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Materials in Neo-Colonial Africa
Case Study: Petals of Blood by Ngugi Wa
Thiong'o

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
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Abstract

The present dissertation entitled *Materials in Neo-colonial Africa. Case Study: Petals of Blood by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o* aims to explore the ways Africa is first of all ideologically and culturally impacted by neo-colonial Imperialism. We attempt to demonstrate the Capitalist cultural chains that make sure to drag away Africans from their local way of being. More importantly, our discussion is about the ways they are represented in Ngugi's novel *Petals of Blood* from a Materialistic perspective, and precisely, based on the Cultural Materialism of Both Marvin Harris and Raymond Williams.

Keywords: *Petals of Blood*, Neo-colonialism, Cultural Materialism, Postcolonialism, Culture, Africa, Ideology, Behaviour.

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Dedication

We praise to the skies God almighty for making us first of all question our existence, then giving us the necessary patience, acquaintance, and strength to accomplish this humble research.

It is indeed a work that we dedicate equally to our parents, families, friends, teachers, and fellows, but more for every African individual that we hopefully wish to eventually discover what we already know; the false independence of his life and the importance of what he calls the old fashioned Culture. More importantly, it is dedicated with all respect to readers who will not blindly consume the set of paragraphs of this work like the western culture is being consumed in Africa in particular. Instead, they will eagerly meditate and attempt to develop the thesis adespote any potential differences in views. We are not conducting this research uniquely in a way of a final dissertation to obtain a diploma, neither as insignificant paper to end up filed in the archives.

But, we tackle a topic highly related to the context we are concerned with. Therefore, the dissertation serves as a dedication to Africans and non-Africans, who have struggled via their papers and researches to settle a true reformulation of the African issues, and so upgrade the African welfare away from any kind of dependency. At the end, we cannot but pray for a better future for our country, our continent and the rest of the world.

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General Introduction

Apart from the formalist view, literature is more or less considered as a recorder of history, from the way it teaches the past, the present and it predicts the future as a sort of a mirror and a lamp of the societies it emerges from. In linking literature to history, we should equally regard it as an organic part of any historic flow; the first made by the second and *vice versa*. But, by adhering to that view, the principal issue coming in front of us are the different phases of history that literature, as a product, must confine to. Subsequently, the neutrality of literary works needs to be revised.

The colonial period of history is marked by a reputed literature in the image of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, E.M Foster's *A Passage to India* or Rudyard Kipling's *The White's Man Burden*, which, despite their diverse literary styles, they have contributed to purify the colonial cause and so obliterate the voice of the colonized. Colonial literature served for centuries as a platform to spread and indigenize the western culture. Yet, with the blow up of nationalism in the colonies, a counter-literature emerged to thwart the colonial prejudices, and give voice for the oppressed. Postcolonial literature appeared mainly in areas that were formerly colonized to re-assert the identity of the indigenous people, and describe the postcolonial society resulting from centuries of colonial order. Furthermore, to better deconstruct that kind of literatures, a postcolonial theory or criticism was highly recommended. It embarks on a study of the colonizer-colonized Power dynamics described by several literary works in relation to colonialism, slavery, racism, hegemony, revolution and gender... But, what makes the weakness of postcolonial studies is the lack of a particular approach or a well organized methodology relating the delay of former colonies to one source fully responsible to even generate colonialism and neo-colonialism later on.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *Petals of Blood* is one of the African postcolonial literary works that sheds light on the devastating state of Africans after the departure of their colonizers. Using the sample of Kenya, Ngugi is among the rare writers to depict what became of Africa during the independence, which means during the neo-colonial phase. His novel is the centre of many studies but upon the bulk of reviews about it, we found that it is approached from several unclear approaches; putting each element in isolation. Moreover, they seem to provide less arbitrary explications on the causes of events, rather than colonialism and neo-colonialism at least. Simon Gikandi in *Ngugi Wa Thiong'o* asserts that *Petals of Blood* deals with an unequal economic order (129) and that the communal system is submerged by the industrial capitalism (145), but his claims are illustrated through a casual cause-consequence point of view as pictured in the novel, rather than on the ground of an organic relationship of elements contributing all to subvert the native way of being. Furthermore, Gikandi says that "[...] the peasants' impoverishment in both the colonial and postcolonial economy could come to be represented in terms of the drought and the images of death associated with it." (135) But this is more a theoretical language, which means that Gikandi focuses more on the use of a linguistic representation of the represented to generate meanings rather than the represented himself. Patrick Williams in turn describes the work as "a novel about cultural, political and personal change" (79), before getting into enumerating the changes that the characters are going through the entire novel. However, the problem with his criticism is the lack of an appropriate approach perfectly linked to the real problem of Kenya to well transmit the nature of the change taking place.

Among the ones who attempted to understand the mysteries of the neo-colonial order through the novel, Felicia Annin in "Love and Money: Erotic Materialism in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's *Petals Of Blood*" starts from a Materialistic perspective to deconstruct how Materials in the image of money play a major role in determining the lives of characters in

Petals of Blood. Annin strongly relates neo-colonialism to capitalism, but capitalism is uniquely related to money. As a matter of fact, Annin's paper is completed while leaning on a narrower sense of materialism, which is presented by the attraction towards money. Therefore, less has been said about culture on which capitalism is based. Yet, we totally agree with Annin's conclusion where she affirms that "Ngugi wrote about materialism in diverse forms [...]" (20), her last words motivated us to explore the diverse aspects of the existence of materialism in *Petals of Blood*. Furthermore, the review of literature on the novel reveals the existence of unresolved mysteries about capitalism and neo-colonialism in the novel, and their significance to the African reality. The two are maintained through several strategies plus money, thus discussing their impact in the novel requires borrowing from multiple disciplines in addition to economics. This advocates in turn a detailed covering of the concept of materialism. Also, it is hinted through the novel *Petals of Blood* that the capital mode is a primordial concept in the neo-colonial order that eventually generates a set of social, cultural and political inequalities, but this mode tends to be examined from a point of view, that with different degrees excludes culture from its discussion. Consequently, we took the decision to examine those inequalities through a materialistic approach while covering its aspects. As a matter of fact, our contribution aims to examine from a materialistic approach and perspective the economic, social and political conditions of Africa that are ascribed to culture under the Neo-colonial order as represented in Ngugi's *Petals of Blood*. We also attempt to assert the mysteries of the tricky independence Africans are celebrating while testing the importance of committed political literature to transmit the unjustness of neo-colonialism. In addition to this, our final aim consists in explaining the function of the "White Culture" in terms of materials to oppress and enslave Africans. The fixed aims do necessarily determine our thesis as the one that will investigate how Materialism (in its broader sense) foregoes idealism in the African dependency to the west through investigating the novel in question. In order to successfully

achieve the purpose of our research, we will highlight which features of the new colonial order Ngugi provides for his readers, before trying to examine his plot in *Petals of Blood* on the ground of Harris and Williams' Cultural Materialism as conveyed respectively in their books *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, *A History of Theories of Culture* as well as *Culture and Society*. To illustrate our claims, we will also borrow from other artistic works and disciplines.

In the second place, this present research will rely on articles by African and non-African writers and books related to the matter of our research in order to support what our primary resources are about. Structurally speaking, the dissertation clarifies in the first chapter the concept of neo-colonialism. The second chapter discusses what culture is while dealing with all the elements it covers, before moving in the third chapter to examine to which extent Ngugi depicts the idea of Africans being culturally and materialistically subverted. As any research, ours concludes with a conclusion summarizing what has been done and the results being achieved.

Chapter One: Neo-Colonialism, the New Order

Introduction

With the beginning of the age of enlightenment, the divinely guided words of kings failed to sustain and concretize the notions of liberty and equality, more precisely in the west, where the crown was believed to derive its power from God, and therefore the people were in extreme subjection to their kings with no right to oppose, to discuss or have any liberty to react against the power that lay upon them. According to John Stuart Mill, the Patriots or what may be called as liberalists as dictated by their aim reacted and succeeded eventually to set limits to those abusing governing systems of Kings (6). However, those who wanted to liberate themselves were drowned into their feeling of being the most noble and civilized among multiple races. Meanwhile, the noisy machines were kept rolling all over the West and the greed for more resources was creating a huge challenge within the Liberal industrial society.

As early as the 1800s those two main motives urged the sailing of many western ships to the shores of Africa, the new promising lands, and after the establishment of colonial administrations there, a fresh imperial system was imposed, but did not manage to take Africa out of the presumed “Darkness”. It became even much darker instead in a way that the direct contact was never beneficial for the black continent as stated by Walter Rodney in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* “As is well known, Africa has had prolonged and extensive contact with Europe, and one has to bear in mind that contact between different societies changes their respective rates of development.” (52)

From the moment that Frantz Fanon in his *The Wretched of the Earth* teaches that a violent maintaining of the inhumane colonialist policy in order to deplete the capitals of the occupied land generates automatically a more violent reaction by the colonized, Africans

eventually fired back for salvation. Therefore, gaining independence was the aim of all their determined armed and unarmed high voices that hurled from all the nooks of the colonies. For one reason, the foreign military presence seemed to remind all Africans of their sufferings, subjugation, and oppression. By the 1950s, everything was starting to crumble on the colonist's side, including their old-fashioned imperial system, conveying as well the high-time for their departure. However, they were eagerly making sure to plant the ground they roamed before with new seeds, new nuts, and new colonialism. Jean-Paul Sartre named this process "Reformist Mystification" (19).

1. Overview

1.1 Reformist Mystification

The sounds of guns and bombs were and are mostly believed to be the only evidence of establishing any colonial order, for they are generally seen, heard, felt and can never blend in. As time passes, great scholars and intellectuals stepped aside from such statement; in fact, a bomb or a gun is whatever causes destruction and annihilation within the spot they are planted. Out of this, Sartre hints to a new form of occupation, which seats on the myth of the "good master" (Cone 15), and whose blood shedding weapons were substituted for a more strategic and economic-based system. The writer clearly puts a focus on the prevailing feudal system that was publicized to promote the natives' benefits while their crops in fact were sacrificed to Europe's shipyards. Sartre continues by referring to the paradoxical tricky manners the colonialists were adopting in order to seem as noble and native as possible for the colonized. They have fostered the idea of a common mixed nation that must be united under national causes; side by side, the natives and colonists working for one purpose. Ironically opposing that idea, Sartre cannot follow this new paradigm for the one and only motive that a colonialist will remain a colonialist as long as his strategies were uniquely serving the

“individualistic and liberal legal code”. Therefore, Africans like Algerians for instance were simply victims of a “Reformist Mystification” or neo-colonialism.

1.2 Aspects of Existence of Neo-Colonialism

In the preface of *The Wretched of The Earth* that came across multiple liberation movements in the colonized territories, Sartre moves into a more wider and higher focus than the one aforementioned through getting into endorsing Fanon’s arguments on the necessity of violence escorting revolution as the only way out from the colonial yokes and massacres, that looked outdated for both sides (colonized and colonizer). Meanwhile, the mother country anticipated the dawn of a potential new day when the Subalterns would get back what is theirs and regain authority upon the African throne. However, Sartre affirms that this shaky armed reaction was melting down after hot sun beams, as illustrated through this quote “Here the movement gets off to a bad start, there, after resounding success, it loses momentum; elsewhere it has stopped: if people want it to resume, the peasants must drive their bourgeoisie into the sea.” (11)

That is to say, Sartre predicates “a policy of pacification” (Sartre 21) by the mother country, which substituted its colonial system with another fresh one through what he and Fanon calls the “National Bourgeoisie” (*Wretched*, 150). In fact, all along his preface, he embarks on sealing Fanon’s arguments on a deceptive attainment of full freedom or the tricky independence by mainly warning against the colonizer’s pawns which came forward by opposing the peasants not much in a lesser way than the colonial “western bourgeoisie” (*Wretched*, 152). The issue with those pawns or “national bourgeoisie”, for both Sartre and Fanon, resides in the fact of being under the domination of former colonizers in a way to represent a serious holdback in the process of decolonization. This is for them nothing more than another trivial strategy to fire back in a way to fool the consciousness of the

revolutionary class, but to -never kill them again, yet to enslave them. For the aim was no more colonial eradication but extreme tricky neo-colonial exploitation.

Thus, Sartre affirms that the third world in general including Africa is required to fight against itself by means of getting rid of this bourgeoisie in order to finally resume the liberation movements or to complete decolonization (11).

1.3 Colonialism working for Neo-colonialism

For further explanation, in his writing “The Political Thought of Patrice Lumumba” collected in *Colonialism and Neo-colonialism*, Sartre commits himself to explore the relation between the native agents benefiting from colonialism and the chaos in former colonies after the theatrical departure of colonialists. He successfully brings out of many illustrations to support his arguments the situation of the Belgian-Congo after the independence, which was actually well described as a land in in-between a conflict and opposition revolving around two spheres. The first represents the peasants and characterized by the authenticity of their traditions and revolutionary minds but similarly missing a suitable organization, while the other of the bourgeoisie class is highly assimilated into the colonial way of living with no interest in the peasants’ perception of independence. To draw up more attention to other additional differences between the two classes, he equally leans on the example of the Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba who, as a native, spent most of his life within the agents recruited by Belgian colonialists. But at last, that division among the Congolese society should not have raised too many questions for it was a colonial invention with the intention of preparing the ground to substitute overworked structures of subjugation for more malignant ones from inside. Equally important, colonialism might be said to be working for neo-colonialism by preparing assimilated agents to function as executioners and maintainers of the reformed subordination exercised under the neo-colonialism.

Jean-Paul Sartre does not hesitate to expose explicitly what was being done behind the back of Africans in general, and the Congolese people more particularly through this quote while referring to the true motives pushing colonizers to seek change in colonial methods:

In fact, it was the economic crisis, the colonial recession which hit the mother country hard, coupled with the agitation of the proletarianized masses whose standard of living was deteriorating noticeably, along with the clumsiness of the Administration, that urged the Belgian Government to grant the Congo its independence so abruptly, or in other words, to swap – with the approval of the large companies – the colonial regime for neo-colonialism. (93)

A point to keep in mind is that the swap of colonialism for neo-colonialism Sartre exposes is uniquely possible while propelled by native internal spies of former colonizers. Therefore, the offered independence of Congo and so many other African states needs to be reviewed in a way to considerate their interest far from the actual subordination, exploitation and neo-colonialism.

2. The Neo-Political Dependence

Though truth is something people struggle for over centuries but the difficulty is when that truth turns out to be a lie publicized as a truth through a delusive rhetoric. In this context, as hinted before, the major issue starts from the ones responsible for preaching that disguised truth, the ones whose denunciation has been central to many intellectuals. In this sense, Sartre is not the only one to exemplify his analyses through the illustration of the

Congo. The most known and very first African figure to analyze the relation between the colonizer and the colonized was Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghanaian politician and philosopher. He warns throughout his books and speeches against the threats facing Africa by essentially deconstructing the approaches by which Africans have been tricked twice by the same oppressor and its ruling indigenous children. It is clearly obvious through the saying below that Nkrumah does not lose too much time in order to show his misbelieve of and to depreciate the presented independence for Africans:

A colonialist country can in fact offer independence to a people, not with the intention which such an act might be thought to imply, but in the hope that the positive and progressive forces thus appeased and quietened, the people might be exploited with greater serenity and comfort.
(*Consciencism* 102)

Nkrumah from the very beginning of his book *Consciencism, Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* draws the attention of his readers like Sartre, to the fact that the new independent African states were left divided between two classes with different ideologies, which explains their miss of not only development but of organisation too. Indeed, the best explanation as to why Africa is still stuck under the colonial demolishing heritage is the fact of those masses being ruled by governors whose power and influence were derived from the west but never from their people (xv). That is why the situation, decades later, is getting worse and worse, and the African problem looks stiffer and irresolvable due to a group of pawns who make neo-colonialism more complicated and more dangerous than colonialism itself. In *Revolutionary Path*, Nkrumah goes further providing some details on the secession

crisis that emerged in the Congo after the independence, as to support his ideas on the matter of neo-Colonialism. He asserts that the situation erupted due to directed policies from outside, and some traitorous moves exercised thanks to figures such as Moïse Tshombé that formed the indigenous bourgeoisie of the newly independent Congo (146).

What is distinguishable so far is that neo-colonialism being a product of the former colonial forces, was put into practice through the indigenous Elites, who were already recruited and prepared to achieve its fulfilment. In this way, the corruption surrounding post-colonial African governments highly exposes their western-oriented policy; a policy which perpetuates subordination towards former oppressors and restrains class consciousness of the people at the same time. In order to go out of this, political figures for Nkrumah must be the first to embody true qualities to work in the service of their nation, nothing but their nation while attempting to speed up its development. In other words, by getting the right persons in the right positions, he promotes the role of the peasants or the “Mass Party” in effectively setting up the columns of their countries while spurning the bourgeoisies’ ideology. In actual fact, it does not take too much to realize that Nkrumah marks the political actions of his homeland Ghana and other African nations as the first evidence on the presence of a neo-colonial exploitation of the former colonies, but also as the first primordial field where change needs to take place. Thus, political independence is obviously indispensable to regain African complete sovereignty.

2.1 Components of Neo-Colonialism

2.1.1 Mined Aids

It is a matter of fact that Nkrumah does not examine the political relation of the colonizer and the colonized in isolation from the economic one. He subsequently emphasizes the tight subordination of economic emancipation to political actions, while, bearing in mind

that the new independent nations -ruled from outside- would never manage by no means to achieve full or credible economic welfare as long as their political dependence was maintained. However, economy or the inexhaustible African richness around which the western greed and struggle are curled up remains according to Nkrumah at the origin of both their colonial and neo-colonial campaigns. The whole, joined as well with their critical egoistic obsession of holding back any sign of development within the black continent to simultaneously assuring their own fortune. This powerful claim can in fact be noticed as the main founding principle of Nkrumah's theory in which he believes that "economics are at the roots of other types of Imperialism." (*Towards* 1)

If the colonial system was globally publicized as a good campaign to take Africa out of darkness on the ground of the three mainstays i.e. commerce, civilization and Christianity, then aids function and float in the same manner within the neo-colonial argument, by the blessings of the mutant generation (indigenous bourgeoisie). That is to say that, when attempting to embark on looking up for features of existence of the neo-colonial system in Africa additionally to the same bourgeoisie, Nkrumah provides explicitly many examples on how such process is maintained and continues to gnaw the African resources but not for the benefit of the natives. Thus, the received aids are among the tangible proofs that justify the calamitous situation of Africa. This extract from *Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* shows that he, who was a former president of Ghana urges all Africans to stand against neo- Colonialism by paying close attention to the help they got from outside, among many other ways of resistance. "Aid...to a neo-colonial state is merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increase profits." (xv)

Based on the quote above, Africans are warned consequently against celebrating any support issued by former oppressors, whose fantasy and desire is only of making Africa as

subordinate as possible through the same aids they claim to be bearing their eagerness of salvation and repentance. Thus, they only stand for the devil whose ritual tends to show the truth for an illusion and the illusion for a truth. In essence, that nothing is left to be expected as long as nothing is sacrificed. Thus, Nkrumah follows up his argumentation on the matter by reminding the ones picking up those odd questionable supports of the western veiled greed for much than what is offered. A mystery resolved by him, he who believes that “it is unreasonable to suppose that any foreign power, affluent enough to give aid to an African state, would not expect some measures of consideration of favour from the state receiving the aid” (Ctd. in Wallerstein 519).

Then, in *Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, Nkrumah moves forward to point out the outcomes of western-centric aids for their former colonies, which proved to be no beneficial at all and equally hinders any development of those colonies. They highly contribute to their economic stagnation and internal conflicts. Just like any previous attempts to justify every move by the colonizer, the western military interventions to solve what it had already provoked sounds to be the effective approach to make perfect neo-colonialism. This comes eventually as another main point of focus by Nkrumah, who confirms military aid in the form of a mass exodus of foreign troops towards multiple military bases that are already established in the former colonies, or military invasions to substitute a falling local neo-colonialist government for another (xiv), as not only the “Last stage of neo-colonialism” (xvi) but equally as the kind of demeanours that violates the sovereignty of nations, and prevents independency.

Moreover, the understanding of “Aid” seems to be quite contradictory in the colonized- colonizer relationship. One of the most notable strategies undertaken by former colonizers, to not say “current neo-colonizers”, is the search for a right formula that simultaneously would publicize their theatrical eagerness to expiate, and maintain the

plundering of resources. For Nkrumah who implicitly taunts at the way Africans are misled again, he is keen to draw the readers' attention towards what an authentic aid should look like, in a way to establish a truth by which the mischievous attention of the neo-colonial master is exposed and explained. He writes "Real aid is something quite different; it consists of direct gifts or loans that are given on favourable terms and without strings attached." (*Africa* 102)

To exemplify the idea above, he examines what he explains as a support originating from global organisations, which according to him are backed by the foreign capital. Those organisations as the International Finance Corporation tend to perpetuate the subordination of the ones receiving those aids by mainly imposing serious conditions under the West's terms. Moreover, through his critics of the World Bank for instance in the fourth chapter "Monopoly Capitalism and the American Dollar" or in chapter eighteen "The Mechanisms of Neo-Colonialism" he sheds the light on how the neo-colonial order is again strengthened and well fed to maintain itself as a new global system, once the agreement is eventually sealed and the conditions completed. (*Neo-colonialism* 241)

2.1.2 Reformed Capitalism and Neo-Colonialism

As the world had witnessed throughout times great advancement in both the industrial and technological fields, Africans being under the colonial authority, did not know any of that. They suffered from the colonial feudal chains, through mainly concentrating their agricultural labour to feed particularly or uniquely the west. However, a time has come when the feudal mechanism was being substituted for another "Gentlemen's method of slavery" that enlightens the path for Neo-colonialism to set more deeply its roots on the African lands. (*Consciencism*, Nkrumah 72)

Capitalism erects the individual economic welfare rather than the communal one as the only pillar to lay down a functional productive system, which makes the appeal for a huge

absorbing market. On the other hand, it insists on dividing the society into classes, consisted of the ones owning the means of production and the masses who are being at their services. Out of this, Karl Marx and Engels who go back in history in their *The Communist Manifesto* to examine the relation between the classes, hints through their criticism of the Capital framework to a process which will widen the gap between the “haves” and the “have nots”. (Ctd. in *Neo-colonialism*, Nkrumah 255) Yet, according to him, a revolution as a consequence of the exploitation incurring the lives of the “Proletariat” by the Capitalist is a fate that cannot be missed.

Since Nkrumah joins Marx in defining capitalism as consisting of a huge obstacle to development for the ones being exploited, and after highlighting it as being another strategy that gets the back of neo-colonialism. He does not miss the chance to analyze its mechanism on the ground of colonized-colonizer situation within the context of a veiled hegemony on the former colonies, which allowed him to endorse his belief in the reformation that capitalism in the west has gone through after many crises, ups and downs. Thus, according to him early capitalism moulted its skin by changing some of its core basics while turning into a state-regulated system as to soften the conflict between the rich and the poor, while at once promoting the conditions of the Western working class; in other words, the classes came into a compromise (*Neo-colonialism*, 255). Only, Nkrumah was quite disappointed by the fact that former colonies including Africa were excluded from this process.

Starting from this, Nkrumah’s views on the poor-rich struggle are also pretty unusual despite the fact of being based on a Marxist perspective. He, in the first place, pays close attention to analyze the African context under the capital structure, before aiming to find out the right formula for the application of a well fitting Marxism; an antithesis of capitalism that would conform to a certain condition of his homeland Ghana as well as all African nations. Significantly, all along *Neo-colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism* he does not refer to the

traditional conflict of the industry workman against his industrialist boss, but he switches it to another level. It is now defined in terms of a global conflict between the mother countries and the new ones. The matter Nkrumah is speaking about is exemplified by him in the western control of the world market (241) as well as of their former colonies' economy, which eventually created a western economic dependence within their territories. That is to say that the oppression is no more conducted on one class; rather it is applied on a whole nation, on a whole continent by other nations. The international feature of the conflict as the core of a reformed Capitalism, and as a main idea in Nkrumah's theory of renewed colonialism, is clearly transmitted via the first lines of his book *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. As the one where he notes that "This conflict between the rich and poor has now been transferred on to the international scene." (xvii)

As a consequence under this imperialist exploitation, another contemporary threat facing Africa is the process of its impoverishment while enriching another side (6). The African contribution to economy is being directed to the role of raw materials provider and a generator of high earnings for the west, as a result of their excessive importation of finished products. Out of this, Africa cannot by no means get at any economic progress neither to suppress its subordination to former colonizers. The Ghanaian influential revolutionary asserts that African resources cannot work for the welfare of Africans, as long as their control lies in the hand of others rather than Africans themselves, a claim that he better explains by this extract:

Africa has failed to make much headway on the road to purposeful industrial development because her natural resources have not been employed for that end but have been used for the greater development of the Western world. This has been a continuing process that has gained tremendous momentum in recent years, following the invention and

introduction of new processes and techniques that have quickened the output of both the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries of Europe and America in order to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand for finished goods. (*Neo-colonialism* 84)

Africa being extravagantly affluent in resources, while the poverty rate of its population cannot cease to increase in a way to enrich westerners, is among the paradoxes Nkrumah is interested in. And paradoxes, for him, will never achieve any positive conclusion. Consequently, he points out that this blend of economic cultures is decreasing the African potentials. In essence, capitalism is an intruder to the developing countries' context, a very tricky system to be adopted by the newly independent African nations, and the drop that helps distorting the African right notions of development and economic welfare. To him, "Africa has failed to make much headway on the road to purposeful industrial development [...]" (84)

In fact, Africa will never get out of the neo-colonial trap, or to attain pure independence, and equally manage to cease the fall of its nations as long as its economic organization is strongly tied to the one from the other side of the ocean. In practice, Nkrumah relies as an example on the limitation of economic importation that the French former colonies go through, which emphasized another strategy of the neo-colonial order through restricting a high rate of imports to the Franc zone (18). Indeed, the same operation was and is still taking place within many other African and non-African nations under the sponsorship of their former colonizers.

So far, the central mainstay of the neo-colonialist masters 'attitude is economic greed. Through enumerating a set of strategies, Nkrumah tries to explain how they

successfully managed to create the appropriate atmosphere to make the lower hand a blind consumer rather than a rational active producer. In this sense, from the beginning of his analyses as seen previously, he strongly highlighted the role of the “national bourgeoisie” in conducting numerous functions directed by the western upper hand to shape the minds of newly independent people, especially in the economic sphere. Yet, and in order for the monopolies’ strategies of subordination of African economy to blend in, they relied additionally on multiple methods, in which international organizations for instance are involved such as the International Finance Corporation

2.1.3 The Neo-Cultural Investment

While division is the wisdom for a better ruling and supervision, sometimes or in the case of neo-colonialism, uniting for better nourishing the West is the authentic description of the policies issued from the developed world to firm control on the third world. As a response against the nationalist ideology which took over the African minds in the twentieth century, it became a necessity for colonizers to make independence look as reliable and trustworthy for the colonized. This dilemma requires on the other hand the introduction of new setups of intuitions, intentional indoctrinated behaviour and events that would occur within economic and political practices, thereby, giving birth to a new form of existing and thinking, or in one word Culture. Nkrumah views the distortion of the African native culture as the first measure to put down their subjugation, and similarly as the one that should not accompany Africans in the process of serious decolonization. In other words, no future might exist for Africans as long as their culture is undermined. In this essence, Nkrumah notes that “Though the aim of the neo-colonialist is economic domination, they don’t confine their operations to the economic sphere. They use the old colonialist methods of religious, educational and cultural infiltration.” (*Neo-colonialism* 35)

Based on this, culture cannot be excluded from the targeted pillars of maintaining and even creating a given economic system; it interprets the thinking gained mainly thanks and as a reaction to a specific educational system. It can equally serve like a distraction from seeing what is primordial or to alter the real perception of concepts. In the case of neo-colonial Africa, Nkrumah does not neglect the role of the “homogenization” process that started from merely 1884, but attained its peak recently with the emergence of the neo-colonial order. For him, education that eventually gives birth to culture is employed with the consent of the “indigenous bourgeoisie” in a way to deter the ones being under the out-of-context teachings; Africans in this case, from questioning their economic fall as well as the foreign interference in their local affairs. In addition to make them contribute to the existing global system by generally inciting the young ones against their countries. Obviously, on the ground of what is said so far and the quote below, political independence is a condition to decolonization even when the discussion revolves around culture. On this, Nkrumah states that:

[...] they have little interest in developing education, strengthening the bargaining power of their workers employed by expatriate firms, or indeed of taking any step which would challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry, which it is the object of neo-colonialism to preserve. (*Neo-colonialism* xv)

Under these circumstances of creating a new generation infused with a unique similar ideology and with a view to avoid “the greatest danger at present facing Africa [...]” as he wrote in *Africa Must Unite*, the first president of independent Ghana hints to an African-

oriented educational system that should boost the welfare of Africans and prepare them for the contemporary challenges facing their continent as the key to liberation and development.

(44)

On the other side, in order to avert any awakening of the African indigenous way of life, which goes against the neo-colonialists' endeavours of moulding it, the masses are put under the weight of foreign demolishing policies that are infused in the daily life of the African individual. Consequently, a hybrid counter culture is flourished, which does not in any case promote the good of Africans, in contrast to the west's interest in African resources. Via this observation, it is as if Nkrumah suggests getting into new social and cultural investigations in order to bring back their Native culture, as well as to establish a strong immunizing system which would serve the mother culture rather than the culture of the cash-crop that originated from the foreign policies. The cultural predatory invasions as he called them are described as follows:

This new wave of predatory invasion of former colonies operated behind the international character of the agencies employed: financial and industrial consortia, assistance organisations, financial aid bodies, and the like. Friendly co-operation is offered in the educational, cultural and social domains aimed at subverting the desirable patterns of indigenous progress to the imperialist objectives of the financial monopolists. (50)

Propaganda is then a medium that gnaws the African minds while inserting a western exclusive formula, and subsequently annihilates any sort of a national spirit. In other words, for Nkrumah, it is a tool to deconstruct a local culture while constructing another one, as called by Fanon "The White Culture" (212).

Media that generate those propagandas are stressed. Nkrumah does not neglect the major role that the latter could play in deepening the injustice of the world under its Neo-colonial order. The same countries that Nkrumah accuses of depleting the resources of their former colonies through a process of both demystification then a mystification of the national Culture are accused of monopolizing and controlling the flow of information in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the American case, the mission is assigned to the United States Information Agency (USIA). In his own words Nkrumah believes that “the USIA actively tries to prevent expansion of national media of information so as itself to capture the market-place of ideas.” (*Neo-colonialism* 250)

For Nkrumah, the USIA as an example out of many, functions the same way as other information media that he calls The “Parasitic Jobs” (44), which consist of radio, television, newspapers... They all share the task of making profit for the countries they are broadcast from, after transforming the societies within the developing countries where they are broadcast in into consuming ones. Moreover, he points that the press “attends to choose what it calls news” (246). In essence, the concepts of neutrality and credibility are quite absent among the n-colonialist masters.

It is quite clear from his sayings, that Nkrumah denotes all means to have been put into practice to deplete Africa, and maintain it as the cake that all westerners should have a slice of. To keep it as subordinate as possible, the distortion of culture as another component of Neo-colonial order seems to even originate from what is supposed to entertain without functioning behind the curtain. Cinema, for Nkrumah that is mainly monopolized by Hollywood is systemized as such in order to participate in the manipulation of multiple ethnicities. The films coming out from this business, he says are racially oriented and destructive. Similarly, the home for an ideology that creates a sort of inferiority among the natives of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as it hinders true decolonization of those people.

His critics about Hollywood is primordially for being the source of anti-socialist ideas, and racial prejudices against any potential adherent of the anti-capitalist ideas, as illustrated by this extract:

And along with murder and the Wild West goes an incessant of anti-socialist propaganda, in which the trade union man, the revolutionary, or the man of dark skin is generally cast as the villain, while the policeman, the gun-shoe, the Federal agent-in a word, the CIA-type spy-is ever the hero. Here, is the ideological under-belly of those political murders which often use local people as their instruments. (246)

In other simple words, Nkrumah explains the sufferings of the African natives as a consequence of a western greed for the African resources. In order to be able to plunder what is reserved for Africans themselves, multiple economic-oriented cultural strategies from the west are applied through the blessing of the “native bourgeoisie”.

Conclusion

Throughout this first chapter, the attention is paid to a whole new concept that is described as the next level of colonialism or the last Stage of imperialism, and similarly under which the state of multiple former colonies might be analyzed, especially in the African continent; the one which brought into existence a fresh kind of hidden and overt sufferings even during the colonial period. From the very beginning, the light is shed on a fact that Sartre highlights as the start line of a “reformist mystification”, which mainly stays on an economic basis, and whose main purpose is to exploit the colonized in a quite different manner while tricking them under the pretext of founding a common equal nation. However, the latter

seemed to lack the necessary foundation to last, consequently armed revolution sparked in many colonial territories, which therefore created the need of “the national bourgeoisie” as a real holdback for decolonization and a substitute for the colonial administration. Next, the focus is directed towards another quite known African figure, equally the first president of Ghana who not only joins Sartre in his views on “the native bourgeoisie”, but also examines in details the different strategies as well as the components of a process that created independent states in name, but dependent in reality (Nkrumah 174). The discussion revolved after that around what is considered as the voices that the new order is speaking through such as capitalism, economic and military aids, education as well as the media.

In general, the whole chapter deals with an issue that is essential for leaders of Pan-Africanism such as Kwame Nkrumah. neo-colonialism, as seen, describes highly the contemporary control of the ex-colonies; mainly in Africa, by their former colonizers. This new order constitutes of political part joined with an economic one that are embarked on by employing new instruments of indirect rule and subordination, which consequently requires forging a new culture while killing another. The matter of new colonialism that we believe is necessary to our research is tackled within this first section of the work, to facilitate the understanding of the cultural system imposed on Africa.

Chapter Two: Towards Studying Culture

Introduction

It is for sure that behaviour evolves and changes within societies through time and place, a fact that cannot be denied, particularly when joined with illustrations as the one discussed in the first chapter. Before the introduction of neo-colonialism, its initiators planned to instil the most appropriate counter-behaviour to resolve any threat coming from the former indigenous behaviour. One of the tasks that this research is about is to tackle and examine the state of being of individuals in relation to the shift in their behaviour, mainly when exposed to a foreign culture, which is generated in our case by both Colonialism and neo-colonialism. But before, a remark must be highlighted here on the mutual relationship co-existing between behaviour and culture; in a way that the former might introduce a cultural value as much as culture might produce behaviour.

However, to be able to deconstruct the cultural presence within different communities, a contemporary field of study is needed to successfully accomplish the mission of answering the how and the why a certain occurring event, phenomenon, activity, or behaviour are forged and motivated through individuals adhering to the same cultural affiliation. Indeed, cultural Studies is the most appropriate approach in order to effectively achieve the goals of this research, in which Neo-Colonialism is struggled to be explained in terms of culture.

1. The Study of Culture

1.1 Exploring the Concept “Culture”

Before getting into paying a closer attention to the role of culture and its mutations, the concept requires to be explained and brought into a state of understanding which would probably cluster and put into an agreement all the competing claimants over its true definition. Indeed, the great minds struggled over centuries to provide a concise introduction to the

concept. Therefore, by setting the term as well as the concept “culture” under the scope of study through bringing forward some of its definitions, is to provide multiple but different perceptions around the same matter. Actually, it is suggested earlier that “Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.” (Williams 49)

The quote above supports the idea of the existence of few powerful terms whose meaning is effortlessly tough to figure out. One of these as hinted so far is culture that comes in front. The understanding of the latter raises many hot debates that come across some similar points, but equally differ in others. In fact, its definition changes from person to another, and might be noticed as a context-dependent concept. This renders it a crucial matter that evolves throughout different contributions from well-known and less famous intellectuals.

In the first place, reputed dictionaries attempted to define the word “culture” and put it as simple as possible in few words. Lexico identifies culture as “The arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievements regarded collectively”. The attention here cannot but be paid to how two terms are highlighted. “Manifestation”, on one hand, stands for any product originating from humans; on the other hand, this definition through the word “collectively” seems to associate culture with a group of individuals that share common thoughts, experiences, ideas, ideals, traditions, and customs.

Far from dictionaries, many intellectuals as mentioned before devoted many works and analyses to offer an authentic meaning of culture. One of these is Edward Burnett Taylor, who in his paper *Primitive Culture*, sees particularly in chapter one entitled “the Science of Culture”, that culture is “the uniformity which so largely pervades civilization [...]” (13). On the ground of the latter, for Taylor civilization encompasses culture in being “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and

habits acquired by man as a member of society.” (13) Taylor’s understanding of “Culture” tends to gather what is internal and external for humans, what is inside them and what exists outside.

In contrast to Taylor, T.S Eliot in his Book *Christianity and Culture, The Idea of a Christian Society and Notes toward the Definition of Culture* refrains from combining the two terms of culture and civilization. For, he was firm on the existence of a slight distinction separating these two. That eventually would create a maze for his readers, in which confusion will stand in front of retaining what Eliot teaches about Culture. He in fact from the first lines of his book tends to simplify and help in comprehending the word culture, as he opens his work saying that “my aim is to help to define a word, the word *culture*” (85). He moved up to put forward some of the features characterizing culture, through which his understanding of the latter might be summarized as the organic and unconscious system of being that is exclusively derived from religion, and which is shared within members of a peculiar society.

Another man of letters among the ones who were concerned with culture is Raymond Williams, whose book *Culture and Society* pictures the transformations that the comprehension of culture passed upon, and which he believed are enclosed within the consequence of changes in different societies. By first going back in time to the origin of the word “culture”, particularly in both French and English languages, he then moves forward to the change in roots that culture was undergoing due to the emergence of philosophical, economic and artistic movements, and the earlier usages of the word. Knowing that, culture according to Williams during the pre-industrial period was not at all treated and seen independently but only defining a process of human training (18). Yet, with the eruption of the industrial revolution around the nineteenth century, culture seemed to be dragged by the latter towards another phase of existing that is as a whole complex concept. In part one of his other paper entitled *The Long Revolution*, he provides what he called “the three general

categories in the definition of culture” (62). The first is under the name “ideal” that has to do with what is inside individuals. In other words, it deals with culture as “a state or process of human perfection.” (62) The second is called the “documentary” that treats culture as “the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded.” (62) On the ground of the second, culture refers to all the committed and expressive works, or heritage through which societies speak. A further definition is placed under the category of “social” that describes Culture as “a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour.” (62).

Williams reaches the conclusion that each category of the three needs to be involved with the other to manage analyzing culture. All the three erect culture as a way of being that includes all aspects related to humans’ life, involving art and history, materials and ideas. Yet, for others all the cognitive experiences and practised activities that a certain group or community went through are enclosed within the understanding of culture. Thereupon, Marvin Harris affirms that “Culture..... refers to the learned repertory of thoughts and actions exhibited by the members of social life” (47). In his description of culture, the term “learned” seems to draw the readers’ attention. But, for him societies maintain their existence due to the same repertory they bequeath to the coming generations. The word “learned” appears similarly in Margaret Maed and Rhoda Metraux’s understanding of “Culture”, which they uttered in their book *The Study of Culture at a Distance* as “the total shared, learned behavior of a society or a subgroup [...]” (22)

The advanced definitions do not necessarily suggest the existence of several kinds of culture, but simply different subjective insights through which this concept is seen and well analyzed. All above, in spite of being contested, do in fact widen its conception into diverse meaningful perspectives, in the same way they enhance the understanding of what “culture”

might refer to. As time passes, and the context changes, those points of view are called to form a quite large and flexible field of study, which equally adopts more than one methodology in targeting its objectives, this field is named Cultural Studies.

1.2 Cultural Studies, the Birth

There are so many tools that can be put into practice to transmit ideas, meanings and thoughts, all considered as well as ways to make conversation with others. Cultural Studies takes culture in itself as both a medium and a target of meanings and study. One of the most features of recent development in Cultural studies is the exploration of suitable methods of analyzing culture. However, uncountable raising questions emerged concerning it, which makes it as controversial as the subject it focuses on.

But, among the facts that seem to bring everybody into an agreement and that cannot be stifled, it is the origins of Cultural Studies. For sure, Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) and Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society* (1958) are seen to blow the starting whistle for its emergence. Those two were born and grew up into the British working-class during the post-world war II Britain that witnessed changes in the social, economic and political structure due to the arrival of new foreign ideologies such as the advanced capitalism. As a consequence, the working class seemed to have joined the club of the middle class, at the expense of wearily witnessing the devaluation of their traditional popular culture. Out of this, Williams and Hoggart that were joined by Stuart Hall and E.P Thompson as the early practitioners of the study of culture, gained an eager interest in how the divergent alien culture of the most powerful groups of societies dominated the people with the least power, and ends up creating a disruption among the new industrial working class. Furthermore, Cultural Studies advocates a keen interest in how cultural domination is practised and reached through several cultural practices by the elites. The success of their works was coupled few years later with the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at

the University of Birmingham, from which the name of the field is hailed. Works within the centre decided that the attraction towards the canonical culture of the elites needs to be explained, but got immediately aware about the necessity of recruiting from related fields, disciplines and theories.

1.3 The Resources of Cultural Studies

It is worth mentioning that the concern of the working class used to be clinched by Karl Marx and Engels. That is to say that Marxism, which is seen equally as a reaction to some economic and social demeanours at a certain point in the western history, helped awakening the critical minds of the class being under study to examine the unjust practices that are ascribed to capitalism. Actually, the origins of Cultural Studies can be traced back to the Marxist views on society, where the social status were taken into consideration in the process of interpreting the gap between several social classes as well as their way of being in relation to their occupation. Andrew J. Milner says in his *Re-imagining Cultural Studies, the Promise of Cultural Materialism* that “Marxism as distinct from Communism continues to haunt what the western academy has come to know as ‘Cultural Studies’.” (2) Yet, John Storey in his edited book *What is Cultural Studies* warns his readers that the Marxist influence might sometimes be described a slight one, as it is reinforced by this extract of his “All the basic assumptions of cultural studies are Marxist. This is not to say that all practitioners of cultural studies are Marxists, but that a cultural study is itself grounded in Marxism.” (3)

For him, the print of Marxism in founding the field of Cultural Studies is largely perceived in the first place through its historical dimension. In other words, culture cannot be looked at while history is absent; those two are two completing entities in the understanding of a given society. Secondly, Storey highlights that in the same manner as the Marxist perspective, Cultural Studies is interested in the gap between different groups of societies

through carrying culture as “a terrain on which takes place a continual struggle over meaning, in which subordinate groups attempt to resist the imposition of meanings which bear the interests of dominant groups.” (3)

After establishing the Marxist roots in Cultural Studies, light might be shed on another theory that the cultural research is ready to borrow from. Saussure’s “Structuralism” interest in language has shown its worthiness in contributing to the matter of culture. Andrew J. Milner affirms that “thinkers and writers who had imagined themselves to be Marxists tend to be transformed retrospectively into ‘culturalists’ or ‘structuralists’.” (2) In essence, like “Structuralists” who search for meaning out of complex related unities and words, “Culturalists” investigate the true comprehension of phenomenon within societies based on the tight relationships surrounding them. Moreover, adopting Saussure’s ideas is to reach enough data in order to embark on the examination of language as a medium of producing and instilling culture. Language for Saussure “is a system in which all the elements fit together, and in which the value of any one element depends on the simultaneous coexistence of all the others.” (158) but, equally as a system whose meaning of the words is less related to the object it refers to. To clear the image, Language might be referred to as not only a system of related letters and words, but serves simultaneously the representation of what is implied and what is in contrast through a set of similarities and differences, in a way to be itself a Cultural case. As an example, Graeme Turner on a discussion around the history of Cultural Studies, and its link with the “Structuralist” perspective in his *British Cultural Studies*, leans on the example of the word “Man” with a view to explain further the relationship between Cultural Studies and “Structuralism”. For Turner, grasping what the word “Man” stands for is only possible through having a great deal of contradictory words as “Boy” or “Woman”. Furthermore, the meaning of those words is only generated based on a classification of values and features ascribed to the concrete form it refers to on the ground of Cultural relations. The

Sign's relation to the real object it represents is quite arbitrary and not natural; consequently, a given sign acquires its meaning by the opposition to another sign. Via Turner's words, he simply points that "Cultural relations are reproduced through the language system." (11)

Despite his insistence on "Structuralism", semiotics as a sub-branch of the former is playing an important role according to Turner in deciding the path and focus of Cultural Studies. The signifier-signified relationship as part of the sign forms meanings that in turn might generate behaviour in some cases, thus, the understanding of the prevailing culture that goes hand in hand with behaviour as discussed before; the science of semiology is predetermined by especially the early practitioners within the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies to achieve their goals. Ziauddin Sardar says that "a major concept in cultural studies is that of sign." (10) Based on this, the study of Culture is believed to combine as many instruments as needed to bring a conclusion for their issues, as noted by Ien Ang in his paper "Cultural Studies":

CCCS reading groups focused increasingly on a critical engagement with French (post)structuralism, including the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, the social semiotics of Roland Barthes, the psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan and the structural Marxism of Louis Althusser. (229)

Moreover, While Richard Hoggart points that "the student should have an initial discipline outside Cultural studies" (173) meaning that any future practitioner of Cultural Studies is required to be involved in additional discipline to effectively participate in completing the tasks of what he defines as a field of study rather than a discipline. Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula Treichler in their book *Cultural Studies* affirm that over time many theories such as post-modernism gets to cluster around that field in a way to highly

collaborate more or less to cover social subcategories as an extra aim. For, it was not enough to shed light on the popular culture while ignoring the different racial, ethnic or gendered groups. For instance, “Feminism” tends to only follow the path of women in society to decipher the role, effect and cause of their behavior, just as post-colonialism embarks on exposing the colonized-colonizer relationship. In other words, Cultural Studies becomes more and more concerned with the study of several cultures on the ground of multiple cultural practices and mediums. Therefore, the study of culture is ready to borrow from other disciplines; in the same way some of its principles are borrowed.

Hitherto, Cultural Studies might be comprehended as a field as well as an inter-discipline, multi-discipline or uniquely a discipline. Yet, in the attempts to offer a wider understanding around its nature and the tasks it deals with, enumerating some of its goals is useful. It primarily aims at Culture, but the complexity of the latter requires taking into consideration all aspects supposedly covered within it. Cultural Studies draws from several theories and disciplines to for an example “enable people to understand what [was] going on, and especially to provide ways of thinking, strategies for survival, and resources for resistance” as noted by Stuart Hall in “The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities” (13). From what is globally known resistance can only exist where Power is exercised; in a form of an interdependent relationship. Thus, Hall as a leading figure of the field put forth another aim that consists of going deeper into the “undermining impact” (3) of the elites on other minorities and classes, an impact that cannot but be held thanks to powerful strategies.

1.4 Power and the Study of Culture

Previously, the attention is drawn into the political, social and economic in the post-war world, particularly in Britain, that mainly helped the formalization of the field of Cultural

Studies. It shows how ordinary people are dispatched, disrupted and pushed towards adopting new meanings that in turn are generated by a powerful “Elitism” through uncountable cultural practices. That is to say that Power is not only central but necessary within the observations done under the scope of “Culturalists”, as recommended in the starting introduction of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. He says in this regard that “ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied.” (5) Simon During states later in his book *The Cultural Studies Reader* that “Cultural studies has been, as we might expect, most interested in how groups with least power practically develop their own readings of, and uses for, cultural products –in fun, in resistance, or to articulate their own identity.” (6)

He seems to sum-up the whole task of Cultural Studies, which consists of entailing the flow of power and its contribution to setting up the social, racial, gendered and ethnic groups’ subordination, in a way to endorse the strong conjunction of Cultural Studies to Power. In addition to this, Ziauddin Sardan lists among his five characteristics of the field in question; the one that he says is to “examine its subject matter in terms of cultural practices and their relation to power. Its constant goal is to expose power relationships and examine how these relationships influence and shape cultural practices.” (9)

As emphasized here by Sardan, another distinction between different groups within a given society is concluded to be power, thus, the aim of Cultural Studies is to exhibit social behaviour and relationships in accordance to that power. Accordingly, in a society that exercises hegemony over the ones with the least power, meaning cannot but be shifted, twisted, or partially distorted, in a way to conform to the desires on the ones who have control. Therefore, Cultural Studies focuses similarly on the imposed meanings of “which affect who is represented and how, who speaks and who is silent, what counts as ‘culture’ and

what does not”(2) as observed by Nick Couldry In *Inside Culture, Re-Imagining the Method of Cultural Studies*.

Inevitably, “Cultural Studies does, to be sure, have a long history of commitment to disempowered populations (Grossberg 12). Subsequently, Power has no choice but to be involved since it is said above to be originating by a good many powerful Cultural practices and means to dispatch the less powerful ones, indeed. The latter have the face to believe uniquely in ordinary means and practises of daily use as such, but neglected the way they might function more or like as a double-edged sword by which unconsciously or not a way of life is subverted while inserting another.

2. The Culture of Materials

The cultural tangible practises and means referred to earlier cannot but be part of the material environment. Subsequently, culture haunts people at a daily basis via their frequent encounter and use of the material world as well. However, this perspective of observing culture did not come from a vacuum, but rose within a controversial debate that was and still exists around the right representation of human’s conceptualization of his surroundings. While Hegel leaned on the “Idealistic” development and conception of history, Marx on the other side, adopted a more “Materialistic” view. Yet, one must be aware of the meanings of those two terms which do not refer to their contemporary employment within the language of daily use, as respectively the state of mind (perfection) or the eager attraction towards anything material. In this regard, Marvin Harris in *Cultural Materialism, the Struggle for a Science of Culture* deliberately reformulated those opposing flows that possess different but arguable conclusions. “Idealism” for him is “all the thoughts and feelings that we human beings experience within our minds” (31), while “Materialism” stands for “all the activities that constitute all the human behaviour stream” (31).

The central issue here exists not over the truthfulness of one theory upon another. Instead it is on the prior phase to give meaning to the life reuniting individuals. Karl Marx ,in his attempts to stifle the “Idealistic” view of surpassing “Materialism”, and to solve the problematic relationship between the two, says that “the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind.” (102) The obvious conclusion coming from this claim is that the set of human ideas came first of all more or less as an effect from their observation as well as exploitation of the material world. Thus, any advancement of the human race as well as its history is related by Marx to the comprehension of the material world. As a result, Marx differentiates individuals from animals, and equally marks their material world as the first sign of the development of the human kind, which in turn can only be explained according to him in terms of materials. He in fact says that “They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, [...] By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life” (8)

Karl Marx was not indeed occupied with trying to offer a sophisticated theory of culture, but implies that materials (objects, artefacts, behaviour, practices, activities...) are ready to transmit a certain identity, or a social condition of the one being involved. As it appears here, and since Williams and others included objects, behaviour and practices among their understanding of culture, Marx after all was analyzing culture in relation to the “Mode of Production”. Thus, the fundamental aspect to consider while getting into the study of culture, which includes any human production as discussed earlier, is the “materialistic” dimension of life. Therefore, the necessity of sub-branches or theories to turn attention towards what materialistically helps in deciding cultural value within not only Cultural studies, but also other fields and disciplines are highly recommended.

2.1 Cultural Materialism

The previous paragraphs kept briefly track of the origin of the materialistic view on culture. A view, which reached the conclusion on the creation of meaning being nothing but the mental process of responding to the physical world, a reaction and a development of behaviour inside the environment that surrounds humans; just like the signified-signifier coexist together. The material world or, in other words, the tangible one appears to push individuals to deal and connect their understandings with another materialistic representation.

Materializing Culture or studying materials as features of a given way of being became the task and the target of many fields and disciplines such as Anthropology or Archaeology, but equally of Cultural Studies either as an inter-discipline, multi-discipline or a simple new field on its own. For “Culturalists” involved in Cultural Studies, the study of materials was triggered mostly by Raymond Williams, as confirmed by John Higgins in his paper *Raymond Williams Literature, Marxism and Cultural Materialism*. He chiefly traces back the motives behind the emergence of this theory, as well as some of its features. In fact Higgins believes that William’s propensity for materialistic perspective came first of all as a result of his commitment to prove the importance of culture in addition to economy in establishing and resisting a given social order, as illustrated by this quote from his book “Cultural materialism challenged the Second International's commitment to the singular, absolute and unicausal priority of the economy, and refused its equally firm relegation of cultural activity to a secondary role in the reproduction of the social order.” (125)

Despite the Marxist influence on Williams, the latter steps aside from some principles on which Marxist criticism is based. In this way, Williams gives credit to culture (mainly Arts) as another productive force (or a Mode of Production) in addition to economy. Here, the attention is turned by Williams to how articulations of culture in the form of artistic

works go hand in hand with economy as “contribution to the effective dominant culture”, instead of being solely a consequence out of the latter. (Williams 45)

Another perspective to understand the origins of Cultural Materialism according to Higgins is William’s despise of the bourgeois analysis of literary texts. Higgins writes on this that Cultural Materialism is Williams’ own version of the Marxist theory, which proves Marxist roots in Cultural Studies indeed. Higgins embarks on explaining to another reason motivating the development of materialist insights of culture, regarding this, he points that:

It (Cultural Materialism) refers to his (Raymond Williams) response to the theory and practice of literary analysis at work in the existing institutions of English studies. This theory and practice, the discipline of English literature, is distinctively bourgeois in nature and effect. (125)

Simply said, Williams refused to deal with literary works as context-independent; instead he preferred to trace their social background, either as influenced by social circumstances or completely giving birth to these circumstances.

Truthfully, Cultural Materialism appeared at the beginning in William’s *Culture and Society* as a theory chiefly interested in literature, which illustrates its leading function within new-historicism as a literary criticism. However, it moved up over time to look deeply into the effect of all kind of materials on societies, to include racial, ethnic and gender inequalities in relation to power, as it is the case with Williams’ essay entitled “Advertising the Magic System” or Stuart Hall’s “Encoding, Decoding”. Thus, Cultural Materialism is a type of study or more a theory evolving among other types of cultural researches.

On the other hand, another materialistic insight into culture emerged within the field of Anthropology during the 1960s. It propounds that all materials with a physical and tangible

existence, are extremely participating in the process of creating a certain culture, unlike Raymond Williams's Cultural Materialism that focuses mainly on literature, visual art, Music, films and broadcasting. This view owes its emergence to Marvin Harris through his book *The Rise of Anthropological Theory, a History of Theories of Culture*. Harris, who devoted many of his works to develop the theory in question, asserts in *Cultural Materialism, the Struggle for a Science of Culture* that, and as referred earlier, "Materialism in Cultural Materialism" is therefore intended as an acknowledgement of the debt owed to Marx's formulation of the determining influence of production and other material processes." (xi)

That is to say that the study of material culture gives a priority to tangible and physical aspect of Human life to understand or decipher their history, which includes all the activities they are taking part in. Moreover, their environmental surroundings aforementioned are put up as the main target of the researches done under the scope of Cultural Studies. As emphasized quite clearly through Christopher Tilley's words in *Handbook of Material Culture* "This field of study is centred on the idea that materiality is an integral dimension of culture, and that there are dimensions of social existence that cannot be fully understood without it." (1) Furthermore, Tilley points out in the introduction of the same work that the studies of material culture are "[...] more holistic cultural studies attempting to analyse a plethora of material domains (e.g. architecture, food, technology and landscape) within the ambit of particular archaeological or ethnographic case studies."(5)

As seen before, Cultural Studies progresses when leaning on other fields and disciplines, subsequently, Cultural Materialism as a theory within the latter as well as in Anthropology cannot but complete each other to reach their ultimate conclusions. At least, this is what Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry claim in their *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* when saying that "the field of material cultural studies focuses on cultural studies with special reference to history, archaeology, and anthropology." (1)

As understanding concepts cannot but be fully and effectively achieved only if accompanied by their main functions and aims, many “culturalists” are eager to provide what may be labelled as aims of the theory or the field in question. For Harris, his theory is a strategy that strives to “understand the causes of differences and similarities among societies and cultures. It is based on the simple premise that human social life is the response to the practical problems of earthly existence” (Harris ix). Ian Woodward goes further in *Understanding Material Culture* by offering what he considers as the essential task for anyone interested in conducting a materialistic approach of research. He says in this regard that:

The term ‘Material Culture’ emphasises how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity. (3)

Thus, and as far as materialism is concerned, both Harris and Williams’ ideas come across each other somewhere on the path they embarked on towards deconstructing the ways all forms and articulations of culture are instilled among a certain society.

Conclusion

As neo-colonialism being more a cultural strategy to economically dominate the other, we believe that going deeper into it cannot but be done under a cultural perspective. Thus, this chapter gives forward few theoretical interpretations and understandings of a complex concept. culture being yet difficult to defined in specific words, turned out to be both

a tool and a target of a “Canonical Elitism” (26) to establish distinctive social, economic and political borders vis-à-vis the ordinary people of the lower classes (knowing that neo-colonialism is more examined here at a universal level). Inevitably, this prompted intellectuals and thinkers to inquire into the matter of how a certain destructive power is perpetuated within a good many Cultural Practices. It turned gradually into the main task of Cultural Studies as a field, discipline, multi-discipline or inter-discipline.

As a result of the Marxist print in addition to others on Cultural Studies, culture is put up to be centralized around what is inanimate, physical and tangible. Therefore, materials are ticked under the primary force leading and founding the cultural structure of a given community. This being said, we aimed in this chapter to introduce two theories evolving respectively in Cultural Studies and Anthropology.

In this chapter, we aimed to introduce Cultural Studies in addition to some of its basic principles and features, as the appropriate concept permitting us to analyse Ngugi’s *Petals of Blood* in the coming chapter.

Chapter Three: Cultural Materialism in *Petals of Blood*

Introduction

We demonstrated through the first chapter how great colonial powers such as England and France managed to collect economic advantage of the African lands in particular. Africans were being robbed while watching, and were victims of the colonial physical oppression. But, things change, and a time has come when on one side Africans, are misled by a distorted consciousness from inside and outside. On the other side, western colonialism takes another dimension of reformed oppression through culturally and unconsciously dominating the other. In both sides, the native African elites are involved.

Ignorance is what we believe makes neo-colonialism stiffer to detect but equally to turn down. Accordingly, the distortion of African Culture is completed simultaneously in front of and behind Africans' backs in a way to perpetuate their ignorance. Africans know a lot about the western way of being rather than their own. In this chapter, we will try to show in which ways exactly Africans are being tricked, demystified and oppressed through their daily encounter with the material world in particular. We will use what we discussed in the second chapter under the name of "Cultural Materialism", joined with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's novel *Petals of Blood* as a showcase for our research in relation to the African neo-colonial context of today.

We will start this chapter first of all with an overview of the novel *Petals of Blood* by Ngugi, before embarking on providing analyses of the materialistic dimension of neo-colonialism particularly in Africa.

1. Overview of *Petals of Blood*

1.1 Biography of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is a famous African novelist, he was born in January 5, 1938 in British Kenya. He first studied at Makerere University in Uganda where his love for letters sparked through writing short stories. Later on, he moved to the University of Leeds where he got his second Bachelor's degree. Being a birth of the British Kenyan colony, and highly inspired by the Marxist movements, he struggled through his literary career to turn down and expose colonialism in its old and fresh form, equally to promote the African culture. In this regard, his late works saw a shift in the language being used, from English to Gikuyu. Among his well-known works, *Petals of Blood* is the one that attracted us the most to examine the devastating African situation.

1.2 Summary of the Plot of *Petals of Blood*

Petals of Blood was first published in 1977. Its Plot revolves around the social, economic and cultural condition of a –not many years after the independence- Kenyan village called “Ilmorog”. The former hosted and hugged the four main protagonists of the story (Abdullah, Munira, Wanja, Karega), who fled the city life, and whose relationships were mingled between love and friendship resulting in many conflicts that tended to threaten these relations.

The village was hit by several months of harsh draught that put into danger the life in “Ilmorog”. This incident urged the main characters and other villagers to seek help from their parliament representative in Nairobi. Their journey was not free of surprises; it was in fact characterized by a set of turmoil that shown for the delegation how things really changed in comparison to their village. Therefore, the journey turned out to be a failure. In a not distant future, rain finally comes and the villagers celebrated with their traditional and holy rituals,

one of the village elders presented a drink extracted from the “Thang'eta” plant. Life in “Ilmorog” seemed to be back to normal until an aeroplane crashes in the village, attracting thereby the attention of the Kenyan media, government and people. To take advantage of the situation, Wanja came up with an idea of sustaining the village welfare through selling food and the drink for the foreigners. The reputation of the drink made “Ilmorog” the centre of interest. It got expanded and saw the bright of a new day as no more “Ilmorog” but the town of “New Ilmorog”. In short, the novel discusses the hypocritical double-tongued attitude of the neo-colonial masters in a literary style.

1.3 Characters in *Petals of Blood*

As hinted previously, the main role in the novel is shared between four characters; each of them represents a particular social category within the upcoming Kenya. About that, Simon Gikandi writes in his *Reading the African Novel* that “the most salient feature of characterization in *Petals of Blood* is no doubt Ngugi’s use of a group of characters from different social backgrounds who are, nevertheless, consciously presented as agents of authorial views and thus function as instruments of mediating the character of the neo-colonial state in modern Africa.” (135) Munira who is a wealthy Kenyan family born from Limuru, is haunted by his failure to join the middle-class club just as his family members. Moreover, his ideologies do not allow him to keep pace with the emerging city life. Consequently, he sees an escape in “Ilmorog” where he clinches a teaching job, and takes part as the other villagers in the struggle against the new colonial policies.

Abdullah is another main figure in the story and an immigrant into the village from the city of Limuru. After losing his leg as a revolutionist among the Mau Mau rebellion against the British colonial power, he was deceived and put aside by the independent Kenya.

In search for a more provincial life, he as well escaped to “Ilmorog” where he settled and invested in a successful shop and a Bar.

Munira and Abdulla are joined by Karega who also failed to bear “Nairobi’s” atmosphere as the corruption-infested capital city of Kenya. A young man who fell in love with Munira’s sister, but his brother commitment to the Mau Mau rebellion jeopardized the relation. “Ilmorog” turned out to be his destination, where he established himself as a school assistant of Munira. The events occurring one after another sounded to trigger his critical mind in search for answers mainly from a socialist perspective.

As the only main female character, Wanja accompanied the three male characters through their daily life in “Ilmorog”. She is the granddaughter of one of the village’s elders, and an ex-wife of a corrupted businessman in “Nairobi”. She went through a lot of hardships in the town, such as aborting her pregnancy. She finally decides to travel to the village where she got stuck in love affairs, and ended up being a prostitute in her own bawdy house.

One of the minor characters in the novel but of a high importance for us is Nderi Wa Riera, who personifies the corrupted face of Kenya. He is “Ilmorog” representative in the parliament, but who did not seemingly understand the requirements of his task. He therefore neglected the people he is required to care of, egoistically got interested in the village as a source for large businesses.

2. Neo-colonial Religious Materialism

We believe in Africa being presented through the sample of Kenya in the novel that is dealing particularly with the theme, cause and consequences of neo-colonialism in the independent Kenya; a short passage in the novel demonstrates that in fact “a group of University students who later wrote a paper relating droughts and uneven development to neo-

colonialism, called for the immediate abolition of capitalism and signed themselves as the committee for students against neo-colonialism.” (194)

It is as if Ngugi places his hopes of resistance against the neo-colonial powers in the University students before anyone else. On the other hand, he struggles to promote the African welfare and heritage far from any foreign interference and subordination.

From the moment that Karl Marx says that “Every man speculates upon creating a new need in another in order to force him to a new sacrifice, to place him in a new dependence, and to entice him into a new kind of pleasure and thereby into economic ruin [...]”(Ctd. in Fromm 44) Africans are driven into a new kind of a Material world, which is mostly encountering with their lives in several manners, such as for a daily use, for fun, for resistance and for articulating their own identity. Consequently, many gaps impede their real independence. In order to positively fill in those gaps we will in short attempt to complete their task, since it is the one and only primordial task African students, intellectuals and scholars are required to emphasize on.

Nobody today can contradict the idea that what keeps linking Africa to its ancient times, or the pre-colonial era, is only its name. Its soil witnessed the rising and falling of several empires or civilization and communities, each its way contributed to materialistically moulding the lifestyles of the natives. The best example we can offer in this regard is related to the French-Algeria, where colonizers used to reclaim the Romans’ archaeological heritage with the aim of feeding their egocentric superiority while instilling the unworthiness of their colonizers (110). Implying that all what is not Roman must be or cease to exist. This example is offered by Peter Von Dommelen in his “Colonial Matters, Material Culture and Postcolonial Theory in Colonial Situations” hinting that Materials are of huge importance.

However, in this research we will analyze firstly something not quite different from the Roman ruins in the ways it functions.

Holy materials that are embodied in churches, mosques, the Bible and religious practices play a major role in shaping and re-shaping neo-colonialism in Africa just as it was essentially put in place during the colonial presence. In the first place, we should deal with the Church that is highly employed to prepare the ground for an unequal system. In a similar note and through Marvin Harris's concepts, the Church in this case is the structure that resulted from the infrastructure to eventually generate ideals or superstructure contributing to maintain that infrastructure, the three terms will be explained all along the coming lines of the discussion indeed.

Louder than words, Munira's father Ezekieli, a churchman in the novel is an example of the Church as a means of enslaving the minds. From what is known, he collected his extravagant richness during the colonial period, but the issue is how he managed to sustain his power and wealth in the post-colonial Kenya. The answer lies in a quote from the novel where he is described as the "wealthy landowner and a respected elder in the hierarchy of the Presbyterian Church." (30) The passage is quite concise to indirectly clarify the strong link relating the Church to economic domination, as it symbolizes the alliance of the native bourgeois with the Church. In "How Ngugi Wa Thiong'o Shifted from Class Analysis to a Neo-Colonialist Perspective" Josef Gugler comments on Ezekieli as "Munira's father joined the white man's church. He became Ezekieli and, in time, with a mixture of cash and trickery of the pen and the law, a powerful landowner and church member." (4)

Ezekieli reminds us actually of King Leopold's policy in Congo, where he had the tendency of inciting his missionaries to interpret the Bible selfishly and deceptively to establish a monopoly over the Congolese natives. That is to say that things that can be explained in terms of the same strategies employed, did not really change from the colonial

period. Ezekieli aimed first of all through his Presbyterian church, or his yard that frequently is substituted for the latter to implant deeply the same socio-colonial relation of production through gathering his working force under one singular ideology, “he had engaged many hands...to help him in cultivating his fields...They nearly all had one thing in common: submission to the Lord. They called him Brother Ezekieli, our brother in Christ, and they would gather in the yard of the house after work for prayers and thanksgiving.” (30) Thus, the wealth of Ezekieli could never be possible without a demystified religion which is daily preached by him as a Churchman.

From another angle, “there were of course some who had devilish spirits which drove them to demand higher wages and create trouble on the farm and they would be dismissed.” (30) One of them “was even denounced in a church sermon.” (30) Ngugi seems to scoff at the way the church is employed via ironically associating the devil to those who at a given moment come out of their shells to get over the oppression they are victims of; those who demand their rights are nothing but devils against Ezekieli’s clan and ideology. In other words, the only lawful “meaningful struggle was a spiritual battle with Satan.”(Ngugi 309) What we have today in Africa is a material religious establishment functioning in a situation characterized by capitalism, competition and alienation. If it is not at the origin of those three, then it is certainly the reinforcing power perpetuating them. We will even go so far as to say that the relation between the two is highly a spiral one.

The church as an institution or architectural establishment is to borrow psychological terms, the Stimulus reinforcing well-spread new behaviour adopted into the African culture. The acceptance of the life of poverty is only a result coming directly from a primary reinforcement, which is not biological in nature as conceived by psychological behaviourists, but purely spiritual publicized through the same material. Furthermore, the church as the mediator between God and the people seems to appease the critical mind of the oppressed

through deceiving thoughts whatever the conditions are, “where a prince, a monarch, a businessman can sit on billions while people starve or hit their heads against church walls for divine deliverance from hunger,” (Ngugi 247).

After this observation, what we can really conclude so far is similar to what Julius Nyerere a devoted Tanzanian Catholic affirms:

Unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn men to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the Church will become irrelevant to man and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. (486)

But we may as well say that the condition of the church as we explained it, is only as such because of being nourished by a selective preaching of the Bible. George Kinoti criticized the misuse of the Scripture by stating that “we ... failed to apply the gospel to the whole life and limited it to spiritual life only. We read the Scriptures selectively, placing emphasis on those (verses) that talked about salvation and neglecting those that talked about justice and material well being.” (Ctd. in Ogbonnaya 69). In the novel, the villagers led by the four main characters are opposed by an attempt of ideological reformation through a particular egoistic interpretation of the Bible. On their journey asking for help they are turned away by a Kenyan clergyman; who casually asks nothing but few questions before he rushes to open the Bible starting praying for the poor and demonstrating the Scripture disapproval of the life of laziness and begging. He says that “The Bible is then clearly against a life of idleness and begging. This is what’s wrong with this country. Most of us seem to prefer a life of wandering and begging to a life of hard work and sweat.” (Ngugi 159) On the ground of

this passage from the novel, we are not going to say that Reverend Jerrod thinks they are beggars, but he pretends instead to think so. It is only his pretext to get rid of them. He faces them just as the colonizers in their way of establishing order. Karega, as “the character with the clearest vision and most developed consciousness” (Gikandi, *Reading* 135) and the man who asks questions enough, opposes then the Reverend’s claim via another passage from the same material promoting precisely the opposite, “he looked up to heaven, and blessed and brake it and gave to his disciples to give the people. And they all ate and were satisfied.” (Ngugi 159)

Since missionaries were the first to initiate colonialism in Africa as it is illustrated in *Things Fall Apart* “We have now built a church, said Mr.Kiaga, and we want you all to come in very seventh day to worship the true God.” (Achibe 138) Their presence must be explained in relation to an economic interest towards the African resources as both the motive and the aim. They were the tool of distortion, reformation and deconstruction of the native ideals. Moreover, religious materials as a structure have generated culture of enslavement and obedience represented through ideologies.

In terms of Antonio Gramsci’s Cultural Hegemony, ideologies are what justify the domination of a social class over another, but an observation needs to be added is that the ideologies are the product of the same domination.

Religious materials may equally be credited as the womb that carry corrupted figures like Waweru Ezekieli, who in a way or another as portrayed through the previous lines is deeply reinforcing the existence of unequal practices accounted for the infrastructure or a non-egalitarian mode of production, dating from the colonial period and still functioning in the post-colonial modern era. Waweru Ezekieli is said in the novel that he “could get the coins through bringing more souls to Christ.” (Ngugi 103) In a similar way, our case cannot differ from what history teaches us about the feudal dark ages. The papacy came into an agreement

with the kings to enslave and then loot the peasants through pure religious materials. A Culture of obedience and acceptance of enslavement has emerged in accordance with the means thought to bring salvation.

After their return from Nairobi, the villagers are surprised by two Lorries carrying the projects of a church and police-station in Ilmorog. We, like the villagers are surprised about it, about the irrelevance of those two in relation to the problem faced, drought in this case. However, it is for us an attempt of turning attention through demystification of the villagers and infusing them with a “culture of obedience”, especially that it is an operation under the sponsorship of Reverend Jerrod “Rev. Jerrod called on an alliance of churches to send a team to the area to see how the Church could help” (Ngugi 193). Alternately, the reaction of “Nairobi’s Gang” requires to be analyzed as a consequence of the Villagers journey of protestation. In doing so, materials are proved to precede the ideal to give rise to another material that relies more on cultural demystification rather than violence. In short and in order to put it as simply as possible, Marvin Harris’s theory in all what has been said so far in this context might be reformulated in its simplest form; the peasants or the villagers are less aware and trapped in a cultural mutation because they are first of all religiously manipulated through Bibles and churches. They are in such estate only because an unequal economic system is flourishing behind their backs.

In turn, the neo-colonialists masters are motivated by the people’s actions of manifestation to contain the rebellion against the same system. What must be advocated at the end is to review the church role and the use of the Bible, because they cannot be the solution unless they acknowledge their complicity in the production of an alienated class.

3- Neo-colonial Economic Materialism

With the arrival of western flags into African shores, the encounter resulted in the fall of a culture at the expense of another one, within a clash featured by the obvious unbalance of power. In the second chapter dedicated to Cultural Studies, we shed light first on power before getting into semiology and its contribution to understand the functioning of a given culture. During the pre-colonial era, Africa had a traditional lifestyle characterized by the use of primitive technology and farm animals before it got substituted for a foreign alien one. Towards the beginning of the colonial campaigns, certain western countries were more powerful that made sure to turn the African continent into an industry-based instead of an agricultural one. In fact, the novel under study is full of signs and symbols that cannot but stand for the same colonial opposition between two ways of being.

Simon Gikandi affirms that the Village or Old Ilmorog is “the organic community symbolized by primeval tools .” (143). The case with “the death of Abdulla’s donkey, the sole victim of the plane crash” (Ngugi 266) is an appropriate illustration we believe Ngugi used to portray the clash in terms of materials. In other words, we perceive the image of the crash as the collapse of an authentic and local way of life represented through the donkey. Therefore, the accident accounts for the aeroplane carrying the birth of a new mode of production. However, this accident on its own is symbolizing the starting point of the white capitalist’s invasion. Namely, this argument serves similarly the claim that Ilmorog, previously Nairobi and Africa in general being not under any violent preaching of ideas, but the change of materials that encroaches its territory is what makes sure to influence its nature.

The collapse of the villagers’ ideals that comes across the substitution of Ilmorog’s rural and communal way of being is described by Patrick Williams in *Ngugi Wa Thiong’o* as a “collective tragedy” (82). We stand on the side of William’s argument, nevertheless, the real initiation of the capitalist way of life is for us basically opened by the ones who are wearily

combating against it. What accounts for this is discussed by Homi Bhabha under the name of “Third space of enunciation” (88) in his *The Location of Culture*. For Bhabha the colonized-colonizer relationships end up by creating a third space that embodies both cultures within a single one. The hybridist feature is obvious in our case at the level of some characters who appropriated, even if unconsciously, few behaviours from their neo-colonized city life. It is our problem now to affirm to what extent Abdulla in the novel is ambivalently under the alien foreign influence advance through materials. The first lies in being eroded and alienated that resulted later on in a hostility due to an emergence of socio-(neo)colonial relations vis-à-vis the revolutionary movements including the Mau-Mau rebellion Abdulla was part of. The second is the social relations of production that instilled into Abdulla the capitalist mode. When we observe the character in question that came from Limuru, a town already affected by western industrialization, where biological needs mainly entertainment are excessively satisfied through other than the traditional way, decides to establish a bar and shop in Ilmorog. We are in the possibility to get insights into how neo-colonialism in African is first shaped and then maintained in a strong link to materials.

On the arrival of Abdulla’s Bar & Shop as a new activity to the village, the passage below can ascertain to which extent an alien way of behaving is gradually being given rise:

Abdulla had added bar services to his supply of Jogoo Unga and pepper and salt. On a Friday or a Saturday the herdsmen from Ilmorog plains would descend on the store and drink and talk and sing about their cows and goats. They had a lot of money from the occasional sale of goats at Ruwa-ini Market, and they had no other use for it. (Ngugi 24)

The impact of his Bar & Shop is obvious when the villagers get into selling goats that once were privileged and sacred as illustrated through this quote “Was it not the ambition of every real man, especially before the white man came, to possess cows and goats? A man without a goat would often plant fields and fields of sweet potatoes, vines, millet or yams, sugarcane or bananas. In the end, he would try to sell these for a goat –” (Ngugi 34) to earn good money providing them with the opportunity to uniquely entertain themselves. Out of that, we can henceforth come out with three remarks reinforcing the effectiveness and the heavy weight of materials over the minds.

First, we learn that the village’s herdsman are unacquainted with the capitalist mindset since “they had a lot of money from the occasional sale of goats [...]”, but “[...] they had no other use for it [...]” (Ngugi 25). In other words, the transition from one mode of production towards another seems to have a minor but an apparent effect on them in contrast to Abdullah who is totally under the capitalistic mode of production even though he is not aware of it.

Second, goats are no more sacred by the villagers, a practice that strongly suggests a huge shift in their behaviour.

Third, Abdulla meditated over creating a need of bar entertainment to attract more customers and so make extra profit. On the ground of Harris’s Materialism, we can establish now the equation relating Abdulla’s Market to the starting of a radical change in the Village. The equation is that the Bar & Shop as an idea is nothing but the reflection of a distinct mode of production. As a material, on the other side, it is reflected in the selling of goats to satisfy newly created needs. In this way, Abdulla’s business symbolizes as well the infiltration of alien behaviour contributing to the collective tragedy of the village in whole, which is marked at the first place by sacrificing what perfectly distinguishes the villagers. This leads us to one more feature to stick up for the argument of Africans being under the neo-colonial order

today, which is the sacrificing character of their lives. The people of Africa are indeed sacrificing much of what links them to their native culture, in order to keep pace with artificial needs under the globalization of their existence. Many examples from the real life in addition to the one of goats above might contribute to consolidate this claim. Moreover, under globalization the issue rises not when working for an increase in the development speed of the world. Instead, a real investigation must be undertaken over primarily its starting point; its initiators, the mediums it employs as well as the unfairness in sharing its benefits. Concerning the bridge carrying globalization towards former colonies, we consider neo-colonialism as the one to be appropriated such task, if globalization itself were not a neo-colonial strategy.

Coming back to the novel *Petals of Blood*, other than Abdulla's Bar & Shop we lay our attention upon the Theng'eta drink. To celebrate the biggest harvest in the history of the village, Nyakinyua, Wanja's grandmother and an elder of Ilmorog presents the beverage as the one being brewed and drunk in the village during special occasions and festivities. For the Villagers Theng'eta is a real heritage reflecting their identity away from the colonial invasion especially that according to Nyakinyua the drink "was outlawed by the colonialists. He said: These people are lazy. They drink Theng'eta the whole day. That is why they will not work on the railway line. That's why they will not work on our tea and coffee and sisal farms." (Ngugi 212) Thus, having the possibility to brew and consume it is a form of resistance against any act threatening the villagers' tradition. This is at least the conclusion that colonialists used to draw.

Later on as the events move up in the novel, the Theng'eta drink just like Abdullah's Bar& Shop on the ground of our analyses have erupted the breaking down of Ilmorog. To clarify, we should refer to our previous claim that the same characters running away from capitalism are on the other hand participating in the economic system they despise. As we know, for capitalists, where a population pressure exists, potential great business appears at

the horizon. That is to say that materialism is the one affecting the minds of opportunists to take advantage of what is surrounding around. By way of Illustration, we directed our observation over Wanja's motivation to make profit out of the "The magic brought by the Aeroplane." (Ngugi 269) Actually the unusual crash of an aeroplane in the village attracted several eyes from all over the country to investigate about the accident. The boundless queue of people coming to Ilmorog inspires Wanja eventually to engage in a business of selling food and especially the Theng'eta drink that she proposes to Abdulla.

This being said, Marvin Harris's anthropological study in terms of Materials is quite relevant in this context as well, where Wanja's acquaintance with the town's life makes the crowd a particular material by which her idea is triggered. In the same way the attraction towards the product is not devoid of consequences. The success of her business causes the salivation of the Kenyan neo-colonial government to finally and ironically adjust the village Ilmorog into a new industrial town. The whole is a result and simultaneously the cause of the capitalist structure.

Furthermore, Ilmorog before the capitalist invasion succeeded to maintain its communal way of life despite colonialism. "Nyakinyua's communal memory" (*Reading*, Gikandi 139) reminds first of all of the earnestness characterizing the production of the sacred drink, and secondly of its importance and role to unite the villagers around a fireplace. Yet, this was during a communal structure of Ilmorog that with the coming up of the industrial mode turns into a capitalist one marked by "Theng'eta commercially produced simply as a commodity to be sold for the greatest possible profit" (Willaims 83) The Bourgeois-Proletariat relation of production joined with new means of production conquers the village to as a consequence influence not only the way the drink is perceived but the way it is brewed as well. Put differently, a socio-colonial base arrives to the village; consequently new ways of doing things emerge and are finally reflected in the birth of new ideologies. Thus, even if the force

is still the same the means differ, what colonialists failed to accomplish is today completed by neo-colonialists. This stands on the side of Kwame Nkrumah's claim that "The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage."

(Neo-colonialism ix)

We talked in several lines about the involvement of few ones suffering the most from Capitalism as Wanja in the initiation of the capital mode of production in the village. But, in no way we are saying that she is solely a responsible for the decay rather than a victim of it. Ngugi all along his novel is eagerly trying to deal with the question of the feminine presence at the level of two worlds: a rural communal against an industrial capitalist. He is one of the rare African writers to treat women in his novels as more subjects rather than objects in the male's hands. Ebe Ekolo writes on the matter in "Changes in the Image of the African Woman: A Celebration" that:

one sees such women in Ngugi's Mumbi in *A Grain of Wheat* and Wanja in *Petals of Blood*....Through these and a few others like them, one sees a definite attempt, on the part of some male writers, at taking their female characters more seriously, investing them with more humanity and dignity by allowing them to grow through experiences that demand choices, that challenge them and reveal their strengths and weaknesses realistically. (4)

Yet, if for a moment we decide to embark into making a comparison between women's status within the two worlds, we can simply rely on Wanja as a main character and her grandmother Nyakinyua. The latter seems to know every single inch of the village in addition to be involved in several activities including the crops gathering. She cultivates the

land and “was the spirit that guided and held them [villagers] together.” (Ngugi 135) As well as the memory that unites the village through “keeping up their [villagers’] spirits with stories of the past.” (Ngugi 135) For us, she is the well-positioned to transmit the crucial role of women within a communal society uninfected with the capital exploitation. In contrast, Wanja is not afforded much of those important privileges. She endures betrayal and sexual exploitation whenever she witnesses the arrival of the capitalist mode of production. This unwilling shift in the role and status of women is in turn credited to occur due to what Roopali Sircar explains as follows:

Several anthropologists like Leacock , Boserup and Gough have concluded that in societies where men and women are engaged in the production of the same kinds of socially necessary goods and where widespread private property and class structure has not developed, women’s participation in production gives them access to and control of the products of their labour. It also gives the women considerable freedom and independence. But where the colonizers introduced cash crop cultivation, women were displaced by men. Women were also deprived of technology with men alone given access to machinery. This reduced women’s contribution, relegating them to the domestic sector.

(30)²

The emergence of the economy of excessive profit-making reduces the participation of women and downgrades them to the role of objects employed to satiate sexual desires. In a world already overwhelmed with an unfair distribution of profit between sexes and discrimination towards women, the sole solution of survival for the late mentioned is their

beauty and body. Inevitably, Wanja in the novel under the law of “You eat somebody or you are eaten.” shifts on two occasions to work as a prostitute for living. (Ngugi 296)

It is quite clear that the African women clinched a very important position during the pre-colonial period. They next to men contributed to maintain the cohesion of the community through keeping up the structures of a communal way of living. Yet, we argued previously with the claim of Colonialism and Neo-colonialism being based on economy, therefore, Colonial economy stretched out what was best responding to its exigencies. Georg M. Gugelberger states that “Women are the walking incarnations of commodification in a society where everything is sold to make profit.” (471)

Today, nothing impedes neo-colonialism from adopting the same non-violent strategies, though via different methods. That is to say as well that the substitution of technologies and the change in techno-environmental relationships have caused a transformation of sex roles that is sent back for instance in misogynist ideologies in several communication media, strong enough to justify the system they came from.

The emergence of new technologies and methods of achieving economic tasks influence as well the look and the functioning of rural areas indeed. Ngugi in his novel emphasizes on this saying “How Ilmorog rose from a deserted village into a sprawling town of stone, iron, concrete and glass and one or two neon-lights is already a legend in our times.” (269) consequently, the thinking of Africans is gotten into a shift in the way traditional culture (in its broadest sense) is conceived. Nairobi then Ilmorog are seeing the replication of denying attitudes towards the pre-capitalist culture, illustrated through a ridiculing passage from the novel “Crossing the streets was their (villagers) most major undertaking. Once or twice, as they ran full speed across the streets, two or three cars screeched to a sudden stop with the drivers swearing: who are these Masai? These Dorobo and their donkey-carts should be banned from the city!” (Ngugi 167) In our view, the denial of local cultures is based on three

main factors. First, they are publicized to be in discordance with capitalist business. Second, they are registered in the heretical inferiority of some races in comparison to others. Third, they threaten the fresh mode of production.

Moreover, the denigrating attitudes towards old cultures in the new capitalist societies are highly flourishing thanks to the non-stop sponsorship of different communication media. Bearing in mind that what characterizes the new mode of production is its alteration and even banning of traditional technologies at the expense of new ones, and that according to Raymond Williams' materialism, several media tools exist in a spiral relationship with the capital institutions to put down new ideologies reinforcing the same system generating them.

Thus, the Cultural Materialism theory developed by Raymond Williams "is primarily useful as a series of ways on analysing the material existence of ideology." (Brannigan 12) To exemplify the whole, we turned our analysis towards the title given by a print media (Newspaper) to the villager's adventures in Nairobi, it "was splashed across the centre pages under three catching captions: DEATH IN DESERT: HUNGER IN ILMOROG: DONKEY ON A RESCUE MISSION." (Ngugi193). If we examine critically the three captions, mainly the last one, we can say that it displays the socio-cultural context it emerges from. Unconsciously or not, the "DONKEY ON A RESCUE MISSION" indicates a strong connection to an ideology that overlooks and belittles the traditional way of being, wanted at the same time to be spread out. The title is agitating our critical thinking about the use of a former precious material, and one of the strong pillars carrying the African communal economy to invest more in the superiority of non-rural materials. The sign "Donkey" serves the representation of what is labelled as inferior, to say the least.

For us, part of the title is nothing but a mocking indirect and deceiving statement about what Africa is in depth. As if the donkey is associated with the otherness of the African

race. Subsequently, the material and sign in question is injected a particular ideology wanted to dominate at the expense of its local one.

However, one might wonder how such ideologies are getting momentum and end up being well received as well as warmly adopted. Our answer lies perfectly in a passage from Herbert J. Gans' book *Popular Culture and High Culture. An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*, where the author asserts that:

Finally, children and the poorly educated, both of whom make extensive use of the media and may be less skilled in the uses of "discount" that come with adulthood and education, may be more affected by the media than the rest of the population. (40)

The statement above facilitates not only our shift from the current analysis to the coming one, but also draws successfully the link relating two materials; the media and education.

4- Neo-colonial Educational Materialism

There exists an Arabic maxim that literally says "the ignorant harms himself more than his enemies." Thus we hold the conviction that the world's problem, and specifically the African one, lies in the well spreading out of Ignorance. Yet, we are not pointing fingers at African low classes for their state of education lacking. Since as already seen through Ngugi's novel, great emphasis is quite clear on institutions bringing them to the estate of enslavement rather than enlightenment by neo-colonial masters. Nkrumah says that "they (neo-colonialists) have little interest in developing education" (*Neo-colonialism* xv) in essence that the church for instance is highly taken care of in the novel

rather than education structures. The village's school as an illustration is described by Ngugi as:

a four-roomed barrack with broken mud walls, a tin roof with gaping holes and more spiders' webs and the wings and heads of dead flies. Was it any wonder that teachers ran away at the first glance? The pupils were mostly shepherd boys, who often did not finish a term but followed their fathers in search of new pastures and water for their cattle. (22)

The gothic atmosphere of most schools in secluded villages reinforces the abandonment of education by the neo-colonial capitalist masters. This does not mean in any case that education in cities is beneficial for Africans receiving it. While some have no access to education at all, others though being part of schools and universities, their education seems to not serve their struggle against what at the end is susceptible of causing their downfall. Within the capitalist system we attempt to condemn, it is proper from now on arguing that any establishment from the same system prepares the ground for its continuation.

Thereby, the observation currently needs to be turned upon two main characters in the novel to boost this claim. Munira and Karega share many points but the greatest distinction appears as a result of their different educational background. The first acquires most of his knowledge at Siriana elites' school while the other is dropped out from school and gets aware thanks to a communist lawyer who defends the villagers. Coincidentally, the primary divergence between the two relates to the most appropriate approach of teaching children. John Brannigan in *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* asserts that "ideology exists in a material form through institutions like the church, the school, the theatre, the university and

the museum.” (12) Munira’s ideology manifests through his stress on the priority of facts over interpretations in the teaching process (Ngugi 253)

It is quite hard to agree with him on that for the simplest reason that his education is rendering him less engaged in the matters surrounding him as “he sees Ilmorog not so much for what it is, since he is rarely able to confront vital reality,....; he sees this world solely as a reflection of his dreams and expectations.” (*Reading*, Gikandi 136) In contrast, Karega advocates a support for children to develop a critical thinking so to distinguish between facts. Karega strongly implies that the approach Munira fosters is the one of subjugation and dependence, the one to eternize the state of oppressed humiliated Africa.

About a century after the independence of most African nations, Africa is certainly in need of everything except of the non-contextual educational system, which is in a way or another deemed the fruit and the back-up of the same system impoverishing Africans. The prevailing educational structure in Africa “[...] was meant to obscure racism and other forms of oppression. It was meant to make us (Africans) accept our inferiority so as to accept their superiority and their rule (colonial masters) over us.” (Ngugi 174) Put differently, a demystified education through literature is surely what decides the way Africans’ identity is being usurped, that accompanies consequently the acceptance to participate in a given system of production. . Ngugi through the lawyer’s voice in *Petals of Blood*, describes the graduates “Educators, men of letters, intellectuals.” in such context as “not neutral, disembodied voices – but belonging to bodies of persons, of groups, of interests.” (207)

The issue comes to an important position here, especially when we call to mind that the same socio-cultural forces dominating Africans are the same to make the educative literature they consume. At the end, we are no more in a good position; supported enough to say that the set of educational, media and artistic programmes African masses are coming to a

contact with is necessarily made for them. At least, not from the point of the class it benefits the most.

5- Neo-colonial Materialism

Our analyses on Ngugi's novel *Petals of Blood* made us reflect over previous contacts we had with other artistic works, that in a way or another contribute to the fact that what keeps undermining Africa are the same materials Africans clutch their hopes at. For instance, as seen, the urban culture they scramble to adopt is the factor that leads them to the state of subordination. The distortion of the village in *Petals of Blood* is the distortion of culture while constructing another. However, the change neo-colonial capitalist masters are calling for, encompasses many results in addition to that resulting in pure exploitation of the masses. The case of Kumalo (a rustic) in the novel *Cry, the Beloved Country* stands for another effect manifested through his journey to the city, as illustrated in the lines below:

the fear back again, the fear of the unknown, the fear of the great city where boys were killed crossing the street, the fear of Gertrude's sickness. Deep down the fear for his son. Deep down the fear of a man who lives in a world not made for him, whose own world is slipping away, dying, being destroyed, beyond any recall. (Paton 41)

Kumalo's encounter with new materials adequate enough to generate a new way of being is causing him fear. The fear haunting Africans in that case will be eventually overcome through two ways. The first pictured in a surrounding to the temptation of the new system of

production; the second contains an opposing reaction against that system, as it is the case with Karega in *Petals of Blood*.

To continue with the analysis of other effects resulting from the new context Africans are invited to join, we can depart from our previous discussion over Hollywood as the starting point of destructive propagandas. It is quite important to our research to view cinema works rather than for what the frame shows, instead we need to go deeply into what exists above the image. In *King Kong* (2005) produced by Peter Jackson as a remake and adaptation of the one released during the 30s, we can see a gorilla settling in an island, when getting disturbed by intruders from the United States. After efforts trying to tame the beast, it is decided to hijack it towards New York City. The new context Kong gets contact with makes him terrorized before he terrorizes the city, however, one must see his reaction as a result of a high level of alienation in the midst of alien materials. Alienation, therefore, is the other outcome of what neo-colonial capitalist already started to seed in Africa.

However, before closing this section we are required to explore the ways the movie in question is telling us much about the African case. We need to mention a detail related to the inclusion of a quite common literary work in it. *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad is that kind of plots to attract a huge deal of attention, not over its literary techniques but about the matter of the colonial prejudices it fosters. Chinua Achibe within his several efforts to fire back the lack of neutrality in Conrad's work asserts that "Heart of Darkness projects the image of Africa as "the other world," the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization" (2) Thus, we presume that it is a necessity to review the movie from the perspective of the villain. Yet, one may wonder if at a certain point we are turning our attention towards the case of Kong in the movie, about the Material facilitating less or more the catch of Kong, or let's say his control. The answer lies perfectly within the last dialogue of the movie, it is suggested that "it was beauty who killed the beast" (*King Kong* 03:09:41-03:10:10). Kong's alienation is

attempted to be overcome by something else, the Beauty in this case, but the material Kong is incapable of detaching himself from, deemed to knock him down.

The transition to the new capitalist production is equally within the forms giving birth to discrimination and all sorts of Racism. The Urban population is prejudiced against the rural one in the same way the blacks are discriminated by the whites. While the first is easily discernible in our previous sections, the second is portrayed through a contemporary novel by Matlwa Kopano. *Coconut* traces in its second part the life of a black African girl who struggles to come out of her skin and join the Whites' side. Kopano in her novel does not spend too much ink explaining explicitly the reasons pushing Fikile to gear towards that aim. Yet, two main materials seem to direct the character into a culture of denial of her race. Black skins are not accepted in the society, Fikile as black attempts to clinch a place where she can free herself from discrimination. The kind of opposition related to the late mentioned can possibly be reviewed in connection with the economic roles under the new system. Equally, the world Fikile is confronting is characterized with being "Manichaen". It in several ways distinguishes between the black and whites in terms of inferiority versus superiority, bad versus good. Thus, one must look into the genuine reasons for these racist distinctions. Fikile's resentment is fed by a daily excessive encounter with "White Magazines", which get into marketing campaigns for the pureness of the whites' way of being and so the otherness of the black race. This discussion will enable us to observe the importance of the material world (Fikile's context in this case) to determine the ideal of the group sharing that context.

The common point reuniting all the examples discussed so far is the existence of several factors or means facilitating the demystification of the intended to be controlled. Media, education, entertainment, literature, and churches were all analyzed within the present research. As we embark on the analyses of those examples, we are simultaneously highlighting Raymond's Cultural Materialism on the question over certain literary and

cinematic works in our contemporary times, to first dip socio-cultural inequalities and then reinforce them. Wondering as well if the two theories applied in this research cannot meet somewhere at least to complete each other.

In order to resolve the equation in which all the points discussed so far will meet, we must be looking forward to simplifying how neo-colonialism fastens the process of establishing an alien environment, to which Africans must adjust their lives, if not in the absence of antithesis, they will be drowning into a cultural shock, marked by fear and alienation.

Conclusion

All along this chapter, we attempted to put into practise two theories related to culture. Relying on Ngugi Wa Thiong'o novel *Petals of Blood*, we demonstrated how the physical world has a great impact in determining the ideal and so the behaviour that is put down under the cultural affiliation of individuals, Africans in the present instance. We have established many realities where the material influence creates new fully immersive institutions in the village. The transaction from the old village to a whole industrial town indicates how important materials are, providing that the success in changing the village is the right path to accomplish the whole conversion, which in turn transforms the lifestyle of the villagers to best correspond the economic desires.

The chapter shows and explains the importance of committed artistic works to review and revisit the socio-cultural and historical context they emerge from. Ngugi did not disappoint surely through his reliance on an extreme realism to portray the sad truth of African states during their presumed independence based on the example of Kenya. At last, an artist must strongly be the messenger and the guider of the society he comes from. However,

we tried to reinforce the understanding of the novel, firstly through infusing a materialist perspective then by applying all the necessary points we discussed in the previous chapters.

General Conclusion

The present research reveals in many ways the existence of other colonial strategies rather than the one of violence that equally leads to the same end. It endeavours to explore the ways Africans are neo-colonized in relation to the physical world they daily and smoothly encounter. For this, we deal with the effects of materials in shifting Africans from a local way of being into a capitalist imposed one. More precisely, we are in charge of analyzing Ngugi's novel *Petals of Blood* from a Materialistic perspective presented by Marvin Harris and Raymond Williams' Cultural Materialism.

Our study opens with a chapter dedicated to trace back the origins of the concept neo-colonialism while taking into account the set of aspects and features characterizing it as explained by Kwame Nkrumah in most of his books. We learn that neo-colonialism existed before the presumed independence of African colonies, but confining it to a precise meaning seemed to be of a high complexity.

As far as the new colonial strategy is concerned, we focused in the second chapter on bringing an appropriate brief understanding of culture as not solely a large colonial feature where dependency can manifest, but equally an important broad term under neo-colonialism. In essence, the western strong dominance of former colonies is primarily completed at the level of culture, before getting into setting up the economic chains. The transactions between and in cultures throughout history has paved the way to the emergence of Cultural Studies whose notion and principles are quite controversial to define. Our attempt to look at the ways African culture is being misplaced requires to effectively adopt several methods and theories among the ones relied on in Cultural Studies. For Marxists ideas happen to be of a great interest to "Culturalists", Marx's materialism is certainly very influential since it propounds the materialistic flow of history over the idealistic one. Subsequently, in order to arrive to our final destination, we completed our second chapter with a discussion of the two theories we

intended to employ, and that primarily draw the bases of their distinctive ideas from a common source, Marx's materialism.

In order to achieve our goals, and test the appropriateness of the formerly discussed elements, we embarked in the final chapter to present further characteristics of the Neo-colonial order through a set of examples mainly extracted from Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Novel *Petals of Blood* and other secondary examples. We borrowed Williams' and Harris' Cultural Materialism to highlight as mentioned before how the physical world contribute to the creation of new cultural features of dependency in Africa. All along the third chapter, we demonstrated the process of ideologies being the product of the tangible world represented by artistic disciplines, Media and every basic social, economic and political system.

All in all, the present work attempts to contribute to the field of post-colonialism, but to understand the nature of that contribution we should demonstrate our vision about the theory in question. Post-colonial studies tend in different degrees to depict the common basic features of any colonial order in the image of violence, literature and Media. They are often preoccupied with the emphasis on mass killings, texts, words, figures of speech and representation. Yet, one must recognize their lack of commitment to portray the core of the issue, meaning that they deal restrictively with studying the past or present state of their societies without a real reformulation of the problem. Thus, little focus is offered for the system of all systems, and how the uncontested global order is well unjustly planned. Instead of linking the poor conditions of Africa to colonialism, they should go beyond colonialism, a correct reformulation of the problem turns into the first step towards solving it. Post-colonialism is surely interested in revising the present of Africa as well, but it is high time to contend that the criticism they bring forward is revolving around a tight relation of the African present to colonialism. Indeed, the prefix "post" refers to the period after the colonial order but less interest is gifted for the new colonial order.

In contrast, what we propose is Africa being subverted by its colonial past and equally by its neo-colonial present, this is in fact what our study primarily promotes. The present of the black continent is not the one of independence as advocated, instead it is a pure continuation of its past through more dangerous strategies. Our research attempts to put a strong emphasis on the system of all systems. We keep track of a huge power that encompasses colonialism and neo-colonialism while trying to expose its major role in first triggering the colonial order, perpetuating it and then giving birth to a more severe neo-colonialism. The acquisition of power (capital) is therefore for us the only opportunity for establishing any oppressive order. More accurately, we feel that power is the major basic system (infrastructure) giving birth to any further organization and culture within the context it is gained. In short, the celebrated capitalism is the force subverting Africa, thus two facts can be established here. In part, the oppression of Africans has to do with their inferior class rather than the different race. In the other part, what keeps gnawing Africa is what is publicized to raise its development rate. So our study concentrates on capitalism rather than colonialism as the source of everything. Moreover, in order to bring any explication upon the capitalist flow, one must not confine to economic studies; the capital thought transcends economy, therefore, we need to borrow from several fields and disciplines in order to show an order powerful enough has survived for centuries despite its anomalies. On the ground of Cultural Studies, we strived to make of Post-colonialism as interdisciplinary as possible.

At the end of the research, we are in a strong position to confirm what Fanon has already anticipated by stating that “[...] the Third World finds itself and speaks to itself through his voice. We know that it is not a homogeneous world; we know too that enslaved peoples are still to be found there, together with some who have achieved a simulacrum of phony independence.” (*The Wretched* 10). Thus, three primary points are importantly required to be said high and loud. Firstly, Africans are not as much independent as they think to be, not

as preached by their leaders at least. Secondly, if they lack independency, it is because they are subordinated by the same materials thought to bring up their salvation and comfort. Thirdly, their local cultures they denigrate are the ones more close to preserve their dignity.

The whole discussion in the present research would be possibly in good position to help improving the vision of Post-colonialism if coupled with deeper insights into its main concerns. Unless further researches on the oppressive capitalism are done, Africa will be maintained in a weak position.

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