so doing, she confirms the assumption that Ryga and Fugard in their plays under study exposed the socio-economic and political conditions of their various societies at the time. She reveals that power struggle and the notion of ‘Other’ (the white rule) have not been dealt with in both societies even after the official ending of colonization. Therefore, this study though in line with Vibian’s at the level of the historical background the authors do differ in that it looks at different perspectives on representation and hegemony in Tess’ *What Mama Said*.

Fon Marie Beri in a dissertation entitled ‘Gender’ in George Ryga’s *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* and Athol Fugard’s *Statement After An Arrest Under the Immorality Act* discusses gender as the social construction of our concepts of masculinity and femininity. Marie further says Ryga and Fugard are present as male oppression and crusader in their society (1). Marie validates her assumption that Ryga’s Rita Joe and Fugard’s Frieda Joubert are presented as dominated and marginalized. This brings us to the presupposition in our study that both the Nigerian and Canadian societies are faced with double domination and marginalization from the colonized and colonial masters.

Ngwese, Ebude in her dissertation ‘The Quest for Power as a Devastating Pestilence’ a study of Shakespeare’s *Othello* and *Macbeth* says that “the Quest for Power and the need to maintain power provokes killing, destruction and moral decadence. Man by nature she holds is assumed to be superior to animals. Paradoxically, as good as he is, he easily degenerates to be a wild beast than animals when it comes to the notion of power, man can metaphors for sadism and will stop at nothing just to obtain and maintain power.

In regards to the above reviews; it is but a fact that scholars have worked on varying issues on the two plays under study. We therefore, acknowledge our gratitude to all of them. However, this work will differ from existing works in that it shall examine Representation and Hegemony in Nigerian and Canadian societies. It also differs from existing works in that the researcher throws more light on why the colonized lingers behind in hegemonic representation. It shows how through self-realization and resistance, the unrepresented negotiate existence and hegemony for the reconstruction of the society. Through this, this work seeks to closes up the gap between whites and blacks and males and females a legacy for stability, and a peaceful society.

CHAPTER TWO

REPRESENTATION OF HISTORY AS MEMORY

History as Memory explores the manifold ways in which the past shapes the present and is shaped by present perceptions. Memory is the recollection or remembrance of things past down through generation, so our memories become our history. Historical memory is how we remember and interpret past events and how this memory of the past shapes our present. Historical memory in modern and premodern cultures and the relationship between history and the memory of the past in different societies and cultures is an essential part of man's existentialism and transcendentalism. History as Memory as a vital ingredient to this topic explores not only official representations of the past but also the role of history and personal narratives, the influence of the new media in shaping historical consciousness, and the renewed relevance of historical writing for emerging nations and social conflicts.

History as memory is vital to this study for the idea of a new generation is impossible to be grounded without knowledge of the past. It is a fact that the memories of the past are painful and that all our lives are encountered with dead words or flash backs. It is also a fact that national progress cannot lie in the repetition of the past. Neither is it in the neglect or denial of it. History as memory is not only the weeping, complaining, or a blockage to future identification but the adjustment of the future. The truth is that every nation be it that of the colonized or the colonizer is built on the memory of past achievements, traditions and experiences. The New Historicist holds that 'We cannot understand a historical event, object or person in isolation from the web in which it is represented' Hence to them, a literary text through its representation of human experience at a given place and time, is an interpretation of history. So, the text maps the discourse circulating at the time it was written and is itself part of the discourse. As such, our memories on reading of a literary text fashions and is

fashioned by the culture in which we live (Tyson” 282-3). Postcolonial theorists posit that every written text is mimicry of the writer’s society; that literary texts are text of representation representing the socio-cultural, political, economic, religious and historical representations of the society.

Memory is a shift from which we select what is useful (“right, “natural” or “normal”) from the past to transmit or transform the future generation as memories are made to connect, recycle each other, to produce and reproduce violent struggles. This chapter History as Memory serves as a mirror with which we mirror our past, its connection and effects on us today and so can select what is needed in building our future bridges. Consequently, Corporal tells us in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* that ‘No. We cannot go back. History is in motion. The law is in motion. Forward, forward. (307)

Pierre Nora in an online Journal ‘Memory, History, and Colonialism in Colonial and Postcolonial Context holds that:

History allows us to know the nature and extent of the imbalances and conflicts (economic, political and social) which characterize the evolution of a society. Memory or the act of remembering, has been drawn upon, first, to analyze the agency of those people reconstructing a past they have actually experienced and survived, a past often centered on traumatic event, the process of memorializing, denotes the ways in which successive generations of people are held to share common representations. History and memory are made to connect, to recycle each other, to produce and reproduce violent struggles. the ability of certain representations of the past to carve out a hegemonic positioning. (Journal of Language Teaching and Research, 2017)

It is on the above note that we are going to examine the nature and extent of the imbalances and conflicts (economic, political and social) which characterize the evolution of a society in connection to history as memory.

A literary text through its representation of human experience at a given place and time, is an interpretation of history. Hence, the text guides the discourse circulating at the time it was written and is itself part of the discourse. Thus, all events shape and are shaped by the culture in which they emerge. As such, to better understand why some characters act the way they do and the occurrence of certain events and the connection between history and the post-colonial texts understudy, a perspective look at colonialism and imperialism is necessary based on the New Historicists notion that we cannot understand a historical event, object or person in isolation from the web in which it is represented. (280,283,292)

A keen interest of history as memory will be on colonialism, imperialism, post-colonialism and neocolonialism, vital eras in history that shaped the hegemonic representations of both the colonized and the colonizers. Based on the New Historicists concept, the below subtitles are vital in that “the societal concern of the author, the historical time, and the cultural elements exhibited in the text must be taken into consideration before we can devise a valid interpretation given that text and context are mutually constituted (389)

Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism to Robert Longley is the practice of one country taking full or partial political control of another country and occupying it and profiting from its political and economic resources. He sees it as practices involving the political and economic control of a dominant country over a vulnerable territory, colonialism is imperialism. In an online article colonialism is the ‘I’ the seeing /perceiving ‘I’ or the ‘eye’ of the colonizer, the one who sets the standards, who sees the ‘Other’ and makes the authority through Culture / meanings / language onto someone else. Colonialism as a powerful destructive historical force shapes not only the political futures of the countries involved but also the identities of the colonized and colonizing people. It is a system of government, a world view and an ideology that deals with people once colonized by Britain, France, and Spain. (www.ub.uit.no/colonialism)

Colonialism according to “The International Journal of Humanities and Social Science” (vol 1, No 6, June2011), is the disconnection of native people from their land, their history, their identity and their rights so that others can profit. It is considered as one of the main forms of injustice in the universe and as such has been condemned by the United Nations. (*Canadian Heritage Gallery*)

Ania Loomba in *Colonialism and Postcolonialism* defines colonialism as the forceful takeover of land and economy (20). While Flows’ sees colonialism as how a state claims sovereignty over territory and people outside their resources, labor and boundaries, often to facilitate economic dominance over their resources, labor and markets. He goes further to say:

...Needless to say that the domination goes beyond the economic sphere. In the process of gaining economic dominance, political dominance becomes necessary. Political dominance calls for cultural dominance to the degree that the colonized become mere caricatures of themselves. (5)

The above saying of the colonized becoming mere caricature of themselves is showcased in *What Mama Said* when Oceana, a representative of the colonizer ask the colonized chief Pipeline “...Why

then do you think we pay you? Eh? (Silence) Your salary... your chieftaincy title is hereby revoked with immediate effect. (164) Our chief is now a caricature, a wanton boy in the hand of a white. In the same line, Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* qualified colonialism as ‘a one armed bandit’. He says that colonialism more than anything else, underdeveloped Africa in all domains (244) the colonized societies became both physically and psychologically ‘disabled’ the people were practically deprived of their own sovereignty. Ngugi wa Thiong’o in *Homecoming* trumpets this thus:

There can be no end to the discussion of the African encounter with Europe because the wounds inflicted touch the very spring of life and have remained unhealed because they are constantly being gashed open with more subtle, more lethal weapons. (411)

It is accepted that modern day colonialism is an expression of imperialism and cannot exist without the latter. Both colonization and imperialism have been described by Tom Nairn and Paul James in ‘*Neocolonialism*’ as nothing but a modern form of globalization: for empires by their nature still tend to contribute to the process of globalization because of the way that imperial power tends to generate counter-power at its edge-lands and send out reverberations far beyond the territories of their immediate control. Colonialism did not come without its share of geographical violence. Tess in *What Mama Said* exemplifies this when she says:

And look around you. See? They’r not even killing us alone. The trees too...Polluting the land, the rivers, our entire environment...They’ve killed everything with their oil pollution and spillage. We cannot breathe clean air. Fishes die or get fried in the polluted simmering rivers. Water water everywhere. But we have no clean water to drink. And now we lose the land too? (43-44)

The colonizers wiped out the natives, took over their formerly occupied lands and transformed them into plantations. Saakana quotes Ngugi saying “The Africans taken to the Americas and the Caribbean islands thus saw his language, name, dance, and religion systematically assaulted by the colonial plantation system”.

Tyson, Lois in *Critical Theory Today* says that today we talk of post-colonial, meaning colonialism is of the past. In truth, it is not. Though one feels that colonialism is no longer in practice, as in the 50s and mid70s, where actions were seen through direct rule, and overt rule of governors, educators and missionaries from overseas; today it is in the wolf skin shapes of some political, economic, religious and cultural hegemony of vulnerable states at the mercies of international corporations from world powers such as: The United States of America, Japan and today China.

This work explores the issues of colonialism and contemporary political conflict in Nigeria with particularity to the Nigeria Delta. The findings from related materials suggest that the colonial root of contemporary political conflict in the Niger Delta steps from power representations established in the years before and after independences with which the people of the Niger Delta are minorities. This area experiences development problems like the issues of oil politics, the ownership of natural resources and the role of oil multinationals. It also signifies unequal socio-cultural and political relationship. Tess fires this in *Tell It to Women* when she says:

if you are a part of the dance you would understand it better. If the drummers see us as active participants in the dance, they will not treat us as outsiders. But what I can't understand is the fact that we allow ourselves to be used to create a new dance-step without respect or credit to us! I am tired. I wish we were never brought into this. (173)

The above indicates that if and only if the colonizers who were welcomed and given a seat by the colonized in their homes and enterprises were seen as equal partners in the hegemonic representation, resistance, revolt and fight back attitude won't have been adopted. As Tess puts it, 'they feel like outsiders, marginalized and denied in their land (157). According to "The International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences" Vol 1No 6; June 2011278,

It was nationalism which fired the ember of imperialism that led to colonialism and exploitation of colonies. Nationalism in the form of desire to exalt a state and to add to its prestige drives men into carrying their flag, their culture, their language, and their institutions into every power-weak area on earth, and it compels governments to justify, defend and champion the economic ventures of their nationals in foreign lands especially weak ones. As nationalism and imperialism precipitates colonialism so also it is the same nationalism that has led to the oppressed and the oppressor. (Palmer and Perkins, 2007.162).

The above indicates that political conflict be it national or international is a response to disagreement on issues boarding on policy, participation, representation, equality, justice, accountability and governance. Political conflict especially when it is based on violence poses a clear threat to the peace and stability of a Country. Thus Tess tells us in *What Mama Said that*: 'No, you can't. I'm through. Not in my land! Oyibo. You are a visitor. A guest must not be allowed to sit on top of the owner of the land, suffocates them and then takeaway the seat with him as he goes...' (106).

Secondly, the laws fail to adequately protect the Niger Delta environment giving rise to environmental damages, which impedes sustained development especially, the oil pipelines Act of 1966, the petroleum decree of 1969, the land use decree of 1978, the exclusive economic zone act of 1979, the oil mineral pipeline decree of 1960 and other relevant legislations including those dealing with

revenue allocation are offshore of colonial ordinances. Osonye highlights this aspect in her work when she says:

Oceana: Set the dam thing ablaze!

Yobe: In the Jesse-Delta explosion, two hundred and fifty people dead!

Oceana: Life is cheap in Africa. Ha!

Imo: And look around you. See? They're not even killing us alone. The trees too!

Oshimi: Our farmlands!...Polluting the land, the river, our entire environment... (26, 43)

These laws taken together vested all the land where oil is exploited, produced, transported, and stored to the foreigners. Hence marginalization and ethnicity in Nigerian politics became the root cause of all the conflict for representation in contemporary times. Those, whose sons worked in the refineries and were butchered during the violent confrontation, take the lead to blow their pains and sorrows in the drama for revolution. This ties in with the New Historicist point of view, of human ways being influenced by these experiences. In determination and unison, the traumatized, dehumanized terrorized and humiliated sufferland villagers pulled down pipeline and kidnapped the oil company director. From a New Historicist angle, the text *What Mama Said* acts as a cultural tool that offers information about the interplay of representation that occurred at a given place and time. This goes to sustain the postcolonial notion that a text reinforces or resist colonial oppressive ideologies. In *What Mama Said* ‘Ikpoba says: I hear say dem don catch... catch... Oceana: Who now?’ Speak? Ikpoba: Yes. Dem catch Dat red oga. De one wey get hair like ke...horse...Oceana: Are you sure they kidnapped the offshore oil Director? (160).

The climax got to the peak where activist leaders are put to trial before a global jury ‘

Bonny/Prosecutor: Yes, your Honor. Here. The state wishes the court to note that some of the dangerous criminals are hereby charged with treason.

Bonny/Prosecutor: Women. Two of them old hags. I should say are here.

Imo: Their names?

Bonny/Prosecutor: Oshimi and Cross River. (186-7)

The play draws our attention to Nigerian neo-elites and national authorities as the perpetuation of environmental violence towards the Nigerians. The text showcases the battle for human rights, dignity, and the woman as a new breed for the control of colonized national resources. Omi in *What Mama Said* cries:

...shell must go! Agip must go! Chevror must go! Texaco must go! Agip must go! Mobil must go! Wiilbros must go! Kiilbros-Wiilbros must go! Pollution Pollution must go! Leave! Leave our land Leave! Leave our land Oil! Oil! We have the oil! We want our Oil! Oil! Oil! Oil! We want our land! Resources! Resources! Resources! Control Resources!...Resources Control! (33)

The above citation is a representation of the postcolonial era; an era in which the colonized want total freedom and hegemony control over their resources. A hegemonic representation portrayed by Tess Osonye in *What Mama Said* as an emerging new spirit, a vibrant spirit deconstructing the woman from the care-giving, silent listeners, domestically occupied to that of a courageous, bold capable leaders and mobilizers; who now hand in hand with the youths, demonstrate that they have the competence and skills to represent and control the tomorrow that lies in the youths as pillars of stability. According to the New Historicists, it is assumed that writers are triggered by various aspects of their historical experiences. Using society as their source of inspiration and literature as their platform of communication, they use their experiences to represent the realities of their different societies. Thus, Michael Stanford in his article “History: Should We Trust It?” holds that ‘man is nothing without a past’ (3). He goes further to say that:

To live without history is to live without a form of memory, without roots, without a past. The present would seem to have no foundation... History can be a vast reservoir of lessons for life. It can help us avoid falling into the pitfalls time and again... History opens our minds to amazing discoveries, fascinating people and different ways of looking at things (3)

The above quotation is understandable if we use the Foucault notion that every tribe, community or society depends on its past heritage and historical experiences. It equally illustrates that every modern society’s harvest is but a reflection of the seed planted in the past. Hence, our society and our world is fashioned and built from our past. It is on this that most post-colonial writers have it as their calling to better the future. On this note, this chapter highlights the fact that in Nigeria and Caribbean colonial societies, marginalization, traumatization, discrimination, oppression and dehumanization are some of the root causes of the existing problems in the Caribbean and the Nigerian communities respectively. Colonialism is therefore viewed by these writers as a thing that expropriates people’s lands and in return, relegates their cultural values, enslaving the masses and exploiting them of their economy

Karl Marx in his book *Essential Works of Marxism* says:

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, Lord and Serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. (13)

To add to this, Engels in the above works says that:

...As the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but as it arose at the same time in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it’s, as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the political dominant class and thus acquire new means of holding down and exploiting

the opposed class...’ Not only were the ancient and feudal states organs for the exploitation of the slaves and serfs but ‘the modern representatives states are instrument of exploitation of wage labor by capital...At the present time, imperialism and the domination of the banks have ‘developed’ both these methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions into an unusually fine art.’ (110)

The above quotation feeds us with the understanding that the organization of vanguards from the ruling class is for suppression and oppression, and rather not an expansion of democracy, which for the first time, becomes democracy for the poor, and not democracy for the moneybags. Hence Yobe a representative of the colonizer in *What Mama* says that “we will silence anybody who dares speaks against, challenge. Or sabotage our government. We’ve dispatched our boys into all nooks and canners of the land. Even in the marketplace (84).

In the same light, Idris Cox in “*Socialist Ideas in Africa*” says:

For the past five years, ‘the tragic events in the Congo reveal the extent to which foreign imperialism is fighting back desperately to maintain its domination and even to extend it’ He goes further to saying that the ‘real basis of modern imperialism is monopoly capitalism, in which big monopolies dominate the economy...this has been the main feature of capitalism after direct colonial rule has been ended in most parts of Asia and Africa. (10-11)

It is against this backdrop that the struggle in most colonized states is against all forms of imperial hegemonic domination (economic, political, military social, cultural educational, religious and ideological imperialism) be it national or international. It is the passionate search for identity. For instance, Omi tells Oceana that “Yes! A worker expects to be paid. Is that too much to ask the director”? (96).

To this, Oceana replies:

The director. The one and only authority in charge here. Hey, won’t you thank me for my sacrifices? Risking my precious life to make ... manage your resources? This bloody country without a leader? Don’t you ever blame me. I take what I can get. After all, your so called leaders gave me the power...Stinking debtor-nation. Aren’t you ashamed? All potentials and morality sold. Auctioned to the highest bidder... (102,104)

Hence, Dr Nkrumah made a slogan at the *All-African People Conference in Cairo* in 1961 that ‘Seek ye first the political kingdom (25). By this biblical allusion, he meant that the Colonized nations should seek first their political freedom to hegemonic representation. Hence Bole Butake in *Family Saga* says:

Now I know that the easiest way to make someone your slave is to deny that person knowledge. To deny that person an identity. To deny that person the story of his roots, his origin. In short, the best ways to make someone your slave is to take away that person’s identity and give them yours. That is what Kamalo tried to do to me and my children... (61)

It is as a result of the above that when we journey through the post-colonial worlds of arts, we are perplexed and shivered hearing names like: 'uncivilized', 'Brut', 'inferior', 'illiterate', and 'dirty' given to the colonized. This naming act results in creating superior - inferior, center - margin, the 'Self' and the 'Other' relationship. Controversially, Tess and Walcott give us an ironic twist by changing the role. They want us to know or to realize that in as much as the colonized are viewed as lacking, primitive and inferior savage, Europeans themselves are nothing but epitomes of disgrace represented through their actions and deeds. This backs the Postcolonial theory concept of deconstructing stereotypes. Hear this;

Pipeline: Miss, do you have kids? And thinking that her children were her great assets, the woman proudly replies 'Oh yes, 'four, I'm blessed with four children' Immediately, the Landlord's face turned red. Rose, tore up the leave and showed the woman to the door. 'Sorry ma'm. I can't rent my house to you. Pets Ok. No kids'... I repeat. Pets Ok. No kids! Good bye...

Pipeline: ...Like a general hospital for the people?

Oceana: We can't afford it

Pipeline: But we afford one for dogs?

Oceana: Yes, sir! Who's going to pay for a general hospital? You'll need to hire more specialized professional staff, fringe benefits, doctors, nurses, lab technicians, aides, and more. (134)

The above is a saddening case that keeps one's head shaking as it is unbelievable to hear 'a white' that we value gives preference to a dog or pets than to human beings. Yet they say we are not civilized, that we need their help and presence to be civilized. These so called civilized or colonizers should not forget that in the race of representation and hegemony, there is always the first person. We might not cross the winning line at the same time but what matters is how determined we are to win the race. We should not forget that in this race of power struggle, there is joy, glory and remembrance when we help each other to cross the finishing line with us. There is more joy in collective victory than in individual victory. Those you help to cross the finishing line are those who will be there to celebrate and sound your victory. Colonialism equally makes use of the policy of divide and rule which can be identified as the policy of the British hegemonic rule on the colonies. Tyson says:

Post-colonial criticism also questions the role of the western literary canon and western history as dominant forms of knowledge making. The terms "first-world," "second world," "third world" and "fourth world" nations are critiqued by post-colonial critics because they reinforce the dominant positions of western cultures populating first world status. This critique includes the literary canon and histories written from the perspective of first-world cultures. So, for example, a post-colonial critic might question the works included in "the canon" because the canon does not contain works by authors outside western culture. (Tyson 374-375)

We noticed from the above that, the authors involved in this standard often do their best to debunk colonial ideologies and present them as bogus so as to reinforce colonized hegemonic ideology because Western canon does not contain works by authors outside Western culture- that of the colonized. This is reiterated in an online article ‘*British Empire, British Hegemony*’, that The British Empire (1583-present) comprises the dominion of colonies, protectorates, mandates and other territories ruled or administered by the United Kingdom.

Affirming to this, Tess in *What Mama Said* says:

No. Tell you what. Try the emerging global market. To succeed? Profit. Profit, Profit. The new creed of success. That's the new reality. Trust me. It sells. And sells at high cost in today's stock market. Young woman, look at it this way. You can't take your hopes and Idealism to the bank. Can you? But Reality. The real stock. (105)

The above is a truth in that Africans in reality depend on ideas and hope. They do not have in reality, the political, educational and economic powers which are the raw materials that role the world markets. They are neither identified nor represented in any of the above global market. From this, we see that colonialism and imperialism are the force that affects everything in the colonized political, economic, cultural, educational and every aspect of human life. Thus, the colonized literature had developed and grown in response to imperialism; thereby defining colonized writing as a revolt by the marginalized against the imperial center.

Post Colonialism

Post colonialism is vital to the topic “Representation and Hegemony” in that it examines colonial activities and their impact on the colonized. It examines the changes generated by colonialism, how it shapes, affects and continues to affect its society. It looks at how colonialism wielded hegemony to designate the practices of nonwestern cultures. Postcolonial studies aim to examine the socio-economic, cultural and political hegemonic relationship and legacy that surrounds the colonizers and neo-colonized, focusing on the impact on humans and society so as to, restore the history, dignity, validity, cultural contributions, and global significance of those whose experiences have been misrepresented within a worldview that provided no way to include the “other” except through direct contrast with itself. A type of direct contrast—us/other, western/non-western, civilized/uncivilized, that reduces everything and everyone it encounters. It diminishes not only the complexity of the colonized world, but its legitimacy as well. It is literature composed by authors that critique Euro-centric hegemony. “The International Journal of Humanities and Social Science” (vol1, No 6, June 2011)

The study of hegemonic representation in colonized societies began in the late 1970s with texts such as Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which led to what later on became 'colonialist Discourse Theory' in the work of critics like Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha. The use of the term and its approval was consolidated with the appearance of *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), by Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. In line with the above view, the book *Post-Colonial Drama* had as its first chapter, *Drama and the Postcolonial Experience* explores the intersection of postcolonial theories and postcolonial drama and the different ways in which it acts as a significant site for resistance strategies used by colonized subjects. Ngugi Wa Thiong'O in *Imperialism* says:

...imperialism continues to control the economic, political, and cultures of African, but on the other, the pitted against it, are the ceaseless struggles of African people to liberate their economic, political and culture from that Euro-American based stranglehold to usher a new era of true communal self-regulation and self-determination. (285)

The above gives us an insight into the fact that representation and hegemony is an ever-continuing effort by the rejected to seizing back their creative initiatives and control of all the societal domains so as to be represented in history. It uncovers the fact that colonialism is a wall between two nationalities in which people who are economically strong failed to discover how much they influence the culture of others and transformed it into something suitable to them; hence, hindering the cultural transcendentalism. They failed to realize that rather than trying to dominate, each party should remain true to its culture

It is said that no culture is entirely bad. "To declare contrary that all cultures are good is like stating that all snakes have fangs, which is fallacious" Njimeli George in *Madmen and Traitor*). Filled with the position of 'on top', the colonizers failed to realize that in domination, it's not only the culture that suffers but also the different ideologies on life and death. Blinded by their desire to dominate, the colonizers failed to love neither the colonized nor its communities. An act that rendered them insensitive to all the atrocities carried on the people and their culture. Consequently, they could not graze the secret as Soyinka in *Death and the King's Horseman* says that the strength of a culture is the ability of each of its representatives to love and follow it irrespective of what.

Post-colonialism is thus a dominant feature in African and Caribbean literature as writers in these contexts see colonialism as an instrument that reduced them to nonentities. Thus post-colonialists attempt, not only to expose the oddities of colonialism but to reveal and discuss what the independent nations make of themselves even after the demise of colonialism. In another sense, post-colonialism is a period of recovery after colonialism and its cultural aftermath. It is these urges and love for their

cultural representation that the post-colonialists gave birth to a new form of culture in literature - the postcolonial drama.

Post-colonial Literature

Post-colonial literature is relevant to this study in that it examines the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism and its stereotypes that act as barriers to the colonized hegemonic representation. It is literature of the colonized and so challenged Eurocentric views of their nations histories as well as the foreign hegemony over them seen through neo-colonial remnant. It is literature that deals with themes like colonialism, oppression, resistance and identity while focusing on the present-day consequences of the forceful control and exploitation of the colonized and their lands. Michael Stanford in *History: Should We Trust it?* holds that ‘man is nothing without a past’ (3). This supposedly abides with the New historicists’ notion that we and our world are built and shaped from our past that is why the colonized desires to examine its past so as to better its future. He goes further to say that:

To live without history is to live without a form of memory, without roots, without a past. The present would seem to have no foundation. History can be a vast reservoir of lessons for life. It can help us avoid failing into the pitfalls time and again.... History opens our minds to amazing discoveries, fascinating people and different ways of looking at things. (3)

The above with regards to the New Historicists showcase that the heritage of each society, community or tribe depends on its historical experience and that each society’s today’s plight is but the result of its past. In line with this, this work tries to point out that colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism gave birth to the entire existing crisis demonstrated in the Nigerian and the Caribbean societies. Postcolonial drama started with writers like Wole Soyinka from Nigeria, Girish Karnad from India, Athol Fugard from South Africa, Jack Davis from Australia, Vincent O’Sullivan from New Zealand, Kea Thuan Chye from Malaysia, and Derek Walcott from St. Lucia in the West Indies. All these dramatists though representing different cultures and histories share the common condition of cultural subjugation. The “Global Media Journal-Indian” (2013), holds that ‘

Among the many challenges facing the postcolonial writers is the attempt to revitalize their traditions and the preoccupations to contest their cultures. Postcolonial writers want to produce a literature which helps to reconstitute the hybrid identity of the colonized people. According to the New Historicists, it looks at the instability and dynamic hybrid forms of cultural identity. (Tyson 279)

Wole Soyinka’s plays like *A Dance in the Forest* (1963), *The Road* (1965) and *The Bacchae of Euripides* (1973) bring forth the postcolonial culture, postcolonial identity as well as the hope and frustrations of his nation. Soyinka’s works express the struggles of a country that has survived the

exploitation of colonialism and the devastation of war and authoritarianism. Soyinka in *A Dance of the Forest*, represents the material body with the unborn, stillborn or incomplete child when slowed down or uncertain progress toward decolonialization is seen as a failure when one sees the half-child' or 'abiku' goes back and forth between this life, representing the contemporary Nigerian political and social transitions. The notion of the stillborn or the unborn child by Soyinka denotes that Africans are not ripe enough to take over the control of their destinies.

Using the image of the incomplete child, we deduced that postcolonial countries are still a long way to attending the stage of perfect representation and power dominion. The lack of complete representation here might be because they are lazy, careless, naïve or incompetence to manage issues. It could also imply having the necessary tools but not knowing how and when to use them. As a microcosm of the Nigerian society, *The Road* by Soyinka shows how the need for representation through colonialism brought constant dishonesty and misuse of power especially with the native rulers. By the 20th century, the African playwright rewrites to voice their political views not only on representation but vehemently on the colonized mind sets with regards to the notion of the misuse of power.

Derek Walcott acknowledges a global heritage and the blend of African and European heritage that have influenced the development of identity in Caribbean literature in his plays *The Sea at Dauphin* (1954) and *Dream on Monkey Mountain* (1970), which showcase the perpetual search for cultural identity as well as highlighting the state of the blacks (Walcott as one) cut off from their roots in the postcolonial world in general and Caribbean in particular. In *The Sea at Dauphin*, he celebrates man's sorrow and endurance and shows how colonization was a vital tool in damaging the human soul, loss of identity and tyrannical government.

Gilbert and Tompkins in *Postcolonial Drama, Theory, Practice and Politics*, say:

Postcolonial performance or drama which involves: the response to imperialism, whether direct or indirect, the continuation and/or regeneration of colonized communities: the recognition that the history of a postcolonial state does not begin with the arrival of the colonizer and so, an insistence on the Importance of pre-contact communities; and 'act which interrogate the hegemony that imperial representation' (1996)

In other words, post-colonial drama questions the Western notion of the colonized nations as being blank or uncivilized before the influx of the colonizer. Before their arrival, they were civilized and so already had an existing history and culture. John Yang in "Representation and Resistance": A Cultural, Social, and Political Perplexity in Post-Colonial Literature (1999) supposes that:

Post-colonial texts act as a representative of its respective nations and how it serves as a symbol of resistance against its colonizer. Within these categories, authors depict the life of a newly independent nation, speak out against the oppression of its colonizers, and express a desire for an ideal "pre-colonial" society, or extol the beneficial consequences of empire... Two ideas that surface repeatedly in post-colonial literature and theory are representation and resistance. Inevitably, scholars will judge a novel or poem by how adequately it represents an indigenous people or by how it reacts to the oppressing colonizers. (87)

The above quotation reinforces the postcolonial theorists' notion of double consciousness given that since independence the colonized have the double consciousness of taking control, seizing the microphone from the intruders and telling their stories themselves; getting off the stranger from their seats and sitting where and how they ought to sit. The above mirrors the idea that the post-colonized mission is to stamp out unfounded stigma and blunders made by both the colonizers and the neo-elites.

Helen Tiffin expresses in her essay "Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse" that Resistance theory in post-colonial literature refutes the very notion that the idea of representation also connotes further subjugation. Resistance literature uses the language of empire to rebut its dominant ideologies. In other words, the colonized nation is "writing back," speaking either of the oppression and racism of the colonizers or the inherent cultural "bitterness" of the indigenous people ... The paradox of marginalization and empowerment seem to coexist in the ideas of representation and resistance (96).

Postcolonial drama suggests that the study assumes a binary of the colonizer and the colonized, stands as the culture of the colonizer being coherent and "hegemonic," while that of the colonized is complex and variant. The binary opposition of colonizer and colonized, with the former as culturally hegemonic and the latter as diverse and polyvalent, is a characteristic of postcolonial studies. Most importantly, Post colonialism engages the question of power representation. Here, one sees that postcolonial drama showcases plays as part of the culture of postcolonial countries and studies. Through it, one discovers that the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer is defined by an economic relation for countries colonizing other countries in order to exploit them. Postcolonial drama looks at issues of power, politics, religion, economics and culture and how these elements work in relation to colonization and the colonizer's hegemony. That is why writers like Chinua Achebe and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in their works recount the suffering of the colonized people. Achebe in *Things Fall Apart*, instead of glorifying the exploratory nature of European colonists as they expanded their sphere of influence, prefers to dwell on the destructive events that led to the death and enslavement of thousands of Nigerians when the British imposed their imperial governance on them.

Tess Osonye in *The Broken Calabash* and Derek Walcott in *'Dream on Monkey Mountain* show that it is time to do away with those unprogressive and archaic norms that deny individuals the right to choice, representation and power for sustainable social development bearing in mind that no matter how small power is, it ends up affecting all aspect of the society. It is for this that post-colonial drama incorporates the woman as a vital tool for hegemonic representation.

In other words, post-colonial literature looks at how colonially imposed socio-economic and political structures altered the lives of the subalterns allowing them with no chance of effecting change. Post-colonial plays try to recover the respective nation's socio-economic, cultural, and political dignity from imperial compression. By and large, post-colonial plays are committed to championing the nationalist feeling and inculcating a new vigor in the hearts and minds of the people. It is aimed at reawakening national pride and cultural values, and social identity and to carving their representation in the history of race, culture and politics. It is out to pass the message that if there is anyone to change or transform our history, it is us. Colonized and more especially African countries need to carry out introvert transformation before thinking of extrovert transformation which is tantamount to power and representation. After all, why lament for years as if we were the only colonized continent or country?.

As T.G. Sonffo says in *"Dare to Think Big"*, 'let the architect modify the plans and a new building will arise! Let us change our mindset and we will be able to build a prosperous people, a balanced society and a much better future.(18) A future in which we shall not only have power and be identified but be recorded and be remembered. Tyson adds that:

...most interpret post-colonial literature in terms of a number of overlapping themes. These include the following: the initial encounter with the colonizer and the disruption of indigenous culture...and colonial oppression in all forms, mimicry (the attempt of the colonized to initiate the dress behavior, speech and life style of the colonizer (the experience of seeing an 'outsider' in one own land (374)

The above quotation entails that any reading of a post-colonial text bears in mind that a colonized text carries diverse and varying themes or subjects. He or she has to bear in mind that such a text in addition to other themes, deals first of all with the postcolonial theory elements like the effect of the interaction between the colonized and the colonizers; which led to hybridity (mimicry?) and cultural disruption in all forms.

Post-colonial literature was created as a voice to the voiceless and poorest members of the global community. It looks at the ways colonialism imposed grown socio-economic, cultural and educational hegemony that affect the lives of the colonized and politically allowed them little chance to effect

change. It is literature that deals with colonization and the colonized people. It takes into consideration how literature uses the colonized culture to distort the experiences and realities and inscribe the inferiority of the colonized people and equally attempts to articulate the inevitable identity and reclaim their past in the face of the inevitable Otherness. Post-colonial literature gives another perception in seeing the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. It questions the validity of the assumptions that the colonizer's culture is better than the colonized's culture. Hence expressing the realities of the colonized people (www.ub.uit.no).

The question we will like to ask is will Africa be Africa without colonialism? Fifty years after liberation Africa is still on the same stand; what would have happened if it had not gotten colonized at all? So, why not see it as a blessing that brought us to the tributary where we now have the responsibility of making our own choices? Instead of seeing it as a rape to our institutions, why not see it as a stepping stone to our progress. What is done is done as the different schools of thought have been built and the different knowledge and power planted. All of the colonizers ways have come to stay with no way of eradication. What we need is rather co-existing solutions to the crisis. Those already represented should stop seeing those at the base, the unrepresented as charity cases but rather as tools or partners in the journey for a better sustainable development.

Neocolonialism

With colonialism, we talk of colonization, marginalization, exploitation, dominion and the 'Other'. With Post-colonialism, we look into the effects of colonialism, try to erase its evil traces, destroy its foundation and lay ours, we aspire to quench the hot coals, remove the thorns and mend the broken pieces, become autonomous and be hegemonically represented for we are no longer slaves but free being. Ironically, our dreams and joy are again shattered by the arrival of a new system –neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is defined by the *Online Encyclopedia* as the continuation of the economic model of colonialism after a colonized territory has achieved formal political independence. A concept applied to Africa in the latter half of the 20th century after Europe had colonized most of its continent in the late 19th century, instituting a system of economic exploitation in which African raw materials, particularly cash crops and minerals were expropriated and exported to the sole benefit of the colonized power. Hence, the idea of neo-colonialism suggests that European countries continue to control the economy of the new colonized states after granting them normal political independence. In this scenario the government authorities and the local rulers work not for the betterment of the people,

but to continue directly or indirectly, the colonial system of transferring wealth to the colonizing country. With neocolonialism we see how the colonized are still under the yolk of colonization.

Tyson in *Critical Theory Today* believes that neo-colonialism exploit the cheap labor available in developing countries at the expense of those countries own struggling business and cultural tradition.

He says:

Neo-colonialist corporate enterprise is supported, when the need arises, by upper regimes (local rulers paid by corporative to support it interest and by covert military intervention (some times in the Forms of financial troops loyal to corporate political interest, sometimes in the form of enlisting military aid from western power most closely aligned with the corporations concern)...There is big money to be make in this game and the major players are too power to be bound by any rules of fair play. (372)

The notion of exploiting cheap labor is factual when one looks at Oceana who says

And the summary again? Life is cheap in Africa...What's the different between contract and power? Woman, tell me. What is? Ha! Ha! Ha!..Better know me. Interest rules the world...Great! Great reasoning, my friend! The less commitment we are to these people, the better. So I propose that all future employment that we off be part-time. Temporary. Give us the flexibility and control edge. Your silence troubles... I mean are with me? (134,104)

Neo-colonialism was defined at the 'All –African People's Conference' in Cairo in 1961 as:

The survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in emerging countries, which have become the victims of an indirect ad subtle form ofdomination by political, economic, social, military or technical measures, and is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status. (26)

Charles de Gaulle, the then president of France in 1960 told military officers in Blida in Algeria to try to understand what was happening in the world, to understand that the old methods of direct control, based on arms and the colonial state apparatus, had become impossible to practice the new ways had to be found so that the activities of France in Algeria can continue.

The then Prime minister of England, Harold Macmillan, in a speech in Cape Town in 1960, said that 'a wind of change' was blowing over the continent and that the main question now was whether the people of Asia and African will turn to the East or to the West, to communism or to the 'free world'. To add to this, in 1961, US President John F. Kennedy launched what was called 'the Alliance for Progress' for the Latin American states. And Mai Palmburg says neo-colonialism continues the exploitation that colonialism began (*Africa Opposing Viewpoints: 17-18*).

The above statements indicate that the Western powers knew and understood that they had to create new forms of colonialism (Neocolonialism) given that the old ways of direct colonial control (power) was outdated. Thus, new ways of the 3rd world exploitation or neo-colonial representation had to be formed else they lost their domineering powers. As a result, they came up with neo-colonial policy, represented through economic investment, trade and development aids, tools to make colonized countries dependent. All of these new ways are but new strategies for gaining insight, control and representation in the country's economy. When this is done, most vital economic decisions of the independents states are thereby indirectly taken by the foreign experts. Oceana in *What Mama Said* says '... fear not. Says the Lord for I am thy Lord and the God. And I will be with you till the very end. Just lay your trust in me' (79).

The question here is who plunged who into fatality and who decides to remain in fatality? It is a fact we were colonized, exploited and relegated. But shall we sit and keep on lamenting year in and year out over issues that came rather as reinforcement and preparations for our greatness or get out of the alarming precariousness and skip beyond racism or colonialism and its effects?. Representation and hegemony should not be seen only in terms of a revolution or resistance against the colonizers but as a fight against our laxities and irresponsibilities. Life is all about what happened to us and how we handle what happened to us.

In regards to Walter Rodney and Samir Amin in an online article '*African Countries Africa Independence*', European countries especially the United States, dominated the economies of African countries through Neocolonialism by means of: exporting raw materials such as cocoa, through an imposture of variable ceiling on the revenue of this production. Another method of neocolonialism was that of foreign aid in the form of loans bearing high rates of interest to Poor and Heavy Indebted countries (PHIC). The main revenue base for Africa and other colonized countries and the inability to repay their loans. This created in us the concept of despair and pushes us to swallow the idea that our socio-economic future depended on others leniency. These exploitative and dehumanized practices by the colonizers succeed in blackening the blacks' minds hence binding them to total defeatism. Hence the underdevelopment and non-emergence of most colonized countries. This makes most post-colonial scholars term neocolonialism as the continuing drain of African resources. Tess uses the character Oceana in *What Mama Said* says 'You land of liars! Stinking debtor-nation. Aren't you ashamed? All potentials and morality sold. Auctioned to the highest bidder. Out of my sight! Bitch' (100).

In affirmation Dr Nkrumah in *'Neo-colonialism, the last Stage of Imperialism'* says that "Huge international consortia have been formed and are still growing to exploit newly-discovered resources of oil, iron ore, natural gas ...which are striving to get the maximum profit from the natural riches of Africa" (54). He goes further to say that: 'Neo-colonialism has encouraged sharp division between independent African states and national leaders, and many of them have succumbed to the temptation of putting their interest first. Hence, the post-colonial theory of our leaders hybridizing.

Nkrumah again in the above book sees Neo-colonialism as a new form of colonialism, as the most egregious phrase of colonialism. Unlike during colonialism whereby the colonialist where body and soul present in the colonized nations during the process of exploitation and dominance, the post-independence period eye them do so from overseas under the cover of political and economic assistance to the colonized. This act was facilitated by the low prices of African products in the world market as well as the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s.

Neo-colonialism does not end with economic domination. It is inseparable from the exercise of political and ideological representation. Having lost its direct hegemonic rule during independence it still strives through soft ways to exert its power not only in the economic field but also in the religious, cultural, ideological and political spheres on the newly independent states at all costs. Hence, the colonized nations and people's collective and individual urge and determination to resist and put a stop to imperial and neo-colonial hegemonic tendencies and barriers to national development. Capitalizing on the Post-colonial tenant of the struggle for ethnic, cultural and political autonomy, the pioneers are bent on neutralizing foreign superiority over the colonized, Nfon Rita retells Odenigo speaking of imperialism, Colonized and the populate that:

You refused to see things as they fairly are: we are living in a time of great white evil. They have dehumanized blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia, they cemented what happened in the Congo, they won't let American blacks vote, they won't let , they won't let Australia Aborigines vote, but worst of all is what they are doing here. This defense pact is worse than apartheid and segregation but we don't realize it. They are controlling us from behind drawn curtains. It is very dangerous. (105)

The insinuated above is that colonialism, imperialism or neo-colonialism is very devilish. Not only does it stink but also metamorphosis into various veils. Some overt and some quiet forms in the post-colonized nations. This validates the point that neocolonialism corporate enterprises through local rulers paid to support its interest. This backs up the New Historicist notion that discourse wields power for those in power and also stimulates opposition to the power. So, Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott in the plays under study are lending a voice to all conquered nations to realized the need for

self-faculties and prerogative which will serve as their symbol of representative weight with which they will be able to reach the attainment of actual political independence, authentic sovereignty as well as self-determination. This should be built first on self-confidence and secondly by putting off the coat of foreign rules and vulnerability.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and Molefi Kete Asante in their articles "Moving the Center" and "Afrocentricity" repeat the misconception of the West being the center of the world. The 'margin' as he holds, is like a dry leaf that can be toasted by the wind to anywhere. Besides, they forget the belief that civilization began in Africa. By this, they debunk the ghastly presentation giving the west as the 'First World' and the colonized the 'Third World' and call for equality of cultures. These reiterate the Post colonialist's idea of moving the margin to the center or repositioning.

The raised historical synopsis elucidates the literary viewpoint of the post-colonial writer. History builds and shapes a society just as a society makes history as the New Historicist tells us events of a given era affect its people's thinking and behavior. In other words, there is a link between history, its people and its literature. From this, it is clear that every human and societal action is considered from the angle of time regarding the fact that the past, the present and the future are logically interrelated.

Representation of History as Memory in *What Mama Said*

Politically, by 1500, much of the present -day Nigeria was divided into states identified with 250 to 400 modern ethnic groups whose history can be traced to the origin of these states. Some of these early Nigerian states are: The Ebo state, the Yoruba state, the Benue state and the Niger Delta state with the spread of Islam in the North and then to the South of Nigeria. These ethnic groups have a wide varied cultures and mode of political organization that extends backward in time of slave trade and colonialism. According to an online article "The Historical Setting of Nigeria, "Oral traditions, archaeological evidence and written documentation" established the existence of dynamic societies and well-developed political system whose history had an important influence on the colonial rule and has continued to shape independent Nigeria (1).

From this, the emphasis is on the fact that the historical background of Nigeria is very vital in shaping the Nigerian society during the colonial and the postcolonial eras. It shows the fragmentation of Nigerian history due to its many ethnic groups, colonization and slave trade. Still politically, the British practice of 'indirect' ruled created so much commotion among the Yoruba of West Nigeria. As part of this rule, the British put certain Yoruba individuals as leaders of other Yorubas's. This system of rule brought cultural disruption or change to the existing cultural and hierarchical structure since

many villagers were now ruled by members from other villages with whom they had traditional or historical odds. As a result of this unacceptable rule, resistance sprang up to the orders of the pseudo-leaders causing their replacement by the British officers. Yobe in *What Mama Said* says:

'Government is not blind or asleep, you know. We have our secret agents. Constant armed surveillance. We use the police too to check... Oh well, we have our secret agents right there with them in the market. (83, 84)

Culturally, riots stepped from the culturally rooted Yoruba in the West to the religious between the Muslims and the Hausa in the North, between the rich Igbos and the Delta States and between Nigeria and the British culture. It should be noted that most of these conflicts were subdued by the British military powers. Thus Yobe in *What Mama Said* says: "We'll silence anybody who dares speak against, challenge, or sabotage our government. We've displaced our boys into all nooks and canners of the land. Even in the marketplace" (84): Hence, revealing colonial oppression in all forms Achebe (1983:47) asserts that corruption in Nigeria has passed the alarming stage and is now in the fatal stage. People spend hours in long queues in fuel stations chasing unavailable products which the station operators prefer to sell to the black marketers. Imo in *What Mama Said* says: "Fuel! It's here. Always deceiving us. Send us away so they can sell to bloated prices to their friends loaded with" (44). British primary interest in West Africa was to open markets for its manufactured goods well as to expand its commerce in palm oil. But to secure the palm oil and ivory trade, she needed to usurp the power of coastal chiefs in what became known as a divide and rule system. This is reflected in Tess' *What Mama Said* using Ocean standing for the whites or the rich who says "I take it that you have no control over them; your bloody people. And you are the appointed Chief? Why then do you think we pay you? Eh? Your salary... your chieftaincy title is hereby revoked with immediate effect" (164). This is a sign of oppression and dehumanization

By the above, we are made to understand that the giving of titles and paying of the mine salaries to chiefs is nothing but an indirect bribe to subdue or hold them slaves to the representation and hegemonic tendencies of the powers in power. The principal motive for this is to usurp the local leaders' power, pride, dignity and authority. Hence creating in them a psychological inability and incompetence for representation and hegemony. Hence, the need for formal protection and the desire to safeguard its expanding trade interests in the Nigerian hinterland and our today's modern societies

In retaliation, Omi in *What Mama Said* asks the colonial representative

Don't you fix the price for the goods you sell to us? Do we dictate the price for you to sell? ... you come to our land. You take and take and also dictate the price? And still we have no

rights to say 'no'? Haba, monsieur le Directeur! Where is your avowed justice? Where is your fairness? (102)

The fire above reinforces the Post-colonial notion of resisting the misdeeds of colonialism through a mass protest against the oppressive rule of the colonial government by burning and loathing British trading posts and services in their path. This act led to the resignation of these warrant chiefs and forces the British to lower the taxes. All these riots reflect the Post-colonial theory of the struggle for ethnic cultural and political autonomy. Through this, we therefore understand that in most of commonwealth literature, disillusionment and alienation lead to resistance from the oppressed (Nigerians) is geared toward the oppressors (the British) who controls and dictates their cultural, religious, political and economic lives by the weapons of the 'Bible, business and the Bullet' (Fafunwa: 74).

The laws governing the oil industry constrain Niger Delta development in two ways: Firstly, it strips the people of the ownership of their oil and gas resources, thereby denying them the opportunity to directly control their destiny. Hence Omi in *What Mama Said* says:

Well ...not rally. Your parents are resting in the arms of their creator. And they hear you... us now. (Pause) You think they're sleeping? No! I believe they're all here... all our people slaughtered and butchered for asking to get a bite, just a slice of what belongs to them. No, dear. Our dead do not sleep. Neither will our God. So cheer up. Have faith. Resources control. That's all we ask and yet they won't let us. They shoot and kill us. (34)

Secondly, the laws fail to protect the Niger Delta environment: This impedes sustainable development especially, the oil pipelines Act of 1966, the petroleum decree of 1969, the land use decree of 1978, the exclusive economic zone act of 1979, the oil mineral pipeline decree 1960 and other relevant legislations such as those dealing with revenue allocation, offshore of colonial ordinances which leads to environmental damages. The citizens in the aforementioned text say "And look around you. See? They are not even killing us alone. The trees too! Our farmlands! And rivers! The environment. Polluting the land, the rivers, our environment... All polluted... we cannot breath clean air....water-water everywhere. But we have no clean water to drink!" (43, 44). Hence political and economic exploitation, marginalization and ethnicity, in Nigerian politics became the root causes and the sources of all the conflict in contemporary times. As such, instances of political counter-discourse in Nigeria were nothing but the extension of colonial hegemonic inequality. This indicates that colonialism involves racial relationship between cultures that hinges on the imposition of one over the other - a superior-inferior relationship. Colonialism was not just a mere transplantation of one power over the other but an explosion of the cultural superiority of the colonizers over the colonized.

According to an *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* Vol 1No 6; June 2011, it is discriminatory against the colonized people. It also signifies unequal socio-cultural and political relationships. This goes to point out the postcolonial idea of the way culture defines itself by “Othering”

It was nationalism which fired the ember of imperialism that led to the colonialism and exploitation of colonies. Nationalism in the form of desire to exalt a state and to add to its prestige drives men into carrying their flag, their culture, their language, and their institutions into every power-weak area on earth, and it compels governments to justify, defend and champion the economic ventures of their nationals in foreign lands especially weak ones. (Palmer and Perkins. (2007: 162)

Representation of History as Memory in *Dream on Monkey Mountain*

As a result of the advent of slave trade and colonization, the Caribbean past has had a remarkable influence on the lives of a people which can never be obliterated. The history of the Caribbean is a source of inspiration to writers whose works informs and reflects the ideological products of their historical conditions of the period. In the 19th century, West Indian writers and writing grew more numerous and more ambitious as writers explored new forms to reflect realities. The history of the West Indians can be traced as far back to Christopher Columbus discovery of America in 1491.

Politically, the Caribbeans were oppressed, humiliated, subjugated and marginalized by the colonial power. Hence, *Dream on Monkey Mountain* is a master-piece in which Walcott showcases the historical realities of the era. It is a play that highlights the human nature and the evil of representation. This play shows that to maintain power one needs to eradicate from the other everything that gives him / her roots. One of the ways of this eradication is to give debased names to the blacks. Also, Corporal holds that Niggers cannot challenge the law because ‘they are born slaves’ (261).

By this, Corporal a black who feels so superior now calls the blacks:

Animals, beasts, savage, cannibal, stop turning this place into a zoo... in the beginning was the ape and the ape had no name, so God called him man. Now there were various tribes of the apes. It had gorilla, baboons, orang- outa, chimpanzee, the blue –arsed monkey and the marmoset, and God looked at his handiwork, and was that it was good. For some of the apes had straighten their backbones, and start working upright, but there was one tribe unfortunate that lingered behind, and that was the Niger... (216-217)

This act of human debasement is aimed at taking from them their identity and dignity. In this play, Makak and Tiger are descendants of slaves and Makak attests that he comes from Africa. When

reiterating the fact that blacks are off-springs of apes, Souris tells Tiger “he was thought since when he was a child to be black like coal, and to dream of milk. To love God and obey the white man (209). From a postcolonial perspective, the above shows how the colonized culture has been traumatized and is a decoding of Eurocentric cultural ideologies. From this, we deduced that religion instead of being a means of drawing people to God is rather a brainwashing weapon used by the colonizers with the goal of maintaining their economic dominion and authority over the black. This relegation of the black race to the background led to the traumatization of the Caribbeans. This takes us to Ngugi wa Thiong’o who is quoted in *The Colonial Legacy in Caribbean Literature* saying “The colonial process like its parentage; is one of massive theft and robbery. In the case of Africa, it has meant the robbery of her land turned into lucrative sources of raw material and foods to meet the needs of the colonizers” (11).

Colonialism and its slavery act forced the blacks to see themselves as ‘inferior’ ‘The Other’ and the slave masters as the ‘self’. This indicates that the Caribbean have African cultural heritage gotten through former slaves taken to the Caribbean by slave masters to a strange and unidentified land. Besides Makak, the masses are seen as second class due to the fact that they do not belong. Since they do not belong, they are maltreated and dehumanized. Disgusted with the colonial non representation of the natives, the natives decide to put on an act of resistance. Makak resist ‘in defiance of her majesty’s government urged the aforementioned villagers to join in sedition and defilement of the flag...’ (223).

This shows how the texts understudy is colonial and anti-colonial. This is but normal given that every grown-up child expects the parents to consider his maturity by allowing him be represented or have some powers in governing home affairs. But if the parents give a deaf ear to this, the child obviously will become headstrong, resistant or quit the house. After all, we are told Lucifer tired of waiting and not being represented put on a resistance and rebellion that led to his being kicked out of heaven by God who had all the powers to himself.

Economically, this new land was very rich in gold and very fertile for the growing of tobacco, sugar cane and cotton. But the local source of labour proved inadequate for the plantation owners. So, the buying and shipping of Africans to the Caribbean became paramount. This led to the underdevelopment of African societies, as well as the subjugation and elimination of their culture. They were marginalized and relegated in the Caribbean society. The fact that Makak and the other slaves have no home and carry out odd jobs as fishing, charcoal burners and plantation laborers showcase their non-representation in the economic world even though they are back bones to the economic progress. Despite this economic progress, the blacks live on monkey mountain in abject poverty to the

extent that Boutique goes as far as begging for food while Mi-Jean, Ti-Jean and mother in *Ti-Jean and His Brothers* took upon activity as fishing and Makak burns charcoal as his main activity. This brings to light the postcolonial themes of homelessness and the rootlessness of the slaves that were taken to the Caribbean. Through this, we visualize the disillusionment, trauma and the unequal presentation of people across borders.

In pain, Keith Booker and Dubravka Juraga in an online article “*The history of Caribbean*” showcase the pathetic history of the Caribbean thus:

The Caribbean was the first non-European region to be colonized by Europeans: the original natives inhabitants of the Caribbean were non-Europeans who suffered genocide at the hands of Europeans expansionism and brutal economic exploitation in particular of slavery, dominated the labour force accelerated the growth of slave trades for who were like machines to toil the fields and plantations of the new world.(Booker, Jaraga,7)

Socio-culturally, the Caribbeans are helpless, confused and divided on whose culture to follow. This is because they have different historical and cultural background. So, Makak, Souris Tiger and Moustique represent the socio-cultural hybrid nature of the Caribbeans. Songs, dances and language highlight another cultural aspect of the Caribbeans. The language spoken differs from that of the colonizers as portrayed by Corporal. This shows his assimilated nature in his interaction with the colonizers.

As locally said, the Caribbean slave moved from fry pan to fire with the abolition of slavery and slave trade. With this, one would expect them to be happy and unified. No. They were not, given that the colonial masters seeing their loss of the legal rights to exploitation through colonialism reentered Africa in new coats and faces to “civilize” them and to sort out raw material needed in their farms and industries. Thus religion one of these new coats worn by the colonizers became a smooth and soft way of exploitation. This was implemented through missionary activities that got intensified in the colonies. More especially, along the west African coast from 1850 to 1870. Hypocritically, some of these missionaries like missionary Reverent Living became so interested in Africans.

According to Amon Saba Saakana,

Creole-speaking Caribbeans were told that their ancestors were the Gauls; the British were subtler, they simply removed any historical record of the existence of African society before the period of colonization. In its stead, they taught English Language (With an emphasis on English literature, French, Spanish, Latin etc).This had the desired effect of including into the consciousness of the emerging Afro and indo –Caribbean intelligencia the belief that the world was centered in Europe. (102)

An analysis of the above shows that the colonizers were bent on rapping the Africans and the Caribbeans of their culture. The British desiring to be represented eradicated all historical ties of the colonized and their cultures. To support this, Saakana quotes Ngugi saying:

The African taken to the Americas and the Caribbean island saw his language, names, dances, religion, literature, systematically assaulted by the colonial plantation system, meant as Amon Saba Saakana has argued in his book 'To foster a sense of belonging to the colonizing power'.(9)

From this one sees that the colonizers did all they could to gain dominion over the colonized so as to project their domineering power. To achieve this, they had to manipulate the psychology of the colonized by giving them names and suppressing them to mine jobs. This is the most painful part of colonialism. With colonialism, the colonized were structured separately and today, are further weakened by the betrayal of the forces of neo-colonialism. It was the taken away from the colonized their roots and names while frustration and traumatization settled; the need to be identified filled their minds making the colonized struggle to exist amidst the existing power tension. Through the representation of history as memory, we see how the colonized traditional societies, individuals and communities were indeed disrupted and a new relationship was forged to accept new emerging identities that were not rooted in the traditional societies. A look at the metamorphosis of colonial dominion in the past and present context of the colonized societies of the texts under study mirrored that colonialism and its hegemonic hooks have affected the colonized states in a way that is profound and frustrating. Its cultural, socio-economic and political effects have impinged on every aspect of the lives of the subalterns; affecting their self-identity and relationship with others and the community. With this, we try to answer the question that representation and hegemony in the texts understudy is real and not a mere misrepresentation of history as memory.

CHAPTER THREE

RESISTANCE AND DECONSTRUCTING STEREOTYPES

According to the New Historicists, a literary text can be deconstructed to reveal the ideological limitations, the explicit and implicit patriarchal, racial and homophobic agendas, it could be to expose the suppressed historical narratives of the marginalized groups and also to unveil the hidden experiences of the people it has oppressed so as to maintain power. To them, no discourse is permanent for every discourse wields power to those in charge, and also stimulates opposition to that power. Thus, the relationship between the individual identity and the society is but a mutually constitutive given that human beings are never victims of an oppressive society, for they can find various ways to oppose authority in their personal and public lives. According to Foucault, power is never stable and as such circulated in a society effectuating resistance from representation and institutions within and outside the power realm. (Tyson. 281-4) Stereotypes are predicable characters and situations and when we accept and respond to stereotypes, we make assumptions harmful and hostile to individuals or members within or outside the group. So by resistance and deconstruction of stereotypes, we contradict its meaning and unveil the true and underlying significance, we show how it does not fully explain what it claims and to uncover what they are not saying. This abides with the New Historicist's deconstructive insight about human language and experiences.

The American Journal of "Social Issues and Humanities" sees resistance as the act of opposing something that you disapprove of or disagree with. It adds that protection, revolt and uprising seems to be the only tool for effecting change and building an equitable justice and fair play society. It continues by saying that resistance is used as a dominant strategy for survival. It is marked in the history of minority struggle and minority resistance to the continuation of racism, discrimination and marginalization. A protest or a demonstration is a public expression of objection, disapproval or hatred towards an idea or action; it could be cultural or political. Protesters organized a protest as a way of publicly making their opinions heard with hopes of influencing desires that will change them. To achieve a particular objective protest can take many forms, from individual conflict to mass demonstrations. This could involve the use of pressure as well as persuasion.

It may go beyond mere protest and this becomes situations of violent resistance or nonviolent resistance. Resistance literature of the colonized is a counter-action or a 'write back'

technique that speaks of the indigenous people's cultural bitterness protest, view writing from the margins as an act of resistance because it exposes the underlying cultural assumptions of colonial authority and provides alternative readings. ...He goes on to suggest that the act of writing can be a successful mode of resistance so long as it displaces colonial narratives and/or it is conceived of as Other to the colonial narrative. From this, one deduces two vital ideas: that of representation and resistance Jeffress, (2008, p273),

Like the Post colonialists, the same Journal holds that "history often does not record where and when the oppressors freely let go off the oppressed. More often than not, the oppressed would need to put up a tough and sometimes bloody fight of resistance as a way of calling on world attention to one's plight, it is a way of achieving social consciousness and deconstructing hegemonic stereotypes". (American Journal of Social Issues and Humanities 2012, Vol 2).

Therefore, in Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, we are going to examine how through resistance, the playwrights succeed in de-hegemonizing some archaic stereotypes that make the white responsible for the predication of the colonized and the colonized architects of their own doom. We shall equally try to comb patriarchy that has subjugated the woman thereby hindering nation building and development. Finally, we will examine how the writers impartially showcased hegemonic representation as a way of standing for negotiation and co-existence as a better solution in the global world of today. This said, below we exemplify different aspects of counter-hegemonic movements to be seen: political, socio-economic, cultural and educational resistances in the selected works under study. This will be broken down into two parts: violent and nonviolent resistance as seen through the characters in the plays.

Tess Osonye in *What Mama Said* says:

Young Woman says: You see? It's how it's been with us. See? Now tell me, how long can anyone continue like this?

Chorus: How long? How long? Young Woman: Don't you think it's time? Time to take our case to the people...In short, the world?

Woman: Now women, beat! beat the drums!

Young Woman: What did Mama say?

Chorus: (Pounding their feet) Beat! Beat! Beat! The drums!(Drum beats rise) Beat!,

Beat!, Beat the drums! Young Woman: And so she said it: Not our blood for oil ! (21-22)

In addition, Derek Walcott in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* adds: *Tigre: (Singing softly)*

Oh! When the roll

Is called up yonder,

When the roll

Is called up yonder,

When the roll

Is called up yonder

When the roll is call up yonder

I ain't going, (217)

The above is retaliation to dream deferred, Years after years into colonialism, yet no hope, no freedom, no liberty. Many years after independence, no jobs, no better life no equal participation; nothing but political and economic manipulations. All the colonized get is continuous fake procrastinating promises of a better tomorrow that will never come. Thus, it is normal that they colonized stand up for their rights. And the only way to do this is through protest. So the Chorus in *What Mama Said* cries out that “We reject all leaders of falsehood. We reject leaders that take and take and never give anything good in return. Away!” (149) It is normal that they stand up, resist and deconstruct psychological stereotyping.

Barry Peter in an online article “Postcolonial criticism” supposes that ‘if the first move toward a colonial perspective is to reclaim one’s past, then the second is to begin to erode the colonialist ideological stereotyping by which the past has been devastated” (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20716508>, 2005). In regards to this, we see that when a people are betrayed and dispossessed, the wounded would rather resort to militant movements. Thus Osonye Tess and Derek Walcott as post-colonial writers who use rejection as counter-identification with which they evaluate and refuse prejudices as well as the negative images painted on them and then throw them back to the offerer. After all, the New Historicists tell us that the literary text is a cultural web that gives us an insight into the interplay of discourse and the social meaning operating in the time and place in which the text is written. This said, below we exemplify different aspects of counter-hegemonic movements like: political, socio-economic and cultural resistance and deconstructing stereotypes in the selected works under study. This will be broken down into two parts: violent and nonviolent resistance.

Violent Resistance

Frantz Fanon and colonialism -Messay Kebede, in online Sage journals of “Pan African Studies” (2001), states that “Violence is a necessary therapy for a cultural disease brought about by colonial subjugation. The mere departure of the colonizer is not enough; liberation and dignity cannot be recovered unless the colonized get involved in violent performances” (539). Thus, Fanon thinks that violent resistance a tool for expressing despair and frustration is a solution to decolonization. Hence, protests in the post-colonial context, becomes an effective tool for political bargaining. In reality, resistance as a way of establishing oppressive orders and social injustice makes up the history of humanity and the colonized in particular. It is observed that there is no freedom without blood shade, so also the subjugated have never achieved freedom without protest, resistance and even bloody battles. In line with the Postcolonial theorists, a text can resist either colonial or neocolonial deeds by

showing the misdeeds of the colonizers or the sufferings of the colonized or by exposing the detrimental effect of colonialism on the colonized. This said, we will examine two aspects of violence resistance: the political and socio-economic violent in Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain*.

Considering that power has and has never been total or absolute; it becomes normal to find the natives undermining the political hegemony of the foreigners and well as that of its representatives. By so doing, the oppressed indigenes sort out strategies to alter colonial positioning and displacement.

Derek Walcott a political activist, through the character of Makak in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* says 'My hatred is deep, black, and quiet as velvet, (315). This metaphor shows Walcott depth of hatred for the colonizers. It is a memorial sort of hatred which in turn is used to destroy the whiteness that has misled Makak for so long. So, when Makak beheads the white (goddess) an apparition, her dead leads him to the discovery of his own self-identity and political liberation from slavery. It is obvious Makak's efforts toward self-realization and presentation of the black West Indian, is paramount in the split between an identity created for a people by the colonizer to the creation of an identity by the culture which it represents. This creation of a West Indian identity in particular and the colonized in general is the aftermath of the death of the white apparition a symbol of Western cultural supremacy. It is only after this political set-free that the colonized had a memory of his real name Felix Hobain. In *What Mama Said*, Tess talking about political freedom, uses Hadeja during the court trial scenario for liberation saying '...As you can see, unlike the views of my learned friend, (a presentation of the white), who labels them animals and who neither knows or calls them by their names- each one of them has a name' (194)

Thus, as Makak says, 'When your eyes open, you will be transformed, as if you have eaten a magic root' (291). Magic root symbolizes transformation. Makak adds '...I must, I must do this alone... (He holds the curved sword in both hands and brings it down. The woman is beheaded'. (329-320). This beheading of the white goddess exposes her emptiness and as such, reverses and deconstruct her psychological stereotyping of her influence of fear and control over the blacks. As if the killing is not enough, in *What Mama Said*, Omi, the leader of the activists, proposes that something new or different be done to air their grievances or to draw the world attention to their plight.

Omi: '...Look my friend, I've told you the best way for us to deal with these people is to do something something shocking. Terrible...

Imo: Like killing? There is too much of that already.

Omi: So. What do we do?

*Imo: We need ... need ... to try something ... something new (pause) like kidnapping?
...international attention to our cause! (38)*

From the above we understand that by overturning hierarchy, the blacks politically neutralize binary hegemonic stereotypes and make the world share in their suffering. This can be done by no other person but the sufferers. Thus in *What Mama said* the Young Woman says:

Ok, then. You take your own destiny into your own hands. It's your choice. So now, go ahead and tell the world you're what you're going through'. Chorus (Chanting) 'Yes, about time. Our story: hear! Hear! Hear us!' Young Women: 'What did Mama say?' Chorus (Pounding their feet) 'Beat! Beat! Beat the drums! (22).

This shows the resistance; agitation and protest of the desperate subalterns to challenge the injustice of the colonizers and the rich blacks. The end result is the kidnapping of the oil director. By this terrorist act from the subalterns, it is clear that the hegemonic representation of the marginalized lies in their own hands. They must stand up against oppression. They must protest, resist and agitate for a change, for the betterment of their lives. They no longer want a stranger to represent them, to beat their drums or tell their story. They want their story to be told by themselves.

When Makak is questioned about his name at the beginning of the play, he could not tell Corporal Lestrade his real name nor much about himself" (167). But at the end, when Makak says 'My name is Felix Hobain...Hobain, I believe in my God...(322) we see self-confidence and assurance, He is no longer confused about his stolen and distorted identity by the colonizer but rather debunks this confused state by acknowledging and accepting his origin without complex. Like Makak, when Corporal faces the reality of his roots and identity without prejudice, shun complex and accept his root, an acceptance that leads to his liberation. He affirms '... Now I am myself. [Rises]Now I feel better. Now I see a new light, (299). A new light that eradicates the dark connotation painted by the whites, a light that buries the old self and brings forth a new self of a prodigal son.

Alienation, dream defer, despair and disillusionment are elements that give rise to various forms of self- destructive vices. Unable to find jobs, a better life, and other social amenities, many educated youths are pushed to the wall and into vices such as prostitution, vandalism, revolt as well as manipulation to make ends meet. As the voice to the voiceless, Tess Osonye in *What Mama Said* brings friction to the foreground as an effect of a failed government and an exploitative foreign body seen when the protesting mops say '*We want jobs! We want food! We want homes! Shame must go! Agep must go! Mobile must go! Chevron must go! Texas must go! ... (32) Unite! Fight the enemy and not yourselves ... (9)* The call for resistance and protest in order to draw world attention to their

plight keeps on: *Oshun* (Seriously): Look, my friend. I've told you the best way for us to deal with this (sick) people is to do something. Something shocking. Terrible ... well, if that's the only way they hear, we'll use any means to reach them... (38)...Omi (Threatening). We will not be silent...We will Retaliate! Retaliate! Retaliate! You just get ready! Ready!' (123). In *Then She said it*, we hear this:

Obida: The raping...

Women: Must be stopped!

Obida: The killing...

Women: Must be stopped!

Obida: The profiteering ...

Women: Must be stopped!

Obida: The corruption...

Women: Must be stopped!

Benue: Women. This is our fight...

Niger: Together! This is our fight! (33)

The above act of dehumanization, marginalization and terrorism is what provoked a mass protest and a breakdown of Eurocentric superiority and humiliation by the colonized. In *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, Corporal a former representative of the Whiteman's cultural and political norms, now conscious of the humiliating and domineering attitude of the colonizers, asks Makak, the leader of the subjugated and marginalized colorless people to retaliate, revenge on the white by destroying that image, the hegemonic stereotypes seen through whiteness. Corporal combs whiteness from purity and perfection to the most dangerous diseases like: leprosy, Nun, Virgin and Venus that must be violated, humiliated and destroys ((319). From this self-consciousness, it does not take long for sensitization to bear fruits in rebellion, resistance and agitation; the effects being the kidnapping of the oil director and the beheading of the white goddess. While Makak enslaved and blindfolded for years believed that the white colour and everything white is synonym to hierarchy, power and superiority says:

Sirs, I am sixty years. I have live all my life a wild beast in hiding. Without child, without wife. People forgot me like the mist on Monkey Mountain. Is thirty years now. I have not look in no mirror. Not a pool of cold water. When I must drink, I stir my hands first, to break up my image. I will tell you my dream. Sirs, make a white mist. In the mind; make that mist hang like cloth...Make the web of the spider heavy with diamonds... And this old man walking, ugly as sin. In a confusion of vapour. Till I feel I was God self. Walking through cloud. In the heaven in my mind... And as I reach this spot, I see this woman singing. And my feet grow roots. I could move no more. And million silver prickle my bloo. The snakes in my head speak to one another. The smoke mouth open, and I behold the woman. The lovest thing I see on this earth. Like the moon walking along her own road. (227)

The above is the esteemed image of the colonizers Makak conceived and carried along for years. The above shows the hegemonic superiority of the colonizer that psychologically renders the colonized like Makak inferior, dirty and a second class. But Makak has come to a self-realization of the reality that the Eurocentric ideology of white supremacy is fake and deceitful. He discovers that the desire for whiteness or rather, that the notion that a white and a black can ever be equals is a far-fetched idea. As

soon as he is conscious of the reality that it is impossible to reach the moon, that to be like the white is a far-fetched idea as it is a dogma thinking that the colonizers will ever allow or accord the colonized hegemonic authority, Makak begins to question the authentic power of whiteness, ponders whether achieving an identity or freedom through the white is possible. He then concludes that. 'I can never reach the moon; and that is why I'm lost'(304). In like manners, Moustique says: "A white road. With four legs. A spider. With eggs. Eggs. White eggs' (253). Moustique finally condemns the image of the moon as being hypocritical and full of enmity: "But I look at the moon and it's like a plate that a dog lick clean, bright as florin, but dogs chase me out of the people's yard when I go begging (255) Moustique, in this sense, is deconstructing the power of whiteness and reversely represents whiteness as something that is destructive, controlling, and insidious.

To show that the post-colonial writers are concerned with denouncing Eurocentric values and norms and neo-colonial hypocrisy as a way of reclaiming African values and norms, Bole Botake in his plays *Lake God and Other Plays* tells us that the males regain their posture only after the female leader Kwengong calls a general assembly and declares a revolution against the Fon. She declares, "He cannot be Fon. The women have decided. No more Fons in the land" and that "Only the people will decide (who) the Fon will be and for how long. And the affairs of the land shall be decided by all the people in the market" (111). She exposes and declares the overthrow of the dictatorship and put in place a true system. Still, in *The Survivors*, it is Mboysi who overpowers the corrupt and self-centered police officer, and before shooting him, she declares mockingly 'If I die after killing you, I will be satisfied that I had my revenge. Now, this is the moment of truth.... Come along and celebrate your liberation. (84)

From the above one notices that in the political Postcolonial context, protest has become an effective tool in deconstructing fake and hypocritical government. In order to confront the multinational forces that have long humiliated them, Angry youths and Sufferland villagers --whose husbands, mothers, sons and daughters working in the refineries and were slaughtered by the whites in the violent struggle for their rights and dignity, the marginalized go on stage to beat their pain by burning down pipelines and kidnaping an oil company director. But unfortunately their act became fruitless as it ended in the jailing and trial of the leading activists.

This equally indicates the blacks' stereotype of the white race. It indicates the rate at which the white race is presumed to be superior and powerful to the black race. Thus to break down or reverse this order, something drastical has to be done. After a self –awareness, Corporal, a former respecter of the

law and keeper of colonial norms who has been stereotyped for long that white is better than black, tells Makak that ‘I too have longed for her, she is the colour of the law, religion, paper, art and if you want to discover the beautiful depth of your blackness, chop off her head... (319). Englishness or whiteness in favour of Africanness or blackness,

The white apparition that Makak must kill will enable him to be independent of his culture, to represent his blackness globally and to abandon the tyrant nature pasted on him by the colonizers. This same notion of protesting and decoding stereotypes is brought out in *What Mama Said* when Oshimi in the court scene, ordered the colonizers and the assimilated blacks “Speak, you rich and powerful men who ride on the painful back of others. Speak! You who drink on the blood of others. What you did. Why you did it? Yobe: If we had to do it all over? Oceana: It will never be the same Yobe: Now we know (196,199). By so doing the superior nature of the colonizer has been exposed. Hence he loses its superior influence on the colonized and as such the colonized moved from the margin to the center.

Socio-Economic violence

Socio-economic combat is physical and verbal group opposition and rejection to the political, economic, or social actions and policies of a government or society that causes economic harm to individuals. When a people arrived at a juncture whereby they understand that their destiny lies in their own hands, that no body, not even democracy nor Human Rights Watch can salvage their plight, when they realized that it is left to them to rise against oppressors and exploiters of their sweat and advocate for a change, and the betterment of their lives through an equitable sharing of the resources, violent resistance becomes inevitable. The Caribbean like the Nigerian is natural resource filled. Ironically, the people of Caribbean like those of Nigerian do not only lack food, water and other vital commodities but are also dehumanized and alienated from a fair share of power.

Omi, and Hadeja, galvanize their mothers under a battle cry of land reclamation cry out "Our land! We must-must take back what is ours! Resource Control’ the women scream, insisting on their ownership of the land and the nation, asserting’ (146). It is sad and pathetic that a nation that produces crude oil and has many refineries can suffer acute scarcity of petroleum products because self-centered, mindedness national and international breeds have rendered the governments helpless in the face of good governance. Instead of compensating the natives of their lands or paying workers their due wages, they rather opt to lay off workers as a means of conserving funds which ironically is used to create hospitals, recruite nurses for their dogs (133). Meaning the colonized are good for nothing and

so deserves nothing. This draws us to the post-colonial idea of the unspoken and the unrepresented past that haunts the historical present of people history has ignored.

Oshimi and Cross River crying out about this prejudice on their land call on the women to action. By calling the mothers and daughters of the land, Oshimi awakens them to the dangers of this endemic to their land, saying ‘Something . . . something strange, smelly, and strong is sapping our land.’ Her sister, Cross River, adds, ‘People of Sufferland! Our land bleeds! The land weeps! Tell me, who among you here, no matter how young, no matter how old, has not lost our blood?’ To this, the chorus of women, full of anger, narrates their losses. This gives us a memory of colonial and neocolonial political genocide perpetuated in the colonized nations. Tess Osonye says:

Cross River: *Your fathers and brothers?*
 Chorus: *Lost, branded, or wounded!*
 Cross River: *Your mothers and sisters?*
 Chorus (*Inflamed*): *Defied, maimed, or murdered!*
 Cross River: *Your pride and dignity?*
 Chorus: *Cut down!*
 Cross River: *And if they take all away, and what is left?*
 Chorus: *Nothing! Nothing! (138-139)*

In *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, Moustique says ‘...cause I tired begging. Look, look at us. So poor we had to sell the donkey. Barefooted, nasty ...pray for the day when poverty done and for when niggers everywhere could walk upright like men... (254)

The above awake us to double-consciousness and collective awakening to the truth, and into an oppositional state. Cross River declares, ‘Ever since they discovered oil in our land, they drill, dry, and fry us with the fishes and farmlands all cooking in oil.’ Then, she asks, ‘Do you smell the fishes roasting in their hot oil poured over the rivers?’ then the chorus of women answers, ‘Yes! They’ve refined our oil into a curse!’ a god-given gift that has been transformed into their doom and agony that push Cross River to demand ‘Where? Where else in the world does oil cease to anoint?’ ‘Here! Here! Here!’... ‘Plants, animals, children, men, women cooking in their oil. Oil sapped from the very soul of our sagging land. Ah! People of Sufferland! Do you see yourselves drowning? (139). A post-colonial deconstruction of the Eurocentric view of their national heritage and foreign hegemony over the blacks. Walcott uses Makak, as a representation of the black West Indian, to decode stereotypes created for a people by the colonizers to create an identity for the culture he represents. This black identity comes about only after the death of the white apparition that stands for Western European culture. Moustique calls the white woman of Makak’s dream a diablesse, (256) a Creole image of the

devil. The apparition symbolizes the moon, colonial ideologies and the judiciary. For Makak whose identity is formed by racism, the woman is a symbol of the racial despair inflicting him. *The apparition of the goddess is like that of a ghost. He says ‘...I could move no more. The snakes in my hair speak to one another... (235).*

All of the above on violent resistance and deconstructing stereotypes indicate the socio-economic and the political deconstruction of the societies and what situations make characters internalized of others. Harmful and ugly ideologies that lead to the under development and poverty of a nation.

Non-violent Resistance.

Literature is an important agent in resistance and deconstruction stereotypes as it uses non-violent resistance methods capable of stimulating and sending messages of resistance against the colonizers. It is resistance through the aesthetic or intellectual and brain resistance. Under the non-resistance decoding, we will look at the culture which embodies naming, language, dance, proverbs, flash blacks and then reconciliation as another form of resistance.

Cultural Resistance

Cultural resistance, also known as the aesthetic or intellectual resistance is resistance that is expressed using literature that sends messages of resistance to the colonial. According to David Jeffress, writing from the margin is seen as an act of resistance as it exposes the underlying cultural assumptions of colonial authority and offers an alternative reading. To him, this is successful as long as it succeeds in displacing colonial narratives. (David Jeffress, 2008) Thus, language becomes an alternative to war. Cultural resistance methods are very effective because

they act as a double edge sword. It emphasizes on cultural misrepresentation and misuse by the colonial power. It insists on the need to contest these misrepresentations to develop more self-conscious, sympathetic and equal hegemonic relationship. As David Jeffress (2008) suggests, the act of writing can be a successful mode of resistance as long as it displaces colonial narratives conceived of as Other to the colonial narrative. This said, subverting colonial authority is possible because power is never total or absolute. ... David Jeffress (2008, 273)

To this we deduce that the native fight is to decode binary oppressions and identities produced by the colonizers and by so doing, they undermined colonial hegemony. It is as a result of these binary oppressions that Fisher (1999) posits that: Colonization implies a collision of cultures. As the colonizer moves in, they impose their language, ways, and values on the natives of the land. Its power

places it at the center and its language gives its voice authority. From this position, the colonizer marginalizes and silences the native inhabitants, making them the “Other.” Colonization brings a shift in cultural power that is tied directly to a shift in linguistic power. Woodson 1984 says ‘If a race has no history, if it has no worthwhile tradition, it becomes a negligible factor in the thought of the world and it stands the danger of being exterminated (10-11). From this, we accept the fact that history is a vehement factor in cultural hegemonic representation as it allows a people to learn from the past so as to modify the present as well as form an image of others and of themselves as such a better representation of tomorrow. In line with this, we are going to look at cultural revolt at the levels of language, names, healing, and dance,

Vernacular Decoding

In an online Language Magazine” language is the way we determine who we are and the way we create our identity. It fortifies our belonging to society. When the privilege of language is abused, as it has been in colonized countries, the “native” suddenly finds not only herself or himself unable to communicate, but also that his or her language becomes a barrier to survival. So, he or she can no longer understand herself or himself as the subject she or he used to be. In the colonized nations, it is hard for the indigenous person or group to change the way both the individual and the group are understood by the center. Not even to talk of changing the way they see themselves. In order to be heard and represented, they must learn to manipulate and decode the aesthetics of the center, hence redefining their group. Thus the use of creole, pidgin and proverbs became subversive tools for the colonized activists to dismantle their oppressors. Consequently, when Makak speaks he uses Creole rather than Standard English. ‘...is you all self that is your own enemy’ Your son in de jail a’ready’ ... I dream I see me funeral’ (250-213).

The above is a diction considered by the colonizers as baby talk, childish language and void of good societal communication but used by the subjects to oppose their masters. The colonized use anti-language to reveal that the whites supposed identity is suppressive and disastrous to their culture. Thus, the only way for them to create or project their language and a new identity is to silence the colonial voice and the control the colonizer has had on them. Thus, in *What Mama Said*, the indigenes speak pidgin ‘We get choice ...we fit ... we fit do somethin. Wetin be dat small something we go do now (112) Cross River ‘No be you even get de petrol. Common house boy.(47) When Makak speaks Creole and Lestrade does not correct Makak’s Creole but distinguish between Makak’s moment of

madness and the behavior of the other two prisoners, Tigre and Souris, indicates that the center can change its understanding of the margins and it be recognized.

From the aforementioned, vernacular is used by the post-colonial writers as a cultural redefinition that localizes and attracts value far better than the colonizers norm. By so doing, it displaces the hegemonic uniqueness and centeredness of their oppressors. Through this strategy, the marginalized not only take back their cultural voice but also reconstruct their identity by returning to their pre-colonial roots. Thus recreating an identity equal to that of the Other. By this battling and splitting, post-colonial critics render the language of the center problematic and questionable. Consequently, taking back the cultural hegemony that was initially theirs. As a result, the hunter becomes the hunted.

Naming.

By giving barbaric and savage names to indigenous peoples, the colonizers erased from them their cultural significance of names, and so create in them an inferiority complex and exclude the colonized histories from public hegemonic representation. Naming carries deep personal, cultural, familial, and historical connections. From the New Historicists' view, naming gives us a sense of being and belonging in the communities in which we belong, and a place in the world. In the postcolonial context, naming is a very important tool used among various African cultures to convey certain messages, either to an individual, family members or a community. The naming of objects is linked to the socio-political and geographical factors of a country. Names reflect the social dynamics of the societies where they are found. Naming reinforces claims of national ownership, state power, and masculine control” and as such act as an explicit tool of repression. If you want to claim the narrative of a colonized place, name it after your places and people from where you came. To the colonizers, naming indigenous peoples showcases colonial power. From the time of early contact, naming power has been used by the colonizers as a tool for oppression and deliberate white supremacist attempts to demean black people as well as to tame them. When you tame something, you do so to bring it closer. In the colonized patriarchy societies, there is great power in naming things. To name is to identify, symbolize, refer, describe, organize and, most importantly, to tame. Names according to the “Journal of Language Teaching and Research”, Vol 115, Jan 2015, have the potential to influence our behavior, physical appearance, career path and life choices, popularity, and how others perceive us and it leaves a long-lasting imprint on our lives — for better or worse

Naming is a vital bullet under resistance and deconstructing stereotypes in that it transcends cultures and religion, geography and time. It affects and triggers bonding with the person or object. To the

psychologist Suzanne Degges, naming affects one's feeling about a thing, it is more than a word as it elicits, associates, communicates, breaks barriers and makes ties. Naming is an act that creates inclusiveness. It is based on these vitalities that naming in the post-colonial context is used to pave the colonial journey to hegemonic representation. In *What Mama Said*, Oceana names the natives 'savages, vandals and cursed ... goat, (158,163) He furthermore, referring to the African land says '(Alone) What the hell am I doing in this god-forsaken land? By this he implies a wild land, a barren land full of illiterates. "...Go...go back to Tex...? Oh no. Forget it. The oil...oil...no. I can't. not now. Not now...We will be the losers (156). His refusal to go back to Texas is a contradiction to his statement that Africa is a godforsaken land and Africans are savages, vandal and cursed. His words debunk the idea that Africa is poor and savage to the truth that Africa is a blessed land full of potentials and natural resources that attracts foreign bodies for exploitation. The same goes in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* where we hear name like Tigre, Makak, Lion and Nigger. (218, 240, 254) The above names denote power and strength thereby portraying Africa as a name that embodies abundance and wealth. It showcased its economic hegemony.

Dancing

Dancing was and still is an important social ritual used to express identity, to connect one to his or her ancestral roots as well as to retain the memory of one's history. The gestures and movements not only provide a window to the soul, but also a tool to enforce symbolic boundaries and express larger communal identities. Dance is filled with aesthetic values, making it distinct from one society to another and is shrouded in symbolism that expounds on the cultural heritage of a community accordingly being unique from one society to another. Hence, ritual dances affirm the belief of the system of society. It offers a people the chance to represent their culture and to express themselves through their customs, voice, body, and manner of dance (<http://www.jstor.org>stable>).

Within the Post-colonial context, represented by the plays under study, dance not only informs the audience of their unified collective past but also serves as a powerful medium for resistance as well as for negotiating a self-representation. That is why the writers of the texts under study deemed it good to use this technique as a way of debunking colonial cultural hegemony. This is exemplified in *Dream on monkey Mountain* during the healing scene as follow '(...one or two begin to dance ...the drummer and the chorus join in the rhyme '(The chorus picks up the silence. In the dancing and drumming to 'Death, Oh Me Lord' Moustique takes over and, mounting a ...shout above the celebration. Makak, dazed at his own power...)' (250)

In *What Mama Said*, dance as will be seen below, is used as a mode of resistance.

Young Woman: *What did mama said?*

Chorus: *(Pounding their feet.) Beat! Beat! Beat the drums! (Drumbeats rise) Beat! Beat! Beat the drums!...(with unified rhythms, and creeping to center stage, the victims break into vibrant dance-steps....Thus transformed,... they quickly hold hands, form a human chain of shield as they continue their vibrant dance/chant, pounding the earth with their fee... (22).*

Here we see that the villagers used dance as a communicative tool to lament to the world the greed and evil of colonial environmental destruction afflicted the colonized. They use dance to expose the neocolonial self – centeredness and egoistic nature. Chorus “Tell us,-tell-us-tell us is poverty a crime?...the rousing drum beat empowers the women and youths into a huge orchestra as they shift out of the stage and into the audience to build a communal dance party ... (200) through this, they link the past and the present to show that their desire and demands before and after freedom have not been made. They are for the second time betrayed and yoked by their own fellow brothers.

Healing

Healing serves as another point of cultural defiance and split. Healing, demonstrated through blackness serves as a guiding force or natural energy that allows people to accomplish miracles and find faith in concepts other than white-ness. Makak’s healing of the sick peasant depended much on blackness. This Moustique underlined:

Look, I know an old man, he been living in the forest, he know all the herbs, plant, bush. He has this power and glory, and if you want, and it has no harm in that, I could fetch him for you. Look, before you pick him up again, before you choke him with that stinking medicine... (246) ... Ah, ah, you see all you. Ain’t white priest come and nothing happen? Ain’t white doctor come and was agony still? ...And who heals the man? Makak! Makak! (251)

The aforementioned goes to show the colonizers that the African cosmology or belief in the use of natural herbs for healing and deliverance which they condemned and reject is far more efficient than the Eurocentric scientific healing methods. A hegemonic mend-set that leads to the death of so many people who ignorantly hold that the colonized ways of healing is archaic and foolish. When Makak asks a woman to put a coal in his hand, a living coal he insisted. A soul in my hand (248). By asking the woman to entrust a soul in his hand, Makak confidently solicits faith in his powers. The debunking of Western hegemony superiority is again illustrated in *What Mama Said* when Imo invokes the ancestral spirits to rise up and back them up in the face of a dangerous tyrant that risks swallowing them up. She cries out:

Rise up, mothers! My ancestors. Wake! Wake. Wake up! Your daughters need you now. The tide is high, high up. The flood threatens to swallow us. And sharks, white and blacks, have

taken over the shores. Our land...Gobbled as torn flesh by the ever hungry sharks now ruling our land...' (137)

Makak and Imo at this point, showcase that their powers are local, and are rooted in ancestral authority in their native soil. Not only are their powers rooted in ancestral authority in the soul of the lands, but also point out the fact that their ancestors are alive, hear and act in moment of need. From all of the above, we realized that the emotional and psychological hatred from the colonized to the colonizers leads to an introvert awareness which consequently is transformed into an extrovert resistance that finally ends in a cultural strike back. Cultural resistance is a way of reclaiming one's humanity, and a presentation of a people's history. As Amilcar Cabral in "National Liberation and Culture" put it that "To deny a dominated people their history is to deny them their cultural progress". (485). In likemanner, Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott create these scenes to negotiate encounters between different cultural sensibilities. This also goes to give value to African tradition in the global modern society.

Reconciliation Resistance

Jeffress argues that reconciliation resistance deconstructs colonial knowledge and produces an alternative discourse; demanding an alternative structure of relations through recognition, redistribution, and connection. Furthermore, while colonial discourse theory's deconstruction of colonial identity illuminates the historical function of power within the colonial project, it fails to provide a framework for dismantling these structures of identity or contending their political effects. Moreover, the frameworks of identity and relationships established through colonial discourse limit anticolonial theorists' construction of resistance against colonial oppression. Jeffress equally holds that reconciliation, on the other hand, requires recognizing the memories of the past, and acknowledging the abuse, violence and discourse of colonial violence. It also involves changing the discourse to offer a narrative of meaning, not for the past, but for the present and the future.

From the above, reconciliation resistance according to Jeffress is transformative. A type of resistance that encourage mutual interdependence between colonized and colonizers and not that which promotes antagonism. In this light, we assume that, Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott's plays do not deal with a single tradition or with a single view of history. Contrarily, they seem to be calling for a flexible regard to history that will include both the colonial and anti-colonial perspectives. Thus when Makak heals the sick man, he depends both on blackness as well as on whiteness to bring about the magic power that leads to healing. "Now I want a woman to put a coal in this hand, a living coal. A

soul in my hand . . . We will wait for the moon" (248). This is when Makak begins to realize that blackness isn't necessary to guide him to Monkey Mountain. Thus, to Walcott, the solution does not lie in a point-blank rejection of colonial history. Given that the history of today is the fruit of yesterday or the past. A call for the rejection of colonial history and a creation of African utopia purity is bound to fail. The can never be a globalized cultural purity. So, the black aesthetics cannot be completely separated from the white's aesthetics. From their point of view, it should be a hybrid one capable of universal acceptance. It should also be noted that the search for uniqueness call for enmity and resistance.

Looking at the above controversies, we will say the road to resistance and deconstructing stereotypes by the colonized is problematic. It becomes complex and an unrealized dream as long as it refuses to accept the negotiation of the hegemonic forces. We should be reminded that colonialism came and changed, displaced and tamished the political, historical and geographical settings of the colonized. So nothing pure was left but a mixture.

Hence fifty years after, things have never been and will never be the same no matter the efforts. So the urge to bring back a pure African past is a far fresh idea. Thus, Walcott and Tess with regard to the uncertain and ambiguous ending of their texts subject that resistance and deconstruction stereotypes should be such that embraces hybrid representations. Makak says 'My name is Felix Hobain...' And Corporal accepts this by affirming 'Your name is Hobain. I must mark that on the charge' (322). By this, is shows that the colonized have succeeded in making a record for themselves and have been represented in history. But does this make them unique? No! It is an acceptance and not a purity or uniqueness. If this showcases a sign of freedom and a return to purity then, we expected Makak and others to leave Monkey Mountain for Africa; no they do not. This thus sustains the New Historicist notion that no discourse is pure or permanent but rather it is flexible, dynamic and negotiable.

The fact that Makak and the other colonized ended up on Monkey Mountain and in prison precisely shows that the need for hybridity is necessary in the global world of today. Thus Makak says '(Turning to them) God bless you both. Lord, I have been washed from shore to shore, as a tree in the ocean. The branches of my fingers, the roots of my feet, could grip nothing, but now, God, they have found ground. (226) 'But now they have found ground' indicates that the colonized have been culturally represented even if politically the colonized are partially still under the yoke of the colonizers. The same goes in *What Mama Said* when expecting a total rejection of whiteness, a

condemnation and a rejection of the hybrid and assimilated, ironically, we see forgiveness, reconciliation and acceptance.

Pipeline' (Gasping) Forgive...daughters! Sisters, forgive! Never! Never. I shouldn't... shouldn't... My people! I failed...father...defend...' Yobe 'it will never be the same' Pipeline 'Now we know' (199). The message here is that the colonized prospective or aesthetics have gained recognition. This implies that the colonized writers are not out for suppression, destruction or for a condemnation of others but are trying to make a name and to secure a place for the marginalized in the rhythm of hegemonic representation. A demand for a blend and transcultural unity of the blacks. To make their stand clear, Walcott in 'A Far Cry From Africa' laments that:

*I who am poisoned with the blood of both
Where shall I turn, divided to the vein?
I who have cursed
The drunken officer of British rule, how choose
Between this Africa and the British tongue I love?*

Here we see resistance and splitting stereotypes as a problematic issue in the colonized context as it stands like a metis that can never have a purity of black or white, but a mixture of colours and cultures. Thus resistance and deconstructing stereotypes metamorphoses from opposing, changing, or reforming the exploitative nature of colonial powers and the neocolonial leaders, to fighting against the corrupt and bad governance or authorities in power as well as resistance to questioning the socio-culture norms so as to challenge a global trend. On the other hand, Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott supposed that the solution to hegemonic representation does not lie in a total rejection of colonial historical representation. Rather, history in the global world of today should assimilate the past because a desire for purity may lead to chaos. Wherefore we realized from the texts under study that Post colonialists recognize the mixture of Erucentric and Afrocentric heritages that have affected the development of the colonized identity.

Bhabba, (1995: 22) says, all cultures and languages are hybrid, and there is no purity of language. From this we therefore like the playwrights are saying that what we the suppressed need is cultural tolerance and mixture without losing any of its original features. This is a call for multiculturalism. In the same light, David Jeffress In an online journal, (2008) holds that the process of decolonization is complex. It involves a negotiation between various historical, social and cultural forces. And the postcolonial desire to erase the colonial script is a dream... (273) David Jeffress in the above is right given that colonization came and did changed the geographical, cultural and political

landscapes of the colonized. So the desire of the colonized for a pure historical restoration will rather be partial.

Still from the above poem, Walcott stands on the fact that hybrid as a form of resistant will be far effective in restoring the native's cultural and political hegemony. In *Dream on Monkey Mountain* Walcott advocates for a hybrid culture is reiterated when Souris says 'you will bring us far, then abandon us? You will surrender that dream? Makak:

...I wanted to leave this world. But if the moon is earth's friend...can we leave the earth? We are wrapped in black air, we are black, ourselves shadows in the firelight of the white man's mind...and the dream will rise like vapour, the shadows will be real, you will be corporal again, you will be thieves, and I an old man, drunk and disorderly, ... Souris 'but your dream touch everyone, sir. Even in those burnt out coals of your eyes, there is still some fire... (304).

Through Makak unconditional statement "...But if the moon is earth' earth's friend...can we leave the earth? ..." Walcott uses this to enables us know that after years of colonialism, it is difficult for the colonized to regain their culture in its pure state. Makak's conditional statement 'I want to leave this earth ...But if the moon is earth... 'But your dream touches everyone...there is still some fire... all go to show that the colonized history and culture have been distorted though there is hope (some fire) of it being truthful and as such what can be gotten is not a pure history and culture but rather a mélange of both. Tess Osonye on her part portrays that women are not out to over thrown the men or the colonizers for this is not an easy game. Rather, they desire equal representation of the socio-economic, cultural and political hegemonies. She says '..., make us equals, (106).

These writers have come to the reality that the colonized hegemonic purity is ambiguous as some forms of resistance are sometimes counter-productive as they rather draw the black community further into the same issues they are resisting. This portrays that through resistance and decoding stereotypes, colonial authority loses its hegemonic strength on the subjugated and tolerates the cultural hegemony of the colonized. This work has shown that nonviolent and not violent resistance is an effective tool for deconstructing stereotypes. Social change implies a total disruption of the status quo but working as one on alternative lens wrapped in the ethnicity of humanity? To co-exist, the colonized and the colonizer need a mutual independence by not holistically ignoring the present of colonial hegemony but rather by using it to better our future.

It is on this note that we are supposed to have answered the hypotheses as to how effective is resistance a weapon to representation and hegemony and to why there is no social justice at the end of the texts understudy.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGOTIATION AND ACCEPTANCE

This chapter is very vital as it examines negotiation and the metamorphosing forms of negotiation of power. It equally tries to find out why the representation and hegemonic achievement of colonized states is nothing but utopia. Why are post-colonial rulers nothing but colonizers' representatives? It will try to identify vital tips the subalterns can use to break the political, economic, cultural, educational and religious borders of representation and hegemonic inabilities so as to gain power. Thus, through the New Historical reading of Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott's plays under study, we will look into how political, economic, cultural, educational and religious ideologies, personal and group identity are unavoidably negotiated and accepted for a better hegemonic representation.

According to the Gramscians, representation and hegemony are "conceived by different groups of classes in a civilization or political order" That is, hegemony is not only at the level of the nations or states, but more at the point of civilization. In addition to this, they hold that hegemonic representations could take a negative turn as long as there is no credible counter-hegemonic tendency or movement materializing in the society. What should be noted is that hegemonic representation has been imported to non-political contexts like the socio-political, the economic and the cultural domains. Toni Bilton a sociologist in his book *Introductory Sociology as a word* talking about representation and hegemony holds that:

Hegemony was commonly used to describe the domination of one class, nation, or group of people over others. It was extended by Gramsci to denote a more general and intellectual dominance, especially when hegemonic ideas influence people's political and cultural perceptions. <http://www.soci.canterbury.ac.nz/resources/glossary/hegemony.shtml> Glossary of Sociological Terms)

A fact about the above is that our post-colonial writers in their varying discourses give in their time and sweat to debunk the colonial nations about the colonized inability of power and representation. Hence, throwing light on the ills of colonial hegemonic representation plaguing their various societies; an awareness of the truth that yesterday's silence imposed by the binaries is beginning to dawn; awareness of the fact that yesterday the colonizers created an identity and a name for themselves in the world. An ideology naively welcomed by the so called inferiors. But as time is not static, it became

the time for the colonized through playwrights like Derek Walcott, Tess Osonye, Ngugi Wa Thiong'O, Edward Said, Chinua Achebe, Soyinka, Bole Botake, Nkemgansong and many others who looked back at the fossils of their cultures and wishing to reconstruct them, stood up as a representative of his or her era and showcases the problem of their society to define their roots and identity. This goes to portray that the post-colonial writers' sole concern is for a national reconstruction as well as for a world representation. It is not for nothing that their writings are characterized by themes such as: liberty, patriotism, nationalism, fraternity and identification.

Hence, it is not surprising hearing Edward Said in *Representation of the intellectuals* observes:

So in the end it is the intellectual as a representative figure that matters someone who visibly represents a standpoint of some kind, and someone who makes articulate representations to his or her public despite all sorts of barriers. My argument is that intellectuals are individuals with a vocation for the art of representing, whether that is talking, writing, teaching, appearing on television. (13)

From the above we see that representation has become a burden and a yoke to the colonized writers. Why? because the post-colonial writers have to bear the cross of the colonized to representation and hegemony on the reason that they have the literal two edge weapons that can penetrate any hardened soul or ground and as such dislodge dominant modes of representation. Through hegemonic representation, they create a history that will be faithful to the realities of their ambiguous past, their contentious present as well as their uncertain but sure future. In an article "Protect against Racial Discrimination" in Tess Osonye's *Play Riot in Heaven*, Worugji Gloria Eme quoting Andy Okman says "The colonized situation be it at home or in the diasporas is a systematic war of genocide being waged against the original owners of the land who on account of their black skin were considered a casualty for the white man's pleasure" 1988.3.

From the top, we see that the colonized were judged on account of their physical colour and their naivety and rather not in regards to their potentials. Due to the whites racist blindness, they failed to give the colonized a change to name themselves. They blind fooled the blacks to the fact that black naming is tantamount to negative representation. Thus Nkrumah in a Pan African Conference wishing to show the vitality of power and representation of the colonized exclaimed that "I have come to understand that we must not forget the art of naming always. We must not forget to name where we have been. To name where we are coming from that we must know where we are going. The power is in the naming". (62) Toni Morrison on his part holds that racism is as healthy today as it was during the enlightenment. It has but assumed a metaphorical life and is displayed more in daily discourse.

From the accession, one realizes that the colonized and his skin is seen as a casualty to the colonizers in the world of power and domination. The “à tout prix” vehement need to dominant geographically and historically, or better still, the global power politics has made whites agents of social conditioning and stereotyping in the lives of the blacks.

Abdul R. Jan Mohamed’s “The Economy of Manichean Allegory” in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* showcases that:

Colonial Literature is an exploration and a representation of a world at the borders of civilization; a world that has not (yet) been domesticated by European signification or codified in detail by its ideology. That world is therefore perceived as uncontrollable, chaotic, unattainable and ultimately evil. Motivated by his desire to conquer and to dominate, the imperialist configures the colonial realm as a confrontation based on difference in race, language, social customs values and modes of production. (18)

A critical examination of the above citation portrays that the colonizers motives during the colonial era which was basically exploitative and representational is now represented in the postcolonial period by the neo-colonialists who to a greater extent are the colonized themselves. The colonized who were out to hunt the colonizers are now themselves the hunted.

This was intended to stop the colonized from gaining a name in the world of power. After colonialism, what was left behind to the colonized was nothing but a deeply rooted cultural –colonization. The inculcation of a colonial system of government: education, culture and values that denigrated the cultural morals of the colonized. Hence, brain washed and inculcated in them a feeling of negative self-image and alienation from their own cultural values. This is why in *Riot in Heaven*, Jefferson and Stanley claim that the colonized God (potentials) as compared to their god is so weak that he has no strength to protect them from the supremacy of the colonizers. Worst of all, the colonized god is not only weak but has abdicated the throne to a very long vacation with peter, thus allowing the control and responsibilities of the passage to heaven (representation) to the whites.

A reflection on the above proved true because the colonized have given in totality their seat, power, wealth and responsibilities to the complete management of a passer-by, the whites. We have to be aware of the fact that representation and hegemony is not a parental background, it is not educational certificates, it is not hardship endurance, nor hereditary but rather a thing to be achieved. All we need to do is identify our potentials, harness them and utilize them. After all, every exit is an entry somewhere. The colonized are born to win, destined to succeed, and created for a purpose. Our colonization was for a reason and the fact that the colonizers keep on hanging to this link is a proof

that they have seen in us something which if allowed to germinate, will overflow and cover their banks of representation and hegemony. Their persistence in connecting with us proved they have realized that the seeds of the success of representation and hegemony are deposited in us. Hence they are doing their best to stop us from being represented. So what we need is to decide on which environment and which type of fertilizer to use and nurture it to maturity. Nkam Ignatius talking about neo-colonizers supposes that ‘You cannot deny a bird from flying over your head but you can deny it from landing on your head’.

From this, we supposed that we cannot stop others from advancing in representation and hegemony, but we can stop them from blocking and relegating us from the cycle of representation and hegemony. Hence Nkrumah in *Riot in Heaven* says “...I’ve come to understand that we must not forget the art of naming always. We must not forget to name where we have been. To name where we are coming from that we may know where we are going. The power is in the naming”. (62).

The above simply confirms the fact that a name is synonymous to representation and power. You are a free man only when you have a name. The vital issue here is which name do we give ourselves and how do we do the naming? This can be done only when we identify the metamorphosis of representation and hegemony. But that which is sure and certain is the fact that the naming power is in our hands. Thus, Tess Osonye in her work tells us that: “Your gods are what you make them. God answers the name you give them. It is the power you have son, to name even your Gods. Don’t give up that power. Don’t give up the glory to name and to create your own world...” (Onwueme 1996.30).

By the above, it implies our identity is what we make of it. We should not sit, fold our arms and give others the right to create and name our gods (our representation and hegemony). The power to do so is in us. There is joy and glory when one creates and names his own gods. It is in line with this that Tom Stoppard in *Rise up and be a Success* says “The bad records about us can be changed into good news when we change our attitude”.

Emeka Dibia Emelobe on an article “Filmic Representation of Post-colonial Discourse” holds that:

Failure to decolonized, in fact, failure to confront the past, make amends, and make repair implies a carryover of the disability from the slave trade era to the colonial period, and form the colonial period into the independence. (307)

A remedy to the above implies looking for processes or ways of confronting Africans past and a process of rejuvenating through the political, the economic, the cultural and the educational domains. To achieve our goal, we have to identify some of these vital areas of representation and hegemony and

the realities underlying the loop holes in representation and hegemony in the colonized countries. It is in recognition of this that Makak says:

...if we dead, little one, it not better to die fighting like men than to hide in this forest? Come, lean on Makak. Bring nothing, we will leave...Saddle my horse if you love me Moustique and cut a sharp bambom for me, and put me on the horse, for Makak will ride to the edge of the world, Makak will walk like he used to in Africa, when his name was lion. (240-241)

Barack Obama in his speech to the Africans during his visit to Ghana posits that:

... Four areas critical to the future of African: democratic governance, economic opportunities, strengthening public health, and the peaceful resolution of conflict. ... Government that respects the will of their people tended to be more prosperous, more stable more successful. But no country was going to create wealth for its people if its leaders exploited the economy for personal gain...capable reliable and transparent institutions are the key to success-strong parliament, honest police forces, independent judge and independent press, a vibrant private sector, a civil society...(Stay Tuned Terminal:112)

It is locally said that a country is a book, its leaders the cover and its citizens the pages. Consequently, if the cover is damaged, then the pages are condemned and the book is useless. Therefore, one's way of governance affects its identity and its hegemonic representation now and in the future. The type of ideologies and philosophies a nation lays down and generates unto its youths determines its level of hegemony and representation in the future. Has Jesus not said that the glory of the later days shall be far greater than the former glory? Hence if today's ideologies and conception of the colonized are negative then it is certain that its later representation and hegemony of tomorrow will be far more negative. So, why not revisit some of the pillars of our society that act as storms to hegemonic representation? A nation is a house built either by a wise or a foolish builder. This building in one way or the other is put to the test by trials. Trials under which only a building built on the rock of stability, durability, intangibility and continuity stands the test. What makes a good nation is not its structure but the material used to lay its foundation. Today's world of representation and hegemony is not all about names but rather about what you offer. In representation and hegemony, it is not the country that matters but its potential's durability. For a country is nothing but a symbol for identification.

The conquered nations have not noticed that what kills or holds their captives in the dance of representation and hegemony is their concept of who they are and not what they possess. No one limits another except the person himself. One's lamp shines better depending on its usage and the position that one puts the lamp. Oceana in *What Mama Said* says: "...Hey, won't you thank me for my sacrifices? Risking my life to make... manage your resources? This bloody country without a leader? Don' you ever blame me. I take what I can. After all, your so called leaders gave me the

power”, (104). This shows that the colonized are incompetence in managing their worth and resources. As it is often said, the race is not for the fast runner but for he who crosses the finishing line. While taking the blame for what makes us misfits in representation and hegemony, below are guidelines on the changing forms of hegemonic representation and what the colonized can do so as to measure up to colonial representation and hegemony. Underlined are the metamorphoses areas of representation and hegemony the colonized nations need to work on that will make them gain a name, power and be represented:

Political Hegemonic Negotiation

Every political system, including the democratic one, is based on a given cultural hegemony, which presupposes the dominance of political ideas of some social elite, or elites, but also implies the consent of social groups at lower strata of the society. In order to win or maintain cultural hegemony, control of the media, education, and public communications as well as the use and abuse of various mechanisms of “soft power” -as is the case today “fun-making-society”- must be constantly upheld and updated. All of these conditions shape public opinion. (www.oxfordbibliographies.com) The various mechanisms to be reviewed to make for hegemonic representation in terms of political hegemony are:

1: Good Governance

Concerning hegemony, representation in government is the process of enabling the citizenry or some of them to participate in the shaping of legislation and governmental policy. Good governance is a symbol of representation and hegemony. Good governance according to Robert B. Charlick

...is the effective management of public affairs through the generation of regime this sets rules acceptable as legitimate for the purpose of promoting and enhancing Serageldin on his part holds that good governance is the political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of resources for social and economic development .(1991.3)

In an online article “United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific”, good governance means a favorable political framework conditions for social, economic and market oriented development as well as the responsible use of political hegemony and public resources by the state. It entails how the government handles public affairs and public resources and ensures the realization of Human Rights.

The above definitions therefore warrant that we take a look into those aspects of good governance that fertilized the ground for representation and hegemony such as: Transparency, accountable

management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purpose of equitable and sustainable development:

In every democratized systems government exist to fulfill functions such as maintaining security, providing public services and ensuring equal treatment under the law. Under good governance the system forms a type of contract between the state and its citizens.

Charlick in an article talking about politics that leads to representation and hegemony stipulates that “good governance is the effective management of public affairs through the generation of a regime which set rules, accepts as legitimate for the promoting and enhancing social values sought by individuals and group” (1992, 2). Ngugi in *Homecoming* posits that:

I believe that Africans intellectuals must align themselves with the struggle of the Africans masses for a meaningful national ideal for we must strive for a form of social organization that will free the manacled spirit and energy of our peoples so we can build a new country and sing a new song. (50)

What is gotten from the above quotation is that the representation and hegemony of the colonized countries lies in the hands of the political and intellectual leaders. They have a great role to play to situate their nations amidst other representational and hegemonic states. First of all, the colonized need to liberate themselves from the yoke of the past and focalized on the present and the future. This can better be achieved only when the intellectuals as pillars of the society join their hands together to build a balancing force and put in place long term goals. Hence, Achangwang in her work quoting Proteus who in a Journal posits that:

How does a nation reconcile its past through the process of seeking truth when so many perpetrators of the apartheid regime most nefarious deeds refused to disclose fully their roles in what went on throughout the years of struggling? ... How can countries finds peace when it allows torturers and murderers to roam freely under government and TRC sanctioned amnesty, when their testimony is not subject to cross-examination, and when there is no hope for retributive justice.

The above simply implies that it is hard to get power and to be represented when both the torturers and the murderers live side by side. It implies that it is quite impossible to dominate when both the enemies and the traitors eat from the same plate. The colonized have joined hands with their enemies to destroy their nations. The colonized have to stop betraying their people’s dreams and rather join their forces and work for a better representation and hegemony. Representation and hegemony will not be a utopian idea if and only if our politicians and intellectuals use their intellectual know- how to solve problems rather than to create problems. The day this is done, the colonized lamps will stop being lamps of obscurities to lamps of brightness.

A Westerner in *What Mama Said* looks at Africa and Africans and here is his conclusion of it all:

Oceana: praying! Chanting, 'Jesus saves!' Ha! Ha! Ha! You tribes people are a trip! Africa! Just look around you. Seen Rwanda? Somalia? Liberia? Sierra Leone? And now here, Sufferland? (Chuckles.) Well, now I understand the true spirit of the Organization of African Unity. Quite a great specimen of ritualized Organized Assassins' Union. The OAU. Ha! Ha! Ha! For a people so outstandingly endowed with ... with passion you know. That special brand of progress? Made in Africa, huh? Just one thing I know my Africans are doing right, at least. (Mock laughter) Gentlemen, it's worth celebrating. Celebrate. Let's celebrate the organized animals' united genocide! It's the great tradition of being Born – Again –Africa ...bloodbath. Drink to it! Africa's success stories. (Toasting) To Africa's united planned progress in genocide! Ha!Ha! Ha! (His partners stare at each other. Silence) Why look so morose? Is it not true? Friends. I'm proposing a well-deserved- toast to your people. Let's drink.

Pipeline: (Pushing his game.) Play (Reluctantly, they respond to the toast

Oceana: Yes. Let's keep on playing. (Back to the game)

Yobe: Will they ever learn?

Pipeline: Who?

Oceana: Your people

Yobe: Black ...

Oceana: It is in their blood... in the blood... (Sighs, stretches.) Scary, isn't it? ...I know now why my British predecessors called this 'the city of blood' (27, 28)

The above provokes nothing but tears. It is indeed pathetic, shameful and sorrowful seeing that a people's dreams and aspirations have been deferred from joy, liberty and progress to genocide and global mockery. It is in tears knowing that the colonized dreams and desires are not for power representation but rather for better strategies on fostering genocide in their societies. As Oceana asks, we do also ask, it is not true? Who puts in place the strategies of killing and who kills who in the colonized land? Between the colonized and the colonizers, who puts its people on the run or exile? If our answer is us the colonized, then, which mirror do we give experts of representation and hegemony when they sit in the council of representation and hegemony to be used in judging and classifying us?

Oceana: ...Now these idiots – the so – called activists are going to cry out about human rights abuses? Huh? Nonsense. They better know this. Their rights end where mine begin...Damn demo-crazy! Slow sown... cripples everything... Look here, I did my part, I'm here to represent an interest, you know. I'm not part of the system your government... Ask the state...your representatives, I'm not responsible. I paid. Paid dearly for all I got...it's not for me to say. However little, we paid either what we were told was due or what was worth ...I paid not only to the middleman... businessman, the government, but the leaders, your leaders... Your leaders... The government official and the chiefs for example...For example, I paid the chief for the farmland. (170,196-7)

The above confirmation and truth about the whites and our leader shows that our inability to gain power and be represented is a result of our stinginess, insensitivity to brotherhood, lack of transparency and not necessarily due to colonialism or the present of the intruder. Thus Yobe says:

we'll silence anybody who dares speak against, challenge, or sabotage our government. We've dispatched our boys into all nooks and corners of the land. Even in the marketplace... Well, the bottom line is ...I mean with all the sacrifices we're making. It's only fair that we pay ourselves first. (84)

It is locally said that the best way to cheer yourself up is to cheer somebody else up? Politicians and intellectuals should learn to live for others if they wish to live for themselves. This is the secret that will make them gain power, popularity and be represented. In *What Mama Said*, Oceana says 'Hell no! How can I forget? The business is our life...our interest remember? (86) In *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, Corporal says 'I am an instrument of the law, souris. I got the Whiteman work to do... (279)

Hegemonic representation is a building site on which a competent and skillful builder builds lives and not homes Hegemonic representation should be built on a rock of stability, durability and continuity that can overcome all challenges. In this light, the colonized at all times can boast of power representation. Skills and competent are the basic elements that hold a nation as a magnet and point of attraction. Our politicians and intellectuals are the nation's builders; building to create a collective name for us different from the one given to us as Nigeria and the Caribbean by our colonizers as we go through the passage of maturity into the realm of representation and hegemony. It is only through the second name that one's image, potentials strength and identity are revealed. In this light, Oceana in *What Mama Said* emphasizes on this fact when he tells Omi that:

Oceana: (Laughing) Woman, I can see that you are suffering from an acute strain of idealism. An acute deficiency of Realism: rather. And I sympathized with you. But be advice. In today's world one thing sells fast, Capitalism forged on individual, private interest, seasoned by national ...No, my dear. Idealism...Communism...well, Communism ... a ready formula for loss, perpetual want, and bankruptcy. It just can't and won't sell. A very high risk venture Capital that just won't sell in our wired world today. (105)

By implication, for the colonized to be represented, they need to select that which sells best in the world of representation and hegemony. Political ideologies should be those that sells, those that brightens our identity in the world of politics. It should take into consideration the interest of its citizens as well as the nation in general. If only our leaders will see themselves as real contributors to sustainable development and rather not as selfish receptors that think only in terms of money, profit and power, then and only then shall we regain our lost riches. When this is done, then shall the colonized gain power to be represented. After all, what becomes of us tomorrow is nothing but a memory of our today's thoughts. To be represented entails we reach that level where we will see life and issues beyond our failures.

II: Valorization / Responsive oriented

Imagination is a God-given gift to man to be able to travel into the future and back into the present. Valorization with respect to representation and hegemony requires that we picture the future for if we cannot picture the future, we can't future in the future. It is assumed a tomorrow not prioritized is a future not concretized. Unless the colonized arrest the future, they cannot arrest the present given that the certitude of the future is what creates assurance of the present. Representation and hegemony is a seeds planted with hopes of making a good held tomorrow. We sit and fold are our arms yet want to be represented. The global world of tomorrow belongs to those who see possibilities before they become obvious. It belongs to those colonized nations that rather than sit and lament their historical past, strategies and perceive the future. What the eyes see is what it perceives. One's legs would not take one to a destination his mind has not perceived for perception begets reception. Tess tells us in *What Mama Said* that;

Omi: (curious) what is that?
Oshimi; You know. Rain coat
Cross River: Condom! Not rain coat. Let's name it right. Call it what it is. These children need to get the point. Protect! Protect!
Oshimi; it's raining
Cross River: it's wet
Chorus of Women: Slippery. Life's rough. And tough. Children you must arm yourselves with rain coats in the rainy
Cross River: Stormy weather
Oshimi: but see, children! What you have you hold!
Cross River: Protect...
Chorus of Women: Protect! Protect! Protect!. (63)

The overhead quotation implies that representation and hegemony are a slippery ground on which no one can boast of maintaining the center. It is a system in which the slave can become the master and the master the slave as long as we hold on firmly and protect that which we have and can offer. Whatever we get in the future is but the result of our today's actions. So like the above characters, the colonized nations need to be careful in their search for representation and power for there is global political rain out there. The ground on which to obtain power and be mentioned among the represented is very rough and the only way out is to valorize and prioritize whatever we have. The down trodden have to know that their peace of mind does not come from their colonial masters, but rather from the choices they make. Their power of selection is the key to their transformation and transportation into the realm of power and representation.

So Omi tells us in *What Mama Said* that:

No, you can't. I'm through. Not in my land! Our land Oyibo. You are a visitor. A guest must not be allowed to sit on top of the owners of the land, suffocate them and then take away the seat with him as he goes...can we trust u you? Make us equal... (106)

In the same light, in Lastrade corporal's mind set, Eurocentrincism was all that mattered. Hence, he choices it over Africanism. That's why we hear him say ‘

Corporal: ... don't tell me about the law. Once I loved the law. I thought the law was just, universal, a substitute for God, but the law is a whore, she will adjust her price. In some places the law will not allow you to be black, not even black but tined with black...Bastard, hatch-man, opportunist, and executioner. I have the black man work to do, you know... (2870, 307)

The colonized nations should learn to do great exploits that will cause other nations and travelers to come and see the colonized wonders. They should stop being babies and act like adults with visions. When this is done, representation and hegemony will follow.

The contrast here is why are some of the colonized nations represented while others are not? God has bestowed the colonized nations with a lot of privileges. Yet, they are not aware of it or are rather selling their resources out. As Jesus was not recognized in his home town, the colonized do not recognize what they possess that is a point of attraction of others toward them. Rather than protect and prioritize their resources, they sell their seeds to strangers who know their wealth and are indirectly preventing them from gaining access to it. As long as we remain children, our heritage remains under the custody of the stranger while we linger behind prevented from representation and hegemony. Just an iota of maturity in the colonized is enough to act as a spring point to push the post-colonial states to compete with others in the race of representation and hegemony. With maturity, the colonized do not need to ask or struggle to have power so as to be represented. Rather, with growth, the benefits of hegemony and representation follow.

What becomes of every success is the result of the function of time. That is why even God himself had a seven days' schedule. He set goals and time limit for the goals. So, what one does with time determines one's success or failures. A good time management is a good investment. The irony here is that while others like the colonizers are busy valorizing their time in creating, investing and renovating the colonized are wasting time lamenting their past. A past which they as well as the colonizers had but did not capitalized on it or allowed it to pull them down.

III: Rule of law / The judiciary

Good governance through fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially is inevitable granite in the negotiation for hegemonic representation. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force. Representation and hegemony within the colonized are aspects to be verified. Within the judiciary, and especially during trials, we expect that some level of democracy be exercised. That is we expect power to be for the people, by the people and to the people. Trials ought to be instances where justice is done. Controversially, it is a pantomime of the tyrannic hegemonic showcase. In the colonized nations, trials proved to be instances where the ruling class hegemonies their encounter with the down trodden. Corporal says ‘...I got the Whiteman work to do. Besides, if he is crazy he dangerous. If he is not, a night in jail will be good for his soul... (279) in *What Mama Said*, we hear and see how the rich, the powerful and the leaders switch the law in their favour.

Oceana/ General...Look Justice, All that I understand. But remember too that nobody is above the law... (Impatiently) all that must be reversed. And you alone hold the key that...

Pipeline/Trial Justice: The law, you mean:

Oceana: Yes. Execute all. Everything. Everyone.

Pipeline/Trial Justice: Without trial:

Oceana/ General: Tried. Life entence? Sure. I'm game. (Passionately) Here. Name your terms. You are after all? Justice Omega.... (183-184)

Trials are illustrated as a representation of older forms- neo-colonial forms of public torture. Within the colonized nations trials are fertile grounds on which the presented asserts its authority while filling all other forms of power. The law in the post-colonial nations is but a re-emaciation of colonial political struggle (hegemony). Trial processes are but moments of oppressions, humiliation, humanization, corruption and the practice of barbarism. The law as well as trial cases are but instances that showcase corruption and inhumanity. So if the colonized keep on mimicking their colonial ancestral legacy, how then do they expect to fit into the domain of global power and representation?

Oceana / General: Tried life sentences? I'm sure game (Passionately) here. Name your terms. In addition, I will name your to the Supreme Court. (He waits for his reaction) Promise? You are after all Justice Omega...They very best in this land. (184)

Through trials as a hegemonic representation, the colonized states reveal the fact that what had been historically and politically removed from the public eyes is now fore grounded. This reiterates the postcolonial theorists' notion that the invisible works of the colonial masters that were denounced and

rejected are now made visible by their colonized representatives.. The question now is, if we keep on implementing the Other's government, when then shall our own government be put into actions for us to be represented? To this, Makak says:

...if we dead, little one, it not better to die fighting like men than to hide in this forest? Come, lean on Makak. Bring nothing, we will leave...Saddle my horse if you love me Moustique and cut a sharp bamboo for me, and put me on the horse, for Makak will ride to the edge of the world, Makak will walk like he used to in Africa, when his name was lion 240-241)

From the raised, we realized that the colonized have failed to fight like free men. They would rather prefer to hide in the forest of humiliation, subjugation and non-representation than to courageously fight for their identity. Fear and lack of knowledge of who they are is the colonized greatest enemy. They have failed to realize that they are not just Africans but the lions of the forest. By implications, they are great and unbeatable. It is this lion attitude in them that the white man saw and came for and not for a toothless bull dog they now have turned into. Thus Makak says, they should saddle their horses and move from the prison of neocolonialism into the free land of peace and abundance – Africa, where they will walk, talk and act freely as they used to years ago. But the reverse is the case as Makak claims to have been struggling, to no avail, through time and space to liberate his people from the shackles of oppression. The task of leading his people to the Promised Land becomes arduous and fruitless, but he is undaunted with inspiration. He sees himself as the Biblical Moses who led the Israelites out of Egypt. (<http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2177>) but he does not have the charisma of Moses. He is not sure of who he is because he has faced different trials in the past as he struggled to liberate his people., the feelings of inferiority persists.

In addition to this, John Henrick Clave, in an online interview on “Pan Africanism” holds that “our struggle had always been for our own system of government, our own borders, and our own way of life”. As Pan Africans, we have to understand that we can never reach our fullest potential while our limits are defined by outsiders. On the other hand, Tess Osonye through Omi in *What Mama Said* says “No. You can't. I'm through. Not in my land! Our Land! Oyibo. You are a visitor. A guest must not be allowed to sit on top of the owners' of the land suffocate them, then take away the seat with him as he goes ...” (106)

From the above we realized that the colonized desire is to go in for that which is African, act as Africans and for Africans. We also deduced from the above quotation that unless the subalterns stop being hybrids and assimilators they will still be behind in the dance of representation and hegemony. The rule of the law, as a tool for good governance requires enforced, unbiased and fair legal

frameworks. It requires full protection of human rights, particularly of the minorities. The promotion of the rule of the law and observance of the law is vital to the colonised's development and growth.

V: Participation / Inclusiveness

The involvement of all citizens in the development process; both the beneficiary and the effected group should work hand in hand so as to know when a government is making choices with respect to their needs. Participation can be done through all the participants in a participatory democracy, with emphasize on the decision making in the political system. Corporal tells Makak 'You waste time, your Majesty. We have other cases, and justice must be done. Even tribal justice. What says he tribunal? (315) Here, he has not said here is my decision but on a collective note, says "what says the tribunal" Participation by both gender and class is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. This includes freedom of expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand. Representation and hegemony is like a lamp that shines to represent those presents. Representation and Hegemony is a lamp that symbolizes hope and prosperity. When represented, it shares and brightens all around it. As a lamp, it could also be lighted and rather than put it on the table, it is put under the table where it cannot efficiently shines. If this be the case, then it would have failed to represent those around. This implies that good hegemonic representation entails the participation of all. Voice Two in *What Mama Said* conjectured "That is why we poor people, man or woman must join hands together to fight our common enemies, these rich powerful people. Haha! So make una forget weti dey between una man – woman and begin to dey work together for all una beta' (115). Corporal in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* says 'Go on. Go home. There, Monkey Mountain. Walk through the quite village. I will explain everything to Alcindor. Sometimes, there is so much pressure... Go on. You are free. It is your first offense. (324) Here, we find Corporal joining the blacks to fight their course such that he tells Makak to go home or better still, he sets Makak free and bears the cross of letting him go. By so doing, both people and the nation are individually and collectively represented.

A society's or nation's well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a say in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires that all groups, particularly the most vulnerable, should be given the opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being.

To this Tess in *Then She said It* posits that:

Benue: Vultures

Obida: What do they care?

Niger: except for their own mouths and bellies. Whereas civil and public servants get Laid off in order to save money for government, the leaders engage in horrendous spending fee. Billions of public funds go into renovating their houses, provision of fleet of cars, food and entertainment.

Benue: And is that why they should lay off half the workers just because they say they want more profit and can't pay all the salary?

Obida: And do you hear how much the so-called leaders spent renovating their mansions in the state capital?

Women: No. Tell us.

Obida: Billions

Women: Ehn?

Obida: Enough to feed this nation for centuries

Niger: And here we are

Benue: Begging

Old Voices: (delirious): I blames anybody? No. It's my luck. All my life I've been waiting ... hoping against hope jut to get my turn. But here I am still struggling and trying to find my way ... but the government? This government? These rulers ... (15, 62)

The above quotation presents the postcolonial theorists' notion of despair, disillusionment and dream deferred of the colonized which in turn has given rise to other self-destructive vices such as resistance and violence. This indicates that the colonized enemy now is no longer the colonizers but the subaltern themselves. The colonized leaders believed they are self-sufficient and failed to understand the saying that one hand cannot tie a bundle. They failed to realize that power not shared is power destroyed.

Pipeline in *What Mama Said* says:

Pipeline: So make the payment in my name. They will get ... I mean, through me. I'm their chief, their leader. No one goes to the community ...and...except through me. And no one comes to it or to you, except through me...I am the way the truth.

Oceana: But not the life?

Pipeline: Oh yes, I am. The truth. (87)

It is this self - sufficient, omnipotent, Alpha and Omega notion that kills the colonized leaders. Once made a leader, they forget their roots, where they are coming from and where they are heading to. They forget that concentrated power leads to corruption; a fact which the Whiteman understands and as such makes it an obligation that power or governance should be shared by giving opportunities to all. Our leaders failed to realize that the fall is always great when one climbs the ladder of fame and fortune or representation and hegemony and becomes greedy, refusing others to share or participate in the fame. It is locally said that one hand cannot tie a bundle?

In *Man of the People* we are told politics na crash my back and I crash your back. In the system of governance, relating with those on your way to power is essential. Good leaders and successful people do not allow the love for money, profit and power (*What Mama Said: 193*) to make them take for granted those around them. They believe in them and understand their value in their lives knowing that every success is a collective chain.

In *What Mama Said* say we hear this:

Hadeja: Ha, man. Know that you don't just take and take.

Cross River: yes. You give and take

Hadeja: So now Siphons the people. It's time to give...

The colonized leaders are too stingy in sharing power and representation that Bole Botake in his work *Lake God and Other Plays* exposes them when he says:

Shey Ngong: Does it really matter? Nsangong? There cat no matter how full his stomach is, will never spare the rat... He is not the sun that strides majestically in the sky. We are not ants to be trampled down by the elephant...I am no dog that will hunt for the pleasure of another, the game must be shared, let everyone have his fair share, I say. But your Fon (leader) knows none other than his family and those that come to him with gifts in return for the red feather. (90-91)

Two vital issues are brought out in the above citation- stinginess and tyrannical. Our leaders are egoistic. They think of none but themselves. They failed to get the fact that power not shared leads to strife or conflict. Because power has been conferred to them and they feel they have the support of the stranger, they now see themselves as demi-gods and hence go around molesting the people as if they were dogs or rats. No! They are nothing but hybrids. And as hybrids; they are nothing but tools or chaffs in the hands of the intruder who at any point in hand feels he has no more use of them, will throw them away. As Makak says, what we need is for our leaders to be conscious of the fact that Africa is for us all and as such we all need to participate in its growth and progress. Makak tells Lastrade that:

Makak: They reject half of you. We accept all. Rise. Take off your boots. Doesn't the floor of the forest feel cool under your foot? Don't you hear your own voice in the gibberish of the leaves? Look how the trees have opened their arms... The forest claim us all, my son. No one needs gloves in his grave (300-301)

By the allotted, the colonized nations are ready to forgive and welcome the betrayed leaders. The colonized nations need not practice discrimination or bias. It is a country in which everyone's say or voice is vital. Both the colonized and colonizers are all partners in the building of the society's pillars.

With this, we certify the inference that there is no social justice, but unity negotiation and stability at the end of the plays.

Achebe was not wrong when he says in an article “*The Trouble with Nigeria*”, that the problem with Nigeria as well as the colonized nations is that of leadership. The postcolonial nations many a times are ruled by bad rulers. Adichie on his part showcases that today’s decaying post independent social and political colonial environment is one in which not only are the citizens irresponsible but also their decaying manner toward politicians and political malpractices as long as the rich reach out to them. He says ‘You know, we live in an ass-licking economy. Biggest problem in this country is not corruption. The problem is that there are many qualified people who are not where they are supposed to be because they won’t lick any body’s ass, or they don’t know which ass to lick or they don’t even know how to lick an ass. (77).

Ayokehinde in ‘Post –Colonial Literature as Counter Discourse’ argues:

What is needed in this millennium is the ability of desperate races and ethnic groups to come together to confront the challenges posed by globalization. Contemporary writers, scholars and critics need to articulate alternatives based on inclusivity and the full diversity of experiences. People of all ages, background and races would have a space to exercise their creativity, leadership acumen and imagination if there is an ending racial harmony. In this way, we should be able to work collectively and strategically to create a world where many visions can co-exist. (54)

By this, we understand that the way forward for the colonized nations is the destruction of all binary oppositions defining humanity so as to promote harmony and equality. This done, we will transgress ethnic borders. The colonized should rather worry about keeping their houses clean before cleaning the street. They should stop being more linked to what is distant and alien and be more and more attached to what is near and familiar. In other words, they should concentrate on leadership with long term visions that suit their geographical location and stop Mimicrying the orient.

VI: Conscientization

The cry for political independence, which was a microscope to the Africans both at home and in the diasporas after the discovery that the Europeans are not only fake in opinion but also psychologically and physically weak; became the cry in most African countries by the sixties. The African wanted to rule his country so that the internal affairs of his nation should be his and his people’s sole responsibility. As such, by the 1960s, most of these colonized states achieved political freedom; yet there were unhappy. Why? because nationalism came with a lot of disillusionment among the masses,

and the freedom fighters. Cynically, during independence, the colonized leader created for himself a utopia society where he lived in abundance regardless of the masses. At political liberation, the African ruling class citizens remained the associates of their ex-colonial masters, relying on them for economic, socio-political and cultural support; as well as inheriting their vices of discrimination and corruption. Hence, an African scenario again became unfriendly to the downtrodden Africans and another form of colonialism was surfaced. A revelation of this is made by Traveler X when he posits that:

I lost my path, mighty one it's so hard to lead my people when they want to see with other people's eyes, it's so hard to lead when you are labeled the outsider, when the hurdles are too many and you dream to be home surrounded with the family with love. (1996:18).

This quotation revealed that one of the reasons why the colonized find it hard to measure up to the represented is because they are more Western than the Westerners. They see themselves more Western than the westerners. In this light, they seem to see things in the eyes of the other as such become imitators even if what they copy fits in or not to the African culture and tradition. From this we see that Tess Osonye blames the blacks for the dehumanizing treatment they receive from the whites given that they did mortgaged their fate and dignity by bowing to white superiority. In *What Mama Said*, Oceana a white tells Pipeline a local chief and representative of the colonized that "Make sure you tell them about us. Represent our interest: "(85). Oceana goes ahead to remind our ruler Pipeline who tries to resist his orders that 'Oceana *'I take it that you have no control over them; your bloody people. And you are the appointed chief? Why then do you think we pay you? Eh? Your salary...your chieftaincy title is here by revoked with immediate effect'* (16).

This quotations make us realized that the stumbling block to the colonized representation and hegemony is no other but the colonized himself, the enemy within. So rather than fight and spend time in resisting the outsiders, we should mobilize our forces to kick out the real enemies within. Wole Soyinka in *Writer in Politics* cried out that the African's post-colonial problem is 'a repression of those who are themselves part of the terrain of external aggression enemies and traitors from within (115)

In *Riot in Heaven*, Stanley says:

... Some are born to lose...like you, you know. And some, like me, are born to win... it's a birth right. Too bad, you chose the wrong color... you have got the black card. And black is too dense a color... you can't see too far because your card is too dense...for a license to sell, you need a card that is light... Green and hopeful...if you are not a dreamer, which of the street lights in New York reflects the color black? You got Red, you got Yellow, you got

Green and all these are lights, lights! Structured with us in mind. To this Traveller X says 'So I was never in the picture?' and Stanley replies 'Never in the dream' (Onwueme 1996.30, 41).

By implication, the colonized had never been geographically, historically and even morally programmed in the world of representation and hegemony. Why? Because their ideologies are limited and nothing else. They have too dense cards meaning their ideologies put in place are not clear and are limited. The colonized, should know that they are the cradle of civilization and as such should rise up like the prodigal son and seize that which is rightly theirs for they ought to be the cradle of representation and hegemony. They are the world's miniature and because of this characteristic, the colonized are refused representation and hegemony out of fear that with their multiculturalism and abundant resources, they will rule the world and by so doing will relegate the west to the background

In *Riot in Heaven*. Tess in discontent says:

I have been waiting ...on the edge of time to hear you speak...for centuries. Even a hen shouts her protests and chases after the hawk that comes circling to steal her youngest...sharpen her beak on the whet and stone and sends alarm to the hendom, alerting all community to protest assaults from the outsider who feeds on their souls...the hen has this power, how much more for ... where is your voice gone...where is your poise gone?...The world awaits your word! ...to wake up and purge its heart of filth ... you have the power use it (31-32)

From the above, one discovers the colonized are prevented, retarded from representation and hegemony not because they are not able, but rather due to lack of will, lack of confidence and laziness. The statement '...the world awaits your word...' implies that even the colonizers themselves know of the colonized potentials and capabilities and thus are curious to see the day this will happen. What has to be done is to stop complaining. They have to speak up and assume for its only leadership that rules. It is only through this that the fight for political, economic and social representation can be become balanced. It is not through flashbacks and regrets that a change will come but through action can we be able to break loose from the capitalistic, imperialistic, colonial and neo-colonial chains. What is the use of wasting time in sulking, complaining and morosing works and deeds that glorify a nonexistent past, and then time and chance pass us by?. Not daring to achieve means remaining in the same spot. In the 21st century of global representation and power, the colonized needs to take a bold step and give a deaf ear to Eurocentric ideologies about the history of the colonized. A chance to get autonomy to represent the subaltern will come if and only if the colonized the marginalized dare to challenge the superiors' status quo.

VII: Pruning

The colonizer is a parasite on the colonized. The colonizer came like a fertilizer; he came like a lamp to brighten and to liberate us. Yet, it is this same light they used indirectly to rob us of our joy. Behind their innocent smiling faces of helpers, leaders and assistants, was hidden the spirit of subjugation; domination. They refused to make us equals. But as the Bible says, if any part of your body is a hindrance to your progress, cut it off. Therefore, Corporal tells Makak about the white lady that:

She is the mirror of the moon that this ape looks into and fine himself unbearable ...she is ... the mother of civilization, and the confounder of blackness. I too have longed for her ... she is the color of the law, religion, paper, art and if you want peace, if you want to discover the beautiful depth of your blackness, nigger, chop off her head ...she is the white that paralyzed your mind, that led you into confusion. It is you who created her, so kill her. (319)

By the gathering, we come to realized that we are what we are today, not represented because we have been given false images of ourselves. We have been gullible to believe that blackness embodies economic, political and social weaknesses. A weapon used to traumatizes and remind us of our Weaknesses. By this, we are subjected to the bottom position. In *What Mama Said*, Oceana calls the colonized ‘... Savage! God-for-Nothing vandals... cursed! Forever curded! (158) ... You heard him. He said they are dogs... turned gods... I mean... how can the state be persecuted for killing dogs? Mere dogs, eh! (168). Yes, we have been tamed to obey, to do as said, tamed because we have no will of our own.

In *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, Corporal says ‘Animals, beasts, savages, cannibals, niggers, stop turning this place to a stinking zoo (216). The dehumanized words show how the colonized have been hybridized. For instance, Lestrade has adopted the colonizer’s identity so much such that he now has a deep disdain for the blacks that he terrorizes and characterizes them in a brutal racist manner. Lestrade sees himself as part of the dominant white society that suppresses and ridicules the blacks. By so doing, he hybridized himself and clings to attitudes which are even more British in terms of language, religion and dressing in order to identify himself as a community with a different heritage from the black people. To set ourselves free from this tamed and hybrid nature we need to destroy the mirror of superiority that stands our way. By this we debunk Western perception that has devastated and denigrated the colonized identity. Hence Makak recalls the white lady revelation to him as he discusses with Moustique that ‘Makak is not my name. And I tell her my life ...and talking to Moustique, about what the white lady told him ‘she say I should not live so anymore, here in the forest, frighten of people because I think I ugly. She says that I come from the family of lions and kings’ (236).

The irony gotten from the above revelation is the fact that the colonized are not just any type of people but great and powerful kings and queens. They are those with the power, potential, tactic and energetic enough to beat all in the field of power and representation. Yet they are unable to be such because they live in ignorance of who they are. They think they are ugly and so have to change names, identity and culture. They have not yet come to the self-realization that they are from a family of rulers, great leaders as well as a family of roaring lion that lacks nothing but rather has all at its disposal.

X: Accountability and Transparency

Each institution has to be clear and assume responsibility for its acts. Here, there is a need for a good selection of power holders and feedback. By accountability, we mean that the decisions makers in government, the private sectors and the civil sectors be accountable to the public. The availability of information to the people is what is called transparency which is a vital tool in good governance. When the general public is always clarified on certain issues like the government rules and legislative the decision-making; the people are happy. A nation built on transparency reduces corruption in public affairs and by this, state holders need to be answerable to those they represent. When this is done, there will be responsibility and trust. Thus Moustique who deals in charcoal business with Makak gives him a detailed account of their business thus: “Going mad? Go mad tomorrow, today is market day. We have three bags at three and six bags, making ten shillings and sixpence for the week and you going mad? You have coffee?” (232) At the level of the economy, transparency will regulate and guard us against special interest and undue influence in markets. This will in turn assure and satisfies investors and encourages new entrants into the different market sectors. This is a simple urge to the colonized not to give up their pride and identity. It is an urge not to abandon their Africaness. It is an awakening to the pride of creating their own world and not to imitate that of another. This goes to show that the colonized predicament has been caused or perpetuated by themselves. It stands out that the neo-colonialists are no others but the colonized in black skin and white mind.

Corporal, a hybrid and neocolonialist says when he comes to a self-recognition:

Corporal: (Flatly, like an accustomed prayer) All right. Too late have I loved thee, Africa of mine, sero te amavi, to cite Saint Augustine who they say was black, I jeered thee because I hated half of myself, my eclipse, but now in the heart of the forest at the foot of Monkey Mountain.[the creatures withdraw] I kiss your foot, O Monkey Mountain. [He removes his clothes] I return to this earth, my mother. Naked, trying very hard not to weep in the dust. I was what I am. But now I am myself. [Rises] Now I feel better. Now I see a new light. I sing the glories of Makak! The glories of my race! What race? I have no race! Come! Come, all you people endure of imagination. Let me sing of darkness now! ... O God, I have become what I mocked.always was, I always was. Makak, Makak! Forgive me, old father.

Corporal: [Looking up] Grandfather. Grandfather. Where am I? Where is this? Why am

I naked?

Makak: [stepping] *because like all men you were born here... What is this?*

Corporal: *A gun*

Makak: *We don't need this, do we? (299-300).*

“I was what I am...What race? I have no race!” By implication, he thinks that because he works and represents the whites, is a representative of government, a dictator and a separationist, he now thinks he is a white or is superior to his fellow blacks hence he is now insensitive to his fellow citizens’ plaque. He used to think that the white race, the Mongolian race is his race. But now that he has come to a self-realization, he discovers that he is nothing but a lost being one with no root or identity. He has turned from a prison guard to a prisoner. As a hybrid, he feels he is naked and void of identity. And like most hypocrites and hybrids, he feels the gun is a cover to his emptiness. No! But! As Makak puts it, representation and hegemony are not an issue of the gun but that of the brain.

Pipeline in ‘*What Mama Said*’ after a self-awareness pleaded with his subjects that “*Forgive ...daughters! Sisters, forgive! Never! Never! I shouldn't ... shouldn't have... My people! I failed ...to defend... Oh yes. We know Forgive... Forgive...give...if we had to do it all over? Now we know ... Yes we'll create jobs...compensation (199-200).*

Economic Hegemonic Bargaining

Economic hegemony is an economic and political concept in which a single state has decisive influence over the functions of the international monetary system. A monetary hegemon would need: accessibility to international credits, foreign exchange markets the management of balance of payments problems in which the hegemon operates under no balance of payments constraint. The direct (and absolute) power to enforce a unit of account in which economic calculations are made in the world’s economy.

Fidel Castro talking about the colonized once said:

We, politely referred to as ‘underdeveloped’, in truth are colonial, semi colonial or dependent countries. We are countries whose economies have been distorted by imperial-ists, which have abnormally developed those branches of industry or agriculture needed to complement its complex economy. Underdevelopment’,or distorted evelopment; brings a dangerous specialization in raw materials, inherent in which is the threat of hunger for all our people. We the ‘Underdeveloped’ are also those with the single crop, the single product, the single market. A single product whose uncertain sale depends on a single market imposing, and fixing conditions. That is the great formula for imperialist economic domination. (A speech 1996)

It is but a fact that we the supposed under developed are those with the raw material needed by the so called great countries. It is not an exaggeration to say the colonized's economic has been distorted by the colonizer for their selfish end. And again, it is but a truth to say that we own the single crop needed in the world market yet the conditions of sales depend not on us the agriculturalists but on them the buyer just because they have the bargaining power. It is for this that John Henrik Clave in an online interview on "Pan Africanism" cried out that 'Our struggle is and always has been for our own way of life'. By this we the Pan Africans should understand that we can never reach our fullest potential while our limits are defined by outsider groups. It is a pity that we toil all night yet have nothing to show for. We have all the certificates and degrees yet none takes us to a greater level. Why? because certificates or degrees are not enough as long as there are not square spades in square holes. To this, Tess affirms in *What Mama Said* when she says:

Voice Two: (played by Omi) No, my people. Some of us have paddled our canoes ashore long before and ahead of others. Yet some of us have long been in the sea casting our nets wide, burning the mid night oil...with strong faith to catch fish, And actually with a lot of struggle. We thought we were loaded (Dis into her pocket, wields degrees) There! These are the fishes I caught. But can I eat them? No! I caught fishes that are not edible. They have been right in my net. But I can neither eat nor sell them because nobody will buy my fish. Dead. Dead. My fishes are death. And I'm still carrying them around. Just looking ... looking for a buyer... my people I what does one do with a dead fish? It stinks. Throw it back into the sea. What then will I hold onto? if the condition improves? The tide rises high and my fish comes back alive again? But then my net is torn... what if I can't catch any more ...? What if... (115)

From the above, we deduce that the level of dream deferred and shattered hopes that have taken over the colonized is alarming. It portrays the level to which certificates and degrees are no longer worth showing for. Degrees and certificates with no orientation or technical skills make them inedible fishes. They become useless and stink yet we move around with these certificates with pride. Yes. We hang on to them just because there is neither hope nor something else to hold on to.

Ironically, a time will come when these certificates and degrees will be useful but the pathetic part of it is that while they will be useful we as humans will become useless as we shall become out of age to be useful. This is the fate of the Africans – who are educated with certificates that cannot get them a job and by the time they managed to offer you one, they turn round and tell you you are out of age. Or better still do as the whites have observed through Oceana who premises that:

Oceana: Ahaa! Now you said it. For ...I'm afraid... (Pauses, takes a deep breath) but how can anyone invest in a land that is so unstable? The (Onwueme 1996.30). Primary rule of capital investment stability. Stability-Stability. And that is grossly lacking here. Just in the last month alone, with their riots, we have lost 3million. Isn't that enough loss... sacrifices

for us to give to this goddamn country ... (ignores him and starts to parody the indigenous people's accent) our people are suffering... our people are suffering...suffering ... suffering...No jobs-No jobs? Am I responsible? What is my business if they can't feed? And why should I help if all they do is spend time valuable time, making trouble instead of money. (126-127)

Observing the above, we all will accept the fact that the intruders to an extent are not responsible for the entire economic predicament in the colonized states. Does the act of not employing or employing at a very low wage the fault of the colonizers? No! And does it matters to the colonizers if we eat or not? No! Does the act of putting an age limit on certificates the doing of the Whiteman and does the act of constant conflict, civil war, political and social instabilities the colonizers' making! Still, no!! So, we are solely responsible for whatever doom or slut we find ourselves in. What dream deferred and disillusionment for the colonized by the colonized. In *What Mama Said*, we hear this,

Oceana: Praying, chanting, 'Jesus saves!' Ha! Ha! Ha!. Tribes people are a trip! Africa! Just look around you. Seen Rwanda? Somalia? Liberia? Sierra Leone? And now here, Sufferland? (chuckles) Well, now I understand the true spirit of the Orgainsation of African Unity. Quite a great specimen of ritualized Assassins" Union. The OAU. Ha! Ha! Ha!.For a people so outstandingly endowed with ... passion you know. That special brand of progress? Made in Africa, huh? Just one thing I know my Africans are doing right, at least, (mock laughter) Gentlemen, it's worth celebrating. Celebrate. Let's celebrate the organized animals' united genocide! It's the great tradition of being born again Africa...bloodbath. ... African success story.... To Africa's united planned progress in genocide! Ha! Ha! Ha! Why look so morose? It is not true?... it's in the blood...in the blood...scary, isn't it...our investment are not safe.

Pipeline: And lives too

Oceana: Ahaa! Now you said it! Fear...I'm afraid...but how can anyone invest in a land that's so unstable. The primary rule of capital investment is Stability. Stability. Stability! And that is grossly lacking here... (27, 28, 126)

How in God's name does one expects the colonized to progress when they are themselves the devil in the house? It's like a woman who eats her baby after birth then turns round and accuses the mate of witchcraft when in reality she is the sorcerer under the bed. In a nut shell, it is high time we revisit our educational system to meet up with the universal standard.

Guevara quoting Fidel Castro at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria on the 24th February 1965, supposed that:

Ever since monopoly capital took over the world, it has kept the greater part of humanity in poverty, driving all the profits among the group of the most powerful countries. The standard of living in those countries is based on the extreme poverty of our country ... we must fight against imperialism. And each time a country is torn away from imperialist tree, it is not only a partial battle won against the main enemy but it also contributes to the real weakening of that enemy.(Colonialism is Doomed'. 1964)

By this he implies that the colonized are being robbed of their rights to good living and riches by the colonizers. The truth about the above assertion is that ninety percent of what we are today is our hard work. Most of our rulers have allowed egoism, self-centeredness and lack of conscience to take hold of them. After power and representation are given to them, do they in any way consider themselves as African? Do they see themselves on the same footing as those that elected them to the seat of power and representation? Who do they represent and whose voice do they hear or represent—that of the neocolonial; indirect invaders or that of the colonized? Thus, Jacques Chirac in an online article says "Nous devons être honnête et reconnaître qu'une grande partie de l'argent dans nos banques vient précisément d'exploitation du continent Africain" And on the other hand John Vorster an English has this about the colonised "Notre objectif principal, c'est d'avoir une Afrique sans les Africains et une Afrique sans les Africains deviendra un paradis terrestre pour l'homme blanc "

The IMF is a watch dog of the dollar in the capitalist camp. The world is in hunger and lacks the money to buy food and medication. Paradoxically, in the undeveloped world, seen as the only world of the hungry, their possible ways of expanding food production and medical improvement are discouraged by the West in order to keep their supplies and prices up. Hence we remain dominated and marginalized. Check out the case of corona where rather than encourage the third world's medical research, the colonized are discouraged from advancing in this light by the hypocritically giving of billions as aid assistance for corona victims. This is the inexorable law of colonizer which must cease to be the rule in relationship to the colonized and the colonizers. As Shakespeare puts it '... As flies to wanton boys so are we to the gods, they use us for their sport' the colonized should stop making themselves wanton boys to the colonizers.

Ernesto Che Guevara in a speech delivered at the Plenary Session of the "United Nations Conference on Trade and Development" in Geneva, Switzerland on 25th March 1964 holds that:

Inflow of capital from the developed countries is the prerequisite for the establishment of economic dependence. This inflow takes various forms such as: loans granted on numerous terms, investment that place a given country in the power of the investor, almost total technological subordination of the dependent country to the developed country, control of a country's foreign trade by the big internationally monopolies; and in extreme cases, the use of force, with all the consequences that this implies. Sometimes this inflow takes very subtle forms, such as the use of international financial credit and other types of organizations (Che Guevara

Internet Archive. On Development. Speech delivered March 25, 1964 at the plenary session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development)

From this, we realized that the colonial master granting of financial aid in all forms keeps us economically and politically captive and second class to them. Oceana in *what Mama Said* says” (smiling.) But woman. Don’t you know I am the bank you have to go to? I am the director, remember? (105).

We the colonized have now become addicted loaners to these banks so much such that we are now toys void of value, dignity and power of our own Hence, Oceana, a representative of the colonizers remind us the subalterns thus: Oceana says ‘You land of liars! Shrinking debtors-nation. Aren’t you ashamed? All potentials and morality sold. Auctioned to the highest bidder. Out of my sight! Bitch! (100). This showcases the Postcolonial theorists notion of neo-colonialists corporate enterprise supported by pepper regimes (financial aid). Again, Bole Botake in *Lake God and Other Plays* using Shey Tanto holds that ‘...The Fon we though you gave us have sold the land. The Fon has banished Kwifon and given the land to Strangers ... (39). The lands and the resources are sold and auctioned because we the loaners are unable to neither repay our loans nor negotiate our financial power. Still with this method of subjugation, When the colonizer sees that monetary aid is not the best tool to hold the colonized captive, they switches to bargaining their political strength through the use of guns (the use of the Postcolonial concept of neocolonialist paid by corporations to support its interest by covert military force). The act of loans and investment is part of the European representation and hegemonic strategies that make them the number one and unbeatable in representation and hegemony. The Europeans seem to have been born great and throw the aid of the colonized, greatness is thrust upon them. That is why leaders like Nicolas Sarkozy in an online article about ‘European leaders’ view of the colonized’ hold that:

La France ne peut pas permettre que ses anciennes colonies crée leur propre monnaie pour avoir le control total sur leur Banque centrale. Si cela se produit, Ça sera une catastrophe pour le trésor public qui pourra entrainer la France au rang de 20^{eme} puissance économique mondiale’.

This implies that the colonized on their part have to do all it takes to achieve greatness. The above extension makes us understand that the West does everything it takes to gain power and be represented. To be on the safer side, the keep on changing the strategies and forms of representation.

Hence Tess using Traveler in *Riot in Heaven* says:

Traveler X: Me, too mighty... I am everyone ...all of them ... my God. I have been many people in my struggle through time and space, crashing, breaking down boundaries to make my people out of Babylon. Lord Babylon is everywhere in the world today. Lord why are there so many Babylon? Lord I need an answer. (Onwueme 1996:19)

From the above, we deduced that the suffering of the Israelites under the Babylonians is synonymous with subjugation of the colonized by the colonizers. The statement “Lord Babylon is everywhere”, makes us understand that the colonizers diversify their hegemonic forms, manners and locations to maintain dominion and their position as the number one in representation and hegemony. They do everything (both harsh and soft methods) to maintain power. Yet, what do the colonized nations do so as to measure up to their masters? Nothing. Were the colonizers created with a golden spoon in their mouth or did they simply strategize on what they have so as to make maximum profit of it? If yes! What then have the colonized done to prove that what a white can do a black can do even better? Nothing. The colonized have failed to realize that gold can only become gold when it goes through the process of fire. A woman will become a woman only when she experiences or goes through the pains of labour. So, the colonized will become identified only when they go through hard times- press down from all angles for it is only in the heat that instability becomes stability. It is only through heating in the fire that iron sharpens iron and gives it a nice shape. It is for this that Corporal laments that:

In the beginning was the ape, and the ape had no name. So God called him man. Now there are various tribes of the ape. It had gorilla, baboon For some of the ape had straightened their bone and start walking up right, but there was one tribe unfortunately that lingered behind and that was the nigger... (217.)

Walcott’s *Dream on Monkey Mountain* explores the absolute valorization of whiteness and devalorization of blackness in colonial racist ideology. But in complete opposition, Makak prunes the ideology for to him, there is more than a devalued and disrupted identity as he sees himself and other blacks as human and the white he sees as a force of natural and supernatural evil. This is because to him, blacks are forced to reject a decisive part of their social being, to abhor their faces, culture and their deeds in the face of love, life, art and death; in order to idealize the colour, culture and history of the colonizers. Ironically, Corporal in the underlined statement indicates that God virtually created everyone and every nation equal. They all have something that can boast them in the world of representation and hegemony.

These God-given potentials and natural resources have been rightly used by other nations to fit in the cycle of power and domination except the other, the colonized who have put theirs in a cupboard and thrown away the key not because they are unable to identify and utilize potentials but rather because

they are too egoistic and selfish that they refer bury it up for none to use. The dominated like the Nigerian and the Caribbeans are blessed with fertile soil as well as natural resources. Yet, they are the poorest and socio-economic beggars while the intruders the colonizers feed and grow fatter and fatter on their resources. Walcott in *T-Jean and His Brothers* supposes that ‘My son do not quarrel here all of us are starving while the planter is eating from painting golden forks with silver tongues the brown fresh of birds and the white fresh of fish’. (91)

This by implication is a satire on the fact that we possess a lot yet, we starve to death while a stranger in our house eats and grows fatter and fatter. Confirming the fact that we possess more yet chaff, Moustique says:

...but dogs chase me out of people yard when I go round begging ‘Food for my master, food’ And I does have to stoop down, and pick up the odd shilling they throw you. Look, turn your head, old man, look there, and that thing shining there, that is the ocean. Behind that is Africa! (255).

By analysis, Walcott wants to tell the colonized who spend all their time stooping low as beggars in the present of their masters to put a pause on such acts for what is given them is nothing but scraps whereas they have more than gold at their doorsteps. By signification, it means the blacks should go back to their continent and to their roots for that continent of theirs is very rich. “That thing shining...” implies prosperity, riches, wealth and potentials which they have neglected to the mercies of the other and have rather become beggars than those who cannot measure up to their wealth.

To put a stop to this, Makak says “Saddle my horse, if you love me, Moustique, and cut a sharp bamboo for me and put me on the horse, for Makak will ride to the edge of the world, Makak will walk like he used to in Africa, when his name was lion” (240).

This too will be the fate of the colonized when the right leaders come. With good leaders the subalterns will not need to toil all night for identification. Rather, with able leaders in place, the identification, representation and hegemony of the subaltern will meet them and push them into the deep sea, into the middle and height of representation and hegemony. There and then, the colonized like Peter will be able to throw their net of identification at the right time and place. Our inability to be identified is due to a lack of the right leader with the right revelations in the boat of representation and hegemony. The season might not be right, but with the right and visionary captain in a boat, there will be fruitfulness. The lack of the right leader in the boat of representation and hegemony entails a lack of understanding of the depth of the sea. A good leader will understand the need for the colonized to be represented. Hence, the growth and progress of the marginalized will become his zeal and objective

so much such that he needs to do miracle for his nation to fit in the boat of representation. Unless the wellbeing, brotherhood and representation of the colonized become the breathe of our leaders, representation and hegemony remains a far fresh idea.

The day this becomes a fact, the marginalized will leave the seat of Bethel to become El-bethel. For it doesn't matters what the colonized have written about the colonized. What is certain is that one day; the supposed colonized death bones shall rise and create history for the downtrodden. When this is done, we will be able to shout with all boldness that we are grateful for the future we see. As Makak puts it, "I want to thank you stranger. But what God want, nobody can change". (250) Tess in *Riot in Heaven* says "When the African drums turn talkative, who can silence the drum"?

Traveller X "Sah had left the seat of power to colourless Gods". But because the colorless are egoistic, self-centered and stingy, The Unseen Voice contradicts the above by saying "How can God leave the seat of power to hot-tempered Gods"? (Onwueme 1996-10) How will the colonizers give a place in representation and hegemony to the colonized when they are hot-tempered and self-centered? Through this, New historicists mirror, how the unspoken and unrepresented past haunts the historical present of the colonized whose history has been ignored.

The beauty of a nation lies not in its acquisition but in its application and the capacity to differentiate between application and applicability. One becomes rich and powerful and gain representation only when the law of Parkinson that says "When you come in a class try to maintain your level of expenditure and save the balance". Build your services and invest the surplus. Until this is done, we the colonized will keep on making ourselves horses and cows for the whites' milk production. An inactive action is an inactive destination.

Cultural Hegemonic Diplomacy

Cultural Hegemony According to Antonio Gramsci refers to:

Domination or rule maintained through ideological or cultural means. It is usually achieved through social institutions, which allow those in power to strongly influence the values, norms, ideas, expectations, worldview, and behavior of the rest of society. The consent to the rule of the dominant group is achieved by the spread of ideologies—beliefs, assumptions, and values—through social institutions such as schools, churches, courts, and the media, among others. This kind of power is distinct from rule by force, as in a military dictatorship, because it allows the ruling class to exercise authority using the "peaceful" means of ideology and culture. Cultural hegemony is most strongly manifested when those ruled by the dominant group come to believe that the economic and social conditions of their society are natural and inevitable,

rather than created by people with vested interest in particular social, economic, and political orders. (1891-1937)

From the above, we realized that the modern societies' leader should concentrate on empowering the cultural hegemony setting in place norms that will enhance the lives of its citizen. They should put in place, long term values and ideologies in which the minorities are inclusive. The best tools for them to implement their strategies will be through a well-defined educational system, religious values and well-organized and equipped legislation and a transparent and liberal media

Hall sees cultural hegemony

As, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. ...our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us Cultural identity ...it is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power... cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all, lying unchanged outside history and culture. It is not some universal and transcendental spirit inside us on which history has made no fundamental mark. It is not once-and-for-all. It is not a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute Return. (225 -26)

From the above, we realized that colonialism was a collision and dislocation of cultures. As the colonizers moved in, they imposed their language, cultural values and ways on the natives of the land. Their power places them in the center while its language gives its voice authority. This almighty position of the colonizers marginalized and silenced the indigenous people. Hence, making them no other but the 'Other'. In regards to this, Fisher (1999) holds that 'language is the ultimate measure of human society ... it's a language that tells us who we are, what we mean and where we are going to (Cited in the McGiolla Christ (2004:203)

By this, he implies one's culture is a mirror with which one sees himself and the light that lights ones part. By this, it holds that with culture, one is capable of debating and conserving where he or she is coming from, where one is going to as well as where one is standing. When language changes, the social - cultural values do change such that the individual can't express his or her deepest thought nor understand his or her self. It is these different ways culture has been traumatized that the post colonialists are out to examine.

It is for this that Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott desire to reestablish the native language as a technique for cultural representation and hegemony. According to them, the colonized have for generations lived under the hegemony of the colonizers. They have for long been more or less adopted western values. Hence, their desire now is to challenge them and find local ways of representing their different identities. To this Walcott fancies in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* that “Here the writer is please because the forging of a new language beyond mimicry will deliver the nigro from servitude one that will firmly settle on its own mode of inflection and which will begin to create an oral culture of chants, jokes, folk songs and fables” (29).

Tess in *Tell it to Women* posits that:

Tolue: And that reminds me of a saying among our people ‘You cannot sing and dance too loud in public when you are wearing a borrowed costume’

Asaka: Oh yes! Because the owner of the costume may be too near.

Ada: And may challenge you or even demand that you take off the costume right there and Then...that is why I see the problem of people who show off with some borrowed tongue. They can never be masters.

Asaka: And even when they become adept, the owners are always nearby watching to see they do not perfect it beyond them.

Tolue: Or easily change the code to exclude you from the inside of things... (157)

It is for cultural culturization that playwrights try in their works understudy make use of pidgin language and Creole as seen in *Dream on Monkey Mountains*: Singer “I’ll show you how it happens: il dit levez, Makak. (He said Rise, Makak)...Ous kai weh ou kai weh. (You’ll see it for yourself) (263) and in *What Mama Said*, the use of pidgin language is heard from Ikpoba/Fuel Attendant’s hypocritical response to the citizen demanding fuel as follow ‘Ikpoba/Fuel Attendant (mock laughter) So you be teasha? Ordinary teasha dey make all dis wahala since? Ha teasha! Wetin you sabi? You empty pocket! Oshimi “So poor people no go get ...” (52). The use of Creole and Pidgin English by the above writers suggest that in order not to become debtors of the ‘Others’ language, we could create ours or modify it to include us. By so doing, we too will be identified as well as be represented considering the fact that English is a universal language through which our desires and identity could be made known. The insertion of Creole, Pidgin, Proverbs and the dialect make the colonized culture and literary style unique and acceptable. After all, the New Historicist holds that no language is static but dynamic and flexible. According to Frank Fanon, Black Culture is important in reversing the dehumanized colonial representation of black people. According to him, a “Nation’s culture’ is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keep itself in existence”.

Tess in one of her works comments that some blacks are so interiorized that they lament:

I need a new hand... what I have now doesn't reach far enough. They are too short, stalky... God, I need new lips! Too thick, they say. Make them thinner Lord. And my eyes blue... Change my eyes from brown to blue. May be it will help... to change my image... God, I need it... but I aint got not money...no power Lord. And you know it... (Onwueme 1996.20)

The above pin point to nothing but the extreme level of Westernization of the blacks that comes many a times as a result of loss of faith which in other words is a sign of racial despair. They have been brain washed to an acute point that they prefer mimicry of their enemies' physics, names and cultures. In all these hypocritical deeds they still desire to be identified. They forget the fact that midst of all their imitations; they remain blacks, inferior and vanquish before the West. Quitting from denying oneself is a refusal to accept the humanity of the black person and the reluctant to permit him to be represented in the world as a human being. On the contrary, they should say no to dogmatic ideologies and accept who they are. This will be a great step to bridging their way to the concert of representation and hegemony.

Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin and Gareth in *The Post- Colonial Studies Reader* hold that:

The post – colonial world is one in which destructive cultural encounter is changing to an acceptance of differences on equal terms. Both Literary theorists and cultural historians are beginning to recognize cross-culturality as the potential point of an apparently endless human history of conquest and annihilation justified by group 'purity' and as basis on which the post - colonial world can be creatively stabilized. (31)

The above makes us understand that a day will come when there will be a fusion, integration and acceptance of cultures. As put above, cross-cultural identity or multiculturalism is the grain to purity. Purity in the sense that it will help consolidate differences. Thus, this fusion will help to bridge the gap between the colonized and the colonizer in the world of representation and hegemony as well as create a sense of belonging and stability in the post-colonial world.

Walcott in "A Far Cry from Africa" confronted with the confusion of his dual culture, cries out

*I who am poisoned with the blood of both,
Where shall I turn, divided to the vein.
The drunken officer of British rule, how choose
Between this African and English tongue I love?
Betray them both or give back what they give...
How can I turn from Africa and live? (Stanzas 5-10).*

By this, we understand that the colonized of today have inherited a hybrid culture, a cultural complexity that led to the formation of cultural schizophrenia. This is the ambiguous history of the colonized trying to rename nouns named and given its metaphoric hegemony by another. By this, the names of the colonized are diminished while that of the colonizer remains. This is what Frantz Fanon calls in *Black Skin, White Mask* a Negrophobia conflict. (169). what is done is done. Thus rather than stay back morroosing and trying to create a pure cultural identity, one will suppose that an electrical fusion of old and new will place the subaltern on the safe side. Using the post-colonial stand, we are going to look at how culture defines itself through language.

Language conservation

According to Ngugi, language is the carrier of a culture. He hypothesizes that African school children and intellectuals are prohibited from using their languages. This makes the African to fall out of harmony with their world and environment. According to him, depriving the Africans from using their own language is tantamount to depriving them of connecting with the revolutionary tradition. It is in the using of our language that we identify ourselves clearly with ourselves and others in the world. On the contrary, by using the language of the others we are indirectly forced to identify and represent the culture of the others.

It is supposed that all works of art including culture and language are a collection of history. By this we mean the history of a people. So using one's language is good as it is well placed to define, identify and represent the peoples' history or story. Language, in Ngugi's eyes as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history. Consequently, the choice of a peoples' use of language is central to a community's ability to define itself. This thus implies that the use of another's language cannot actually define and represent a community. Language is a focal point in post-colonial literature. So most post-colonial writers see the colonial imposition of their language on the colonized as part of the systematic hegemonic representation on the colonized.

Considering the fact that language is a two edged sword and a mirror with which we can preserve ourselves and our place in the world, we thus noticed that Language is an inseparable part of us. While writers like Ngugi advocates for the abandon of European language, while negotiating for a go back to our indigenous language given that the foreign language colonized them physically, culturally, and psychologically and tripled them off their cultural power of representation. On the other hand, others call for the continuous usage of the colonialist language as a way to enhance international communication.

Oliver Lovesey in an online article on Ngugi and his work posit that:

This is the dilemma of the African writer today: either he may use a European language and thus gain recognition and financial reward from a worldwide audience, but at the risk of cutting himself off from the very root of all but the most esoteric creative flowing, the common experience of his own society; or he may use his own mother tongue, stoically shun the appeal of the world market, remained one of the inglorious millstone of the present age, but help his own people advance into the age mass literacy and pave the way for future achievement and renown.

In *Tell it to Women* Abaku says:

...you children allow yourselves to be blown by any wind...because we cannot speak and write in other people's tongue? Do those people speak your own tongue? Why can we not hold what we have and be proud of it...? And you, must you subject yourself to this kind of humiliation to watch the dance? If you are a part of the dance you would understand it better. If the drummer sees us as active participants in the dance, they will not treat us as outsiders to be used to create a new dance step without respect or credit to us! I am tire; I wish we were never brought. (173-174)

The lighted is a rhetorical question from a colonized to the colonized. It is a question to the blacks who abandoned their culture and run after that of the others. By this, we promote the representation and hegemony of another. Yet in doing this, we the colonized are still humiliated and rejected as not being part of the drummers or creators of the dance. Thus, if we cannot create a unique or pure culture for ourselves, and if we adopt theirs and are still not accepted, then it is high time we created a new trend of drumming and dancing; that of merging and blending of cultures.

In Ngugi's "*Decolonizing the mind*", Language is considered a dual tool with a double character. It's both a means of communication as well as a carrier of culture (13). The implication of this is that language is capable of carrying the values of a community passed down to them from one generation to another. This brings in the vitality of memory which accumulates over time to form a culture. While the colonial masters came and named places, things and even structures after their memory of things, places and structures in Europe as a way to show their representation and dominion over the subalterns. The subalterns accepted and adopted the names given to them. However, that which will make a different in creating a solid ground for the colonized representation and power is for them to make a blend of the two.

Lord Macaulay speaking to the British parliament on 2nd February 1835 said:

J'ai voyage a travers 'Afrique, je n'est pas vu des personnes avec voleur, j'ai vu les personnes avec des hautes valeurs morales et je pense que nous ne pouvons pas conquérir ce

pays, a moins que nous ne brisions / effacions la colonne véritable de cette nation qui est sa spiritualité et son héritage culturel. Par conséquence je propose que l'on remplace son ancien system éducatif et culturel, ainsi quand les Africains penseront que ce qui vient de l'de l'étranger et en particulier de l'Angleterre est meilleur que ce en quoi ils croyaient, ils perdront l'estime culturel et ils deviendront ce que nous voulons qu'ils soient, a savoir une véritable nation dominée.

The above holds that we the colonized should stop mimising ourselves and our worth for we do not lack what it takes to gain hegemonic representation for even the colonisers are aware of what we possessed as potentials that will sell best in the market of representation and hegemony. It demands that we identify our worth, fashioned them into good shapes desirable by the world market and then put them on sale.

Ngugi in *Writers in Politics*: reckons that

The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment indeed in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the contending forces in the Africa of the 20th century... A contention that began 100 years ago when in 1884 the capitalists powers of Europe sat in Berlin and carved an entire continent with multiplicity of people, culture and language into different colonies. (285)

Ngugi, the number one Colonized writer for the colonized cultural representation and hegemony still has this to say:

It seems as if the fate of African to have her destiny always deaden around conference tables in the metropolises of the Western world: her submergence from self-going communities into colonies was decided in Berlin ...Berlin1884 saw the division of Africa into different languages of the European powers. African countries s colonies and even today as neo-colonies came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the language of Euro: English speaking, French speaking or Portuguese speaking Africa countries. (286)

What we deduced from the above is that unlike the case of the children of Israel, whom God made them speak different languages as a way of keeping them under control or to avoid conspiracy, the colonizers decided to imposed on the settlers a unique language as a means of keeping them under control as well as to prevent accord between tribes or groups. It was a tool used to unite the Africans against divisive tendencies inherent in the multitude of African languages within the same geographical location.

In a speech titled '*The African Writer and the English Language*' 1964. Ngugi Wa Thiong'O asked this vital question: "Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a quiet feeling. But for me, there is no other choice. I have been given the language and I intend to use it" But a response to Ngugi's rhetorical question above is

that, if language is used in an appropriate way that can carry and convey the weight of our African tradition, culture and experience, then it is good. As long as it can carry our African speeches, proverbs and represents our Africanness, and African cosmology, then *why* not?

Given that we do not yet have a language that can represent us totally why not use what we have considering the saying that a bird in hand is better than two in the bush. Tess in her work *What Mama Said* through Omi, sees the use of the foreign language as a weapon to attack our enemies. To her, the important weapon we need is not guns but knowledge...the application the young must speak good English. And must be clear. Always. (150). In addition, Omi: ...But we can't change that now. What has happened has happened. And we will now have to look to the future. It will never happen again. Never! We won't let them. Imo: Hmm... As they say 'If you can't beat them join them...' (33)

It is said that language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture. For instance, English is spoken by the English, the Sweden, and the Denmark as a weapon of communication as much as a tool for cultural and historical transportation. To the economist, Karl Marx, language is life, it is original, is a tool of development and it's capable to link and tie the bond between human beings. It creates in the speaker, a sense of belonging and an identity. It is hereditary and is handed over to the next generation. Because of all these qualities of language, it is considered as the value of the way of life. According to Ngugi, language as culture carries the collective memory and is the bank of the people's experience in history.

Ironically, the colonizers did not see that the imposition of the colonizers language on us was not to ease communication but rather as their representative tool and weapon of dominion over us. Obi Wali in *Decolonising the mind* holds that:

The African creator deprived of the use of his language and cut off from his people, might turn out to be only the representative of a literary trend (and that not necessarily the least gratuitous) of the conquering nation. His work having become a perfect illustration of the assimilation policy through imagination of and style, will doubtless arouse the warm applause of a certain group of critics. In fact, these praises will go mostly to colonialism which when it can no longer keep its subjects in slavery transforms them into docile intellectuals patterned after Western literary fashions which besides, is another more subtle form of bastardization.
(300)

The above showcases that the sole motive of the colonizers imposition of their language on us was an indirect way of depriving us; cutting us off from our roots and equally to transform and keep us as obedient savages. What they did forget was the fact that the clock turns and as such, one day the dog will become the master and the master the dog.

Thus Amilcar Cabral in *National Liberation and Culture* fancies that “cultural domination is tantamount to destruction, neutralization or paralyzation of their cultural like...cultural dominion or foreign domination is either to eliminate wholly all population of the dominated country so as to wipe out the possibilities of a cultural resistance or to succeed in imposing itself without damage to the culture of the dominated people” (484). Culture is a vital tool in the bargaining and maintenance of representation and hegemony in that according to Amilcar ‘culture is the resultant of a history and the continuity of history lies in culture...To deny a dominated people their history is to deny them their cultural progress. (485-6). By this, the elimination or suppression of one’s culture implies the eradication of its history and a stop to its continuity.

Tess Osonye in *What Mama Said* holds that culture as an element of resistance to foreign domination lies in the fact that culture is a strong manifestation on the ideological or idealist level; culture is a peoples’ history and a determinant of history. (486) Tess and Walcott exposed cultural injustice in both the west and the non-west. They stand for equality of culture and so deconstruct the western notion of the ‘Other’ so that each can become the ‘Self’ They have shown that if it takes culture to civilize a people, then, the colonized societies do not require civilization given that we have more superior ways of civilization worth sustaining. In an online article (free essays June 10, 2012) Cultures and the strength of culture is the ability of each of its representatives to follow and maintain it. This is due to the fact that culture is different only at the surface for in reality, it is the individual that decides either to follow the cultural norms or not. In every culture both the weak and the strong will representatives. In regards to this, it is but normal not to interfere into the life of a culture as well as that of its separate symbols; just because a part wishes to be or remain at the ‘top’ hence becomes blind to the fact that it is not the culture that differs, but our personal personal point of views on life and death.

Besides, cultural mixture adds strength to the reconstruction journey. Cultural blend gives and takes on the basis of economic, political and social equality is important. Cultural identity is not a fix essence at all, lying unchanged outside history and culture... it has its histories and histories have real material and symbolic effects. The past continue to speak to us. But this is no longer a simple, factual ‘past’ since our relation to it is like the child’s relation to the mother, always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative myths. Cultural identities are the points of identification, the usable made through the discourse of history and memory. Not an essence but a positioning. (Stuart Hall 211)

Educational Hegemonic Debate

Education has always been one of the most profound aspects of the timeline of human civilization. The more profound a subject is, the more the chances of it gaining ambiguity in terms of perception. In different epochs in history one can trace the organized purpose of the education that was imparted. Education unquestionably is the strongest tool we have in our hands to frame the next generation. (www.teacherplus.org › hegemony-in-the-education-s...)

By this we see that people are not matured by degrees or background but by individual mindset and thinking capacity. It is this input management that helps us to remain on the top. So what we have inwardly determined what we can offer outwardly. Big plans attract big people. We don't have to build a future for our children but rather, we have to build our children for the future. Certificates and degrees are not the solutions to our identification crisis but rather the know-how. While the white build technical schools to train and form leaders of tomorrow, the colonized build general schools where jacks of all trades and masters of none are formed. They formed people who master nothing politically, economically and even socially. They form vessels that cannot be represented in any domain. Thus the colonized scholar becomes a player without a field. Omi in *What Mama Said* revealed that:

Omi: Well I am. I did not speak with water in my mouth, did I? (Lifting the paper like some sacred testament.) Yes, degrees. Not one worked my butt off to earn them both. BSC, MSC.(Deep sigh) Like you too, I have them. Earned them. And many others like me in this land ... with a load of degrees! But see? Where are we now? Where? You have the upper hand because your country lifts you up. And mine abandons, forsakes, and betrays me ... betrays me ... all of us ...with you in control... (104).

Through the help or the complicity of the white man, the colonized are given a valueless education. Better still, they are given theoretical and not practical formation needed in the global world of power and representation. Hence they end up with admirable documents in the title of certificates. As such, there is a need to revise their educational sector focusing more on the technical aspects which are elements that sell more in the global market of representation and hegemony... colonial and post-colonial communities. Some forms of resistance are sometimes counter-productive

Religious Hegemonic Conservation

Christian hegemony is a type of dominant group privilege where the unconscious or conscious attitudes and beliefs of Christians advantage Christians over non-Christians.[2] Examples include opinions that non-Christian beliefs are inferior or dangerous, or that those who adhere to non-Christian beliefs are amoral, immoral, sinful, or misguided. Such prejudices pervade established social institutions, that leads to the marginalization of the

nonreligious and members of other religions through institutional religious discrimination or religious persecution ..., and have evolved as part of its history.[3]
[\(\[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_privilege\]\(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_privilege\)\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_privilege)

Walcott in *The Sea at Dauphin* says:

God! A big fish eating small ones. And the sea, that thing there, not a priest white, pale like a shark belly we must feed until we dead... This scapular not Dauphin own! Dauphin people build the church and pray and feed you, not their own people, and look at Dauphin Gades lui! Look at! You see? Poverty, dirty women, dirty children, where all the prayers? Where all the money... Dirty and prayer is Dauphin life... (73)

Bonny/Priest in *What Mama Said* opens our eyes to the ills of religion when he says
'But as a good Christian, you must hold up your head above these natives at times... Oceana: I know (pause, puffs at his cigar) except we still have to depend ... I mean who else could do all the bloody chores?

Bonny/Priest: *(pour himself a drink) just be careful. Brethren, know thyself. That's all.*
 (76)

From the above, we noticed that hypocrisy, marginalization and dominion are not only political and socio-economic but also religious. It shows that the colonizers have metamorphosed representation and hegemony. What can the subaltern do so as to be represented? Nothing, apart from compromising their ways, concerting together with all parties involved and then creating something new. To do this, they need to go back to their ancestral worship which was rejected and considered barbaric and savage.

Moustique: *...what is wrong with him, stranger?*

First Peasant: *A snake. He was working in the bush, a snake...but delivers us from evil... and medicine can cure him... They bring priest, doctor they still have no hope. He has a bad fever, and cannot sweat. (145)*

The above is effective as it proves that apart from the political colonialism. Religious colonialism was a better tool used to blind fool the natives so as to take control of their rich lands. Religion through the Bible was an opium of oppression, dominion and exploitation. It was another means of negotiating and snatching the resources of the colonized. In the same light, Rita in *The Estacy of Rita* informs us thus:

Joe : My uncle was Uncle Dan Joe... he was dying and he said to me 'Long ago the Whiteman came with the Bibles to talk to my people, who had the land. They talked for hundred years... then we had all the bibles, and the Whiteman had our lands. (44)

Ngugi in *I Will Mary when I want* posits that:

Religion is not the same thing as God. When the British imperialist came here, in 1895, all the missionaries of all the churches held the Bible in the left hand. The white man wanted us to be drunk with religion while he in the meantime was mapping and grabbing our land. And starting factories and businesses on our sweat. (56-57)

The above goes to show the varying forms and strategies of the West in gaining and maintain hegemony. It indicates that identifying one's hegemony is not enough. Rather, it is the techniques of getting involved and staying involved that makes the difference. A philosophy the colonized are still to perceive. Thus, to show that religion is another strategized tool of the west to deceive, suppress, dominate and to maintain their exploitative control of our resources, the Women in *Lake Gods and Other Plays* say:

Women: The new religion of the only son of God. The new civilization of the only money and book. The barbarism and heathenism of our tradition.

Man: The Fon, father and guardian of the land, offspring of a long line of illustrious ancestors. The fountain-head of tradition. And shelter of all the land. The fon made alliance with strangers. He turned a deaf ear to Keifon-supreme and most feared authority in the land. And now this.

Woman: He sold the land to strangers. And made alliance with rearers of cattle which destroyed crops caused famine. And suffering the people had never known. He rejected tradition and denied the women a good yield even though... (53)

The above indicates that the European religion is but an opium used to negotiate and maintain their control of the colonized resources. The natives were seen as naïve, primitive and apes with no sense of reasoning that the white man had to deceive them with the Bible while cunningly taking from them their land just as it was done to Meka in *The Old Man and the Medal*.

Moustique: Look, I know an old man, he been living in the forest, he know all the herbs, plants bush. He have this power and glory, and if you want, and it have no harm in that, I could fetch him for you. Look, before you pick him up again, before you choke him with that stinking medicine, before ... He don't want no money, but he could cure this sick man...And who heal the man? Makak, Makak. (145-150)

This conversation between Moustique and the First Peasant brings out the aspect of African cosmology neglected by the Africans with the arrival of the white man's religion. Religion has brain washed the Africans so much such that they now see their religion as primitive and backward so much such that they are even ashamed to put it into practice whereas it is efficient and harmless.

Given all of the above, we supposed that representation and hegemony answers to choices. What a people chooses to be is what they become in life. From this, it is but clear that success or failure in representation and hegemony is not by chance but rather the mirror you hold of yourself. That is why the Bible says "thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success" (Josh 1:8). The colonized should realize that identity is created directly or indirectly and maintained by our actions and choices. One thing sure is that those who obtained and maintained power and representation are those who know and master their sources. The channels to representation and power

could be destroyed at any times but the source or root remains stable at all times and under all waves. So rather than concentrate on the channels, lets the colonized focus on the keys to identity. A true knowledge of the root or secrets of representation and hegemony is the distinction between the winners and the losers. For the blacks to know who they are and what they carry is a self-discovering and a gate way to representation and hegemony.

Good governance as salt in the pot of representation and hegemony pave way for the effective exercise of power by government in a manner that serves to improve the quality of life of the populous. This includes using state power to build and develop a society and individuals capacity to control their lives at the political, economic, cultural, educational and religious levels.

Female Hegemonic Negotiation

She is double whatever a man. She seems to be the pivot of everything. Oshimi affirms “Mothers, Sons and daughters of the land. It is I Oshimi, the umbilical cord, running all through these coasts from here to the Fontal jallon Mountain that speak” (138). By the umbilical cord, she means the woman is the source from where all other rivers flow. She goes further to say “We are here, ready. My siblings from many shores. Today I speak to you...” (139).

By this statement, Oshimi argues for the women as the solutions to the problem plaguing the land especially that of a failed government. When Oshimi says “We are here, ready...” it implies their readiness to participate in the building of the nation. Through the word ‘umbilical cord’ she implies the woman in all domains of society stands as its source of power and for this power to continue, she must be an inclusive part of it. It should be noted that most of the female names in the text are names of rivers in Nigeria such as; Hadeja a river in the North, River Omi and Cross River are rivers in the South-South of Nigeria. As such they are the energy to any hegemonic representation. So when Tess uses women as a group or individual it is to show that modern women are an emerging social group, emerging to central or champion and sustain the struggle against social ills and nation building. Through this, she showcases the vitality of the place of the modern woman in the negotiation of representation and hegemony.

Post-colonial playwrights like Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott, present women as a new breed and emerging force in combination with the youths who must arise and save the nation from the downward spiral of destruction. So, she conscientizes them to a self-awareness when she says “now women, beat, beat the drums” (22). When a woman like Cross River cries out to the other women to

get up and take controls, it is to show that the men have failed to build the nation given that they have sold out the land and joined hands with stranger and marauders, so are not fit to be part of the revolution. Hence, women must lead the revolution to save the land. Thus, Omi calls on the women “Mothers get ready! Sisters get ready” (141). This is a universal call to modern women to arise and put rights the wrongs that fill the societies, hence, hindering it from progress. By this, it implies women should not sit and watch but rather get involved.

This is demonstrated in *Lake God and Other plays* thus:

Old one: I see. In our times, problems were resolved by men. Men discussed and, as you put it, negotiate with other men, man to man. But today, I am learning something new. I now know officer prefer to discuss and negotiate with...Ngujoh: Never mind your time. Old one. Those days were ancient days. Today, women are the key to power. Even the door with seven locks on it can be unlocked by a woman. In your days you used reason. And only when reason failed did you fall back on combat. He executes war song and mime... Today, power is no longer intelligence. Power means Stop! Silence! Kpo! ... You are our savior women. Woman break officer... Woman free man... (65-66)

By the above, the men have failed to redeem the nation, so the women deemed it wise as mother earths to redeem the land by looking for better strategies to rebuild the nation. Men do rely on power and weapon (guns) but the women think bloodshed is not a better option to rebuilding a nation. Thus Omi declares “Mothers and Sisters, you are not going to fight men with guns and bullets, but your bare hands and twigs? No Mothers and Sisters. We cannot. Must not play their bloody game. For that is what they are. Bloody! And the chorus response ‘Our souls! Our Spirits! Fight! Fight!’ (142). This is an indication that their weapon will be the unity of their souls and spirits. Because of this self-realization to the great role they have to play in the reconstruction of a better nation.

T.G Sonffo in *Dare to Think Big* says:

Think beyond your failures. Do not let the negative experiences of your past limit you. People will not remember your failures so much as they will remember your successes if and only if, your successes are more resounding than your failures. So, whatever failures you have recorded, get up and move on! Succeed so well that when people talk about you, they will be too busy to celebrating your ascent to the top to remember your dark moments in the valley. (33).

In line with the above, we assumed that one’s history and memories should not serve as a blockage to his or her Identification. Rather, one’s past errors should act as a catalyst to his or her representation. That is why the modern woman who has seen the need for representation and what to do to be identified concert with other women as follows:

Cross River: ...in the end tell us women, what are we going to do (chanting) what are

we going to do...?

Hadeja: *When our land is burnt and bonded*

Imo: *Why should you...*

Hadeja: *Why should you stand still, your voices choking when you are the oil and the river?*

Imo: *When you are the heart and the breast of the land?*

The women want to join the dance. Is it for this that Tess and Walcott use women as a group and as individuals to show the modern woman as a social group emerging to stage the struggle against social ills and national building. They are in line with the global consciousness for the vehement place of the woman in negotiating and maintaining hegemonic identity. Together with the youths, women are presented as the oil and the new emerging force (river) that must rise up and save the nation from the downward pour of the earthquake

Thus Tess Osonye orders, “now women, beat, beat the drums” (22). Further, on page 140, Cross River cries out on the women “Mothers, Sons and Daughters”. This is an indictment on the leaders of the land that have failed to save or conserve the land. But how could they have built the land when they have sold the land, and its resources as well as joined hands with the strangers to soil the land? They are no longer fit to redeem the land. All hopes for any redemption and preservation are now in the hands of the prodigals - the women. Thus in *What Mama Said*, we hear this:

Imo: Rise up, mothers! My ancestors. Wake! Wake. Wake up! Your daughters need you now. The tide is high, high up. The flood threatens to swallow us. And sharks. White and blacks have taken over the shores. Our land. Arise mothers! Your daughters are sinking. Drowning. Gobbled as torn flesh by the ever hungry sharks now ruling our land. (Desperately). Can't you hear me? Mothers, arise! Lead us! Cross River: People of the land and sea. I know we all have come from different directions to meet here. We are here, now. Together: What are we going to do? As they say, if you don't lick and massage your lips, the dry fierce harmattan wind will lick it for you. People of Sufferland! Our land bleeds! The land weeps! Tell me, who among you here, no matter how young, no matter how old... (138-139)

From the above, one deduces three things. One, the taken over of the land by wolves serpents, sharks and belly striking rulers or better still devourers who are both white and blacks. This makes the colonized hegemonic representation impossible. The second issue is the fact that the land is falling or collapsing due to a lack of hegemony. The third idea is a call on the women, mothers both old and young to arise and participate in the bargain of remedying the land. Because the leaders have given their sets to strangers and are now madmen and traitors with none to savage the land, the women now see it as their duty to rights the wrongs by debating ways of saving the land from drowning. The message from the above is that no one is going to build the colonized nations but the joint efforts of

the colonized themselves. Hence the women think it's time for them to step into the dance and together with the men compromise and sustain the nation, hence moving the margin (the women) to the center.

Gender has been constructed in the Nigerian society of Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and the Caribbean community of Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain* not as man-woman or as superior-inferior but rather as a joint force and collective agents useful in the diplomatic dance of representation and hegemony. During this period of the building of socialism, we can see the destruction of gender bias buried and a new man and a new woman being born. The vitality, however, is that each day that passes, individually and collectively, old and young, man or woman are acquiring even more consciousness of the need for their incorporation into national integration and at the same time their vitality as agents of cross-cultural hegemonic representation and the approval of others to participate as equals for cultural, political, economic acceptance and tolerance. This showcase of the age, that the men, the women as well as the youths as vital forces in the reconstruction of a society. But for this to be realized the following have to take place.

Reconciliatory Negotiation

In *What Mama Said*, we hear Voice Two say:

Voice Two: Yes! That is why we poor people, man or woman, must join hands together to fight our common enemies, these rich and powerful people. Haba! So make una forget wetin dey between una, man-woman and begin to dey work together for all una beta (115)

Moustique in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* in reconciling the blacks and the whites, tells corporal a white representative pleading saying '...Corporal? You must forgive him.(299) On the other hand, Corporal after a self-realization and discovery of identity reconciled with his kinsmen when he tells Makak that:

Corporal: (Flatly, like an accustomed prayer) All right. Too late have I loved thee, Africa of mine, ...I jeered thee because I hated half of myself, my eclipse, but now in the heart of the forest at the foot of Monkey Mountain... I kiss your foot, O Monkey Mountain. He removes his clothes. I return to this earth, my mother. Naked, trying very hard not to weep in the dust. I was what I am. But now I am myself. [Rises] Now I feel better. Now I see a new light. I sing the glories of Makak! The glories of my race! ... O God, I have become what I mocked. I always was, I always was. Makak, Makak! Forgive me, old father. Corporal: [Looking up] Grandfather. Grandfather. Where am I? Where is this? Why am I naked (299).

And in acceptance Makak says:

Makak (Stepping forward). Now his is one of us....They reject half of you. We accept all. Rise. Take off your boots...Look how the trees have opened their arms. And in the

hoarseness of the rivers, don't you hear the advice of our entire ancestor... The forest claims us all, my son... (300-301)

From another point of view, negotiating a new nation is perceived through a balance of forces. That is why neither the colonized nor the colonizers over rides the other in the texts. Thus the opposing parties come together, seek out their differences and at the same time, maintain their individual identities. The controversial ending of *What Mama Said* and *Dream on Monkey Mountain* portrays that there is no race superior to another. In this view, the oppressed citizens need to show a powerful engagement in the liberation fight so as to free themselves from their oppressive past. In this light, the idea is that in the negotiation process, postcolonial nation requires a collective effort. In *What Mama Said*, we do not see any race portray as superior to the other. We do not see any black or white sent to prison. The text ends in a controversial peaceful negotiation between the two parties as follows:

Oceana: *Save! Save me*

Pipeline: *(Gasping) Forgive... daughters! Sisters, forgive! Never! Never shouldn't I... shouldn't have ...My people! I failed... defend...*

Yobe: *if we had to do it all over?*

Oceana: *it will never be the same.*

Yobe: *Now we know*

Pipeline: *Oh! Yes, we know... Forgive ...give (199)*

Dream on Monkey Mountain, brings in the aspects of unity, harmony, co-existence and negotiation when Corporal says:

Corporal: *'Where? Anywhere! Onward, onward. Progress. Press on. We need that cry, and those who do not bend to our will, to your will... you help him up.*

Souris: *he doesn't know where to go*

Corporal: *put him in front. He's a shadow now. Let him face the moon and move towards it. Let him go forward. I'll take over... (306)*

From these quotations, we see recognition of one's fault and the asking for forgiveness. These are signs of neither superiority nor inferiority but rather signs of negotiation for harmony and co-existence. It equally indicates the fact that no race is better or superior to the other. It proves that in the postmodern world, co-existence, co-operation as well as acceptance are values and symbols of representation and hegemony. To this, Elvis Tayong Asoh in his work "The Politics of Nation Building," Quotes Boehmer who holds that the experiences of colonization make the colonized identify themselves as having the same culture and similar colonial experiences. Nevertheless, negotiation and the fight to discard the traditional system has to be done through peaceful methods". Nationhood will become a reality only when the oppressors and the oppressed concert their differences and use their diversity to create a new order. *What Mama Said* and *Dream on Monkey*

Mountain, proved that nationhood is a reality that could be achieved through dialogue and negotiation. Thus a response to why there is no social justice at the end of the plays.

According to Benedict Anderson, a state or a society is said to have attained nationhood only when it is considered as “new and historical”. It should be a state in which political expression begins from an immemorial past, and merges into the future (*Imagined Communities* 36). In a postmodern world, fighting to maintain odd traditional and archaic norms is tantamount to refusing to accept changes or innovations. It should be noted that many a times, archaic norms are some of the issues that obliged the youths to see the white man’s ways as the best. Hence, they assimilate it so as to feel free and be represented given that our traditional and cultural principles at times seem too hard, depriving and old fashion for the postmodern technological generation. Change and innovation are the secrets to successful representation and hegemony. Ngugi in *The Devil on the Cross* confirms this when he says:

That humanity is turn born of many hands working together, for , as Gikuyu once said, a single finger cannot kill a louse, a single log cannot make a fire last through the night, a single man, however strong, cannot build a bridge across a river, and many hands can lift a weight, however heavy. The unity of our sweat is what makes us able to change the laws of nature, able to harness them to the needs of our lives, instead of our lives remaining slaves of the laws of nature. That is why Gikuyu also said, change for the seeds in the gourds are not all of one kind. (125)

By the above saying we conclude that united we stand, divided we fall. That is why the modern woman deems it vital for her to join hands with the men as well as the men have recognized the importance of letting go off their chauvinist tendencies and rather join hands with all the elements in the society in the fight for hegemonic identification. There is a need to shun bigotry of any form and work as one being, embracing both gender, for the betterment of the nation. To back this, Tess in *Tell it to Women* says:

...My people! Its over! Yesterday’s cancelled. Here now we are, today. Exhausted. Sick. And tomorrow? All we’ve got. That’s new. Together, look at it ...tomorrow. Together work for it ... tomorrow. And tomorrow. Who says we can’t deliver it live? But still... it’s all in your hands. Use it (93)

By this quotation, Tess is saying that lets by gongs be bygones’. That we should not capitalized on past history but rather like the New Historicists, use history as a bridge needed to fashion our way into the future. We should focus on being listed and not on whether we were listed yesterday or not. Making a name tomorrow does not depend on our history, background but rather on our individual will power. Social justice, truth and reconciliation are the pillars of a genuine rebuilding of a multicultural society.

In this chapter, we tried to point out that the future of nation building and its growth lies in the hands of all members of society. It is high time the modern woman identified her potentials and capabilities, and rises from its defined comfort zone to fight social injustice and subjugation which she bore due to ignorance. Today's educated modern woman through her knowledge and wisdom, has to confront the evils that society renders her in the socio-political domains. The modern woman, young and old, rural and urban, educated and uneducated, political and non-political has to be the vanguards of mobilizing and bargaining for a better hegemonic society by waging a war against social ills such as bad governance, corruption, marginalization and oppression and in place forge for good governance, responsive orientation, rule of the law, inclusiveness conscientization, pruning, accountability and transparency; elements that offer the colonized visas into the world of hegemonic representation. It is for this that Omi ends by telling the mothers that "I thank you mothers. Go. Leave the rest to us" (179). "No nation can raise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you" (Mohammed Ali Jimah).

By this it means the old can step back and rest relinquishing the struggle for the younger generation. However, the youth aware of the constant advice or support of the adults, remains the old women that though they are no longer active in the struggle, remember their place. Stay in place (180). What place are they referring to? That of the public places effecting new changes rather than that of the kitchen. By the above we notice that the future of the nation is in the hands of the energetic youths of both male and females working hand in hand as equal partners in the debate and conservation of the nation.

The act of reconciliation can be gotten only when perpetrators of past and present crimes come to self-awareness and ask for forgiveness. By so doing, they become true and active participant in the diplomatic creation of a new society. A new society that focuses on the elements of good governance is characterized by: participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, and the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Good governance and economic growth, political stability had the highest positive effect on economic growth. When the political hegemony is gotten, the environment will be ready to absorb foreign capital, foreign investors will be interested to invest and if there is an ending racial harmony, economic growth will gain ground.. When this is done, there and then shall the colonized be able to make a name and identity for themselves. Walcott in *Dream on*

Monkey Mountain says "...we cannot go back. History is in motion. The law is in motion. Forward, forward" (307).

The above portrays the New Historicist tenant of the link between the author and his work as Walcott realizes that to move on as a writer it was necessary for him to accept his horrific past and forgive his ancestor that sold him to slavery. He equally realizes that to fit in the gap or to have a voice and for his voice to be heard, he needs to use what he has which is the language that will represent his message universally clear to the colonizers. After all, one can only mark a point when what one says has an effect on the hearer and this could better be done only by using the colonizer's language-English and French. Consequently, hybridization became the only bridge to be used to achieve a mutual representation. After all, The New Historicists bargain that no discourse is permanent but negotiable and your roots do not define you but rather helps you to know your history. What one does in the global world market of today so as to move forward is to negotiate where one stays and belongs.

CONCLUSION

In this work, we set out to look at the intricacies of Representation and Hegemony in selected plays of Tess Osonye and Derek Walcott of the Nigerian and Caribbean societies. The goal of this research was to back up the hypothesis that the fight for representation and hegemony seems to be the main tenet of the colonized and the postcolonial writers. Its road map seems to be: deconstructing stereotypes. We arrived at the juncture that it's high time the post colonialist realized that he or she is a far more superior being from a far more superior origin whose self-esteem has been played negatively upon by the forces of hegemonic representation. Irrespective of this truth, he or she needs to realize that what is needed of him or her is to pick up the broken pieces of his or her past and move on with the blend; bearing in mind that what is left of this hybrid marriage can never be pure but rather a blend of culture.

Chapter One entitled "Theoretical Frame Work and Literature Review", focused on the theoretical framework, the telescopes used in analyzing and understanding of the link between the past, the author, the society and the text understudy. It also looked at existing knowledge related to the study.

Chapter two, captioned "Representation of History as Memory" looked at the place of history as memory in a literary work of art. It intended to find out the historical connection between the colonizers and the colonized and its effects on the societies by looking at colonialism, imperialism, post-colonialism and neo-colonialism so as to create a connection with the events in the texts understudy. From this, we came to the supposition that history creates and shapes a society. We also came to the notion that memory and literature intersect in many different ways. While literature as a media plays a crucial role in the process of representation, in shaping both individual and collective memories and subversively undermining culturally dominant memories through the establishing of counter-memories, with history and memory, the socio-cultural and political realities linked to identity representation are showcased.

Chapter three, entitled "Resistance and Deconstructing Stereotypes" examined the varying levels of resistance, such as violent resistance which is the political and non-violent resistance that has to do

with cultural resistance, such as: language dance, naming, healing, gender bias and reconciliatory resistance. Why resistance in the post-colonial context and why a partial success to the resistance?

Chapter Four, “Negotiation and Acceptance” looked into the negotiation of power. The metamorphosing forms of negotiation of power. It tried to find out why the hegemonic achievement of the colonized states is nothing but utopia. Why are post-colonial rulers nothing but colonizers’ representatives? It tried to identify some tips on what to do so as to gain power that will enable the colonized break the socio-political, economic and cultural borders of hegemonic representation. Hence, supposed that instability, violence and chaos make it is difficult for post-colonial societies to have the peace to evolve hegemonic order that will enable them experience growth and development; a process that embody the dominant values and culture that will guide the society. If the leaders will put aside their belligerent and begin to articulate meaningful policies for the development of the society such as: good governance, responsive orientation, rule of the law, inclusiveness, conscientization and accountability, the economic, educational and cultural domains, they will be able to negotiate, redefine and re-construct their hegemonic representation.

In order to better understand the texts under study, we employed the lenses of New Historicism and the Postcolonial Theory. New Historicism as a literary telescope helped us see how a work of art influences and is influenced by historical realities, and shares a belief in referentiality. That is, literature refers and is referred to by things outside itself’ (Ross Murfin 239,240). Giving that the New Historicists look at representation as a product and as the means of propagating the cultures of the prevailing ideologies and power relations, we were able to evaluate the varying forms of representations and hegemony and how the authors tactfully expressed the socio-economic, political and cultural realities of representation and hegemony. The notion of the authors biography and bibliography were of great vitality to this work as they enabled us to examined the playwrights as a products of a particular society and history and how they succeed in conveying the problems plaguing the postcolonial societies and the suggested methods through which the colonized-colonizers and the inferior- superior can live, redress and redefine their hegemonic power structure in the societies.

On the other hand, Postcolonial theory which deals with people who colonialism is their only history was vital to our study in showcasing the unbalanced relationship that existed between the colonizers and the colonized in areas such as politics and socio-economic. It enable us to bring to light, the demise, the contestation of colonial hegemony and its legacies such as the geographical displacement of people and the history of anti-colonialism. This theory helped the researcher show how a text

reinforces or resists colonial and neo colonial oppressive ideologies. Under the umbrella of Postcolonial theory, we explained how and why power structures that exist in the world today are representations of peoples and events that occurred across cultural boundaries rather than within them. Here, focus was on the unspoken and the unrepresented past that hunts the present.

The above frameworks enabled us validate the hypothesis that the realistic experiences lived and witnessed during the colonial and post-colonial eras represented in the texts of Tess Osonye's *What Mama Said* and Derek Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain* portrayed through the socio-cultural, political, economic, educational and religious rape are still much more in action in the postmodern era. Through this, we affirm the fact that the notion of representation and hegemony is real in post-independence Nigerian and Caribbean societies and not a mere misrepresentation of history as Memory.

We have also arrived at the assumption that the actual treasure lost be it during colonialism, neocolonialism or post-colonialism were not our natural resources nor our beloved families but our inability to think and to dream big. As a response to the research question of how and what does the unrepresented or the colonized needs so as to join the modern circle of representation and hegemony? We supposed that we get up from slumber and begin to think beyond our immediate surroundings. This done, we will realize that the actual change of a people lies first of all in changing their mind-sets before looking for the representational abilities. If we change our eye glasses, we will change our view, the viewed and the viewer. This done, the passage to the hall of power and dominion will be our portion.

With this, we supposed that we can't right wrongs by pointing fingers but by accepting our fault. It's in our interest to learn to put aside our grudges, hypocrisy, egoism and self-defeat. It's high time we stopped justifying our wrongs and throwing our setbacks on colonialism and colonizers to recognizing and accepting our errors so as to make a better tomorrow; for if we continue justifying our wrongs we will always have a repetition of past issues in our lives. To be hegemonic represented, we need to show signs of maturity by forgiving ourselves and others and apply negotiation and acceptance in our quest for hegemonic representation. We go to the temple not only to put flowers upon the feet of god but also to make our present felt. It will be of vehement importance that as a concretization to our hegemonic representation; we fill our houses, societies with the fragrance of transparency and inclusiveness.

With this, we posit on the hypothesis that leadership in post-colonial nations is not by meritocracy but rather by scratch my back and I scratch your back; thus a barrier to our representation and hegemony. As to the research question of how and what does the unrepresented, the colonized needs to join the modern circle of hegemonic representation, we hypothesized that for the subalterns to be identified, their economic, cultural and educational hegemony be restructure while their political hegemony be vehemently rooted on the rule of the law, inclusiveness, accountability and transparency. For the colonized to get power and be represented, they need a strong leader and not a strong constitution. The post-colonial nations need strong men with projected visions and a positive mind-set to handle the legislative, judiciary and the executive activities of the state for a better sustainable development. The youths, keys to the future so should be trained to take the banner off the hands of the adults.

This work is just a grain of maize in an ocean in regards to what the texts understudy have to offer. They have both amazing themes and topics to enrich literature as well as varying ways through which man and the society can shape and be shaped by literature. Thus, it offers room for more research to be carried out.

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