

Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Department of English Language and Literature British Cultural Studies Programme

CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN BUCHI EMECHETA'S SECOND CLASS CITIZEN AND CHINUA ACHEBE'S THINGS FALL APART AND ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH

Cansu ÇAKMAK ÖZGÜREL

Master's Thesis

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KABUL VE ONAY

Cansu Çakmak Özgürel tarafından hazırlanan "Changing Representations of African Women in Buchi Emecheta's Second Class Citizen and Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Anthills of the Savannah" başlıklı bu çalışma, 21.10.2016 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından yüksek lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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ÖZET

ÖZGÜREL ÇAKMAK, Cansu. Buchi Emecheta'nın Second Class Citizen ve Chinua Achebe'nin Things Fall Apart ve Anthills of the Savannah adlı eserlerinde Afrikalı kadınların değişen betimlemeleri, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2016.

Bu tez, Buchi Emecheta'nın Second Class Citizen (İkinci Sınıf Vatandaş) (1974) ve Chinua Achebe'nin Things Fall Apart (Parçalanma) (1958) ve Anthills of the Savannah (1987) isimli eserlerindeki değişen Afrikalı -özellikle de Igbo- kadın betimlemelerini incelemektedir. Nijeryalı kadın yazar Buchi Emecheta ve erkek yazar Chinua Achebe, ataerkil düzen tarafından özellikle sömürgecilik döneminde baskı altına alınmış Afrikalı kadınlara ses kazandırmak, toplum içindeki rollerini ve statülerini yeniden tanımlamak ve betimlemek amacıyla, eserlerinde güçlü kadın başkarakterlere yer vermektedirler.

Tezin birinci bölümünde, Buchi Emecheta'nın *Second Class Citizen* adlı eserinde başkahraman Adah aracılığı ile ortaya çıkan yeni Nijeryalı kadının kimliğini ve toplumdaki yerini yazarın nasıl aktardığı incelenmektedir. Adah'ın, bir birey olarak gelişebilmek, ideallerini gerçekleştirebilmek amacıyla, içinde bulunduğu baskıcı ataerkil düzene karşı çıkarak, ironik bir şekilde sömürgecilik döneminin sağladığı eğitim olanaklarından yararlanarak, bir birey olarak toplumda yer kazanmak isteyen çalışkan, kendine güvenen ve bağımsız Afrikalı kadınları temsil ettiği ortaya konmuştur.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde, Chinua Achebe'nin *Things Fall Apart* ve *Anthills of the Savannah* isimli romanlarında, Nijeryalı erkek bir yazar olarak Achebe'nin Afrikalı kadınları nasıl tasvir ettiği tartışılmaktadır. Nijerya' da sömürgecilik dönemi öncesi geçen *Thing Fall Apart* isimli eserde, kadınların içinde bulunduğu düzenin kurallarına

göre, kısıtlı da olsa güç sahibi olabilecekleri ve toplumda önemli görevleri ve katkıları olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Achebe'nin en son eseri olan ve sömürgecilik sonrası dönemde geçen *Anthills of the Savannah* da, kadın başkahraman, Beatrice ve romanda yer verilen diğer kadın karakterlerin, artık toplumda birey olarak var olabildikleri ve basmakalıp roller içerisinden sıyrıldıkları hatta karar verici liderler oldukları ve önemli roller üstlendikleri ortaya konmaktadır.

Sonuç bölümünde ise, söz konusu eserlerde, Adah'ın, Beatrice' in ve diğer kadın karakterlerin analizleri doğrultusunda, Afrikalı kadınların edebi betimlemelerinin nasıl bir değişim ve gelişim geçirdiği ortaya konmaktadır. Nijerya'daki ataerkil anlayış bu kadınlara kısıtlı bir alan bıraksa da, sahip oldukları eğitim sayesinde kendilerini birey olarak topluma kabul ettiren ve hedeflerini gerçekleştiren Afrikalı kadının geleneksel rol ve statüsü, kendi beklentilerini, isteklerini karşılayabilmek için toplumda üstlendikleri yeni görevleri doğrultusunda yeniden tanımlandığı ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Buchi Emecheta, Chinua Achebe, *Second Class Citizen*, *Things Fall Apart*, *Anthills of the Savannah*, yeni Afrikalı kadın, Igbo kadını betimlemeleri, ataerkillik, çifte sömürgecilik

ABSTRACT

ÖZGÜREL ÇAKMAK, Cansu. Changing Representations of African Women in Buchi Emecheta's *Second Class Citizen* and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and *Anthills of the Savannah*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2016.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the changing representation of African women - specifically Igbo women- in postcolonial Nigeria through an in depth reading of Buchi Emecheta's *Second Class Citizen* (1974) and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987), since these novels employ female protagonists and significant female characters who represent new African women with higher education in order to fulfil their ideals and ambitions and assert themselves as individuals in terms of protagonists' questioning and opposing the patriarchal structures and limitations which restrict their lives socio-economically and socio-culturally.

In the first chapter of this thesis, Buchi Emecheta's *Second Class Citizen* is analysed in order to illustrate how Emecheta represents the newly emerging Nigerian women's identities and their status through Adah, the heroine of the novel. On account of her education Adah is proven to be a representation of Nigerian women who struggle against patriarchal restrictions in order to fulfil her dreams and ideals to assert themselves as individuals owing to her determination and self-confidence.

In the second chapter, Chinua Achebe's representations of African women in *Things Fall Apart* and *Anthills of the Savannah* are discussed. In *Things Fall Apart* which takes place in precolonial Nigeria, it is pointed out that although limited, the women characters have some power according to the rules of the society they belong to. In

Anthills of the Savannah, which is Achebe's last novel set in postcolonial Nigeria, the heroine, Beatrice and other female characters are capable of existing as individuals in the society and they do not necessarily have to have stereotypical roles as mothers and wives in order to survive on their own. Moreover, they are leaders and decision makers contributing to their society and country.

In the conclusion, it is concluded that the representation of African women has changed as reflected in the heroine Adah, Beatrice and other female characters in these novels. Even though African understanding of colonialism and patriarchy leaves a limited space for these women, ironically they can benefit from the opportunities that colonialism has brought to Nigeria: education; thus, it is pointed out that the conventional roles and status of African women are redefined to meet their expectations and ambitions.

Keywords

Buchi Emecheta, Chinua Achebe, Second Class Citizen, Things Fall Apart, Anthills of the Savannah, new African woman, representations of Igbo women, African patriarchy, double colonization

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Nigerian women is woven tightly with the history of Nigeria, the country which allegedly took its name from the river, Niger, that runs through it. Nigeria, which has a colonial history lasting for almost a century, declared her independence from Great Britain in 1960. Since then the country has witnessed a succession of military coups, counter-coups, assassinations, and suffered from corruption, excessive greed of her rulers and a civil war. Thus, as Dubem Okafor puts it, "[b]ullets and blood have thus remained a permanent factor in the torturous trajectory of Nigeria" (xiv). In relation to the upheaval in most African countries during or after the decolonization process, Ezekiel Mphahlele says, "[w]hether or not neocolonialism frustrates possible solutions, our continent is the black man's burden this time around" (260), which is also valid for Nigeria.

The aim of this thesis is to discuss and analyse the changing representation of the African woman –though specifically Nigerian- which is going to be traced through an in depth reading of *Second Class Citizen* (1974) by Buchi Emecheta and *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987) by Chinua Achebe. In order to depict modern representations of Nigerian women within the postcolonial and post-independent Nigerian society, Nigerian authors Albert Chinualumogu Achebe (1930-2013) and Buchi Emecheta (1944-) produced different yet substantial portraits of the new Nigerian women with a vision which advocates that women should play a prominent role in society. Both authors attempt to suggest better status and roles for Nigerian women –specifically Igbo- in the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and socio-political contexts in Nigerian societies which have an intricate history and complex cultural background. The reason for the deliberate choice of one female and one male writer is to analyse and discuss their different perspectives in approaching gender issues such as the role of women in a patriarchal society which was shaped through both the

primordial patriarchy of precolonial Africa and the patriarchal values of nineteenth-century Britain as a result of colonialism. In these novels, the battle against the biased attitudes toward women told by two protagonists and prominent female figures (Adah in *Second Class Citizen* and Beatrice in *Anthills of the Savannah*) and their struggle to have a better status and place in society which constantly attempts to restrain them socio-politically and socio-culturally can be observed. Although the protagonist in *Things Fall Apart* is male, there are also significant female characters that are involved in the social and cultural domains of the precolonial Igbo community; thus, their struggle of participation is of vital importance to this study as these women represent the state of Igbo women in the precolonial era and their precolonial situation constitutes comparison between the precolonial and postcolonial roles and responsibilities of women in Nigeria.

Nigeria has over two hundred different ethno-linguistic groups while there are three major ethnic groups, the Hausa in the northern savannas, the Yoruba in the southwestern part, and the Igbo in the southeast region which constitute the majority of the population of the country while other ethnic groups are the Fulani of the savannas and the Ijaw of the Niger Delta region, the Kanuri of the Lake Chad region, the Ibibio in the southeast, the Nupe and Tiv of the middle belt region (Falola and Heaton 4). In addition to different ethnicities, there are different religions in Nigeria; the majority of the people in the country are either Muslim or Christian (Falola and Heaton 4). Among these diverse ethno-linguistic groups, the cultural and political history of the Igbo is of crucial importance and relevance to this study as both Buchi Emecheta and Chinua Achebe are proud Igbo writers describing the Igbo way of life and society in their novels and articles in detail.

A brief overview of precolonial history of the country will be helpful to appreciate the socio-cultural and socio-political diversities in contemporary Nigeria. As Thomas O'Toole puts forward there were state and stateless societies in Africa, and in the south of the Sahara; most societies did not have an authoritative, or a single-handed power;

yet generally, these stateless societies had a complicated social system that was "based on lineage" about 2,500 years ago (30). Likewise in Nigeria, there were decentralised societies (or groups) some of which were later transformed into centralised state units owing to varied reasons, but decentralised small village units and village groups which especially existed in the eastern and the middle belt regions of modern-day Nigeria remained as decentralised until the advent of European colonial rule in the nineteenth century (Falola and Heaton 16). However, some Nigerian societies needed to evolve from decentralised into centralised states out of political, economic and cultural reasons; therefore, in the south of Nigeria, namely in Ile-Ife and Benin, kingdoms emerged in the eleventh century, meanwhile Kanem and Borno empires became powerful in the northern part of the country while in the fifteenth century Hausa states (in northern Nigeria) such as Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Gobir started to gain control and power (Falola and Heaton 16). Islam came to Nigeria in the early eleventh century with the conversion of Kanem king, Humas, to Islam and then it spread to the Hausa states in the fourteenth century (Falola and Heaton 29-30). In the seventeenth century, the Oyo Empire became the largest state of southwest Nigeria until the early nineteenth century when the empire of Oyo was defeated by the rise of the Sokoto Caliphate (O'Toole 38). Earlier in the nineteenth century, the series of jihads which had been supported by the Muslim teachers in western Africa since the eighteenth century were waged in the Hausa states of the northern modern-day Nigeria (Shillington 225); as a result of these jihads and the support of Muslim traders, the Sokoto caliphate, the largest single West African state (Shillington 225), was created "with a population of ten million people" (O'Toole 38), which made the northern part of precolonial Nigeria predominantly Muslim.

As mentioned above, the precolonial history of Nigerian centralised and decentralised societies had diversities in terms of political, cultural, linguistic, social and religious domains. In the centralised states of Nigeria, the institutions of kingship were prevalent, which means that one single ruler, or the king, was in absolute control of the political power and to a certain degree, he was a spiritual guide to his people (Falola and Heaton 37). In the decentralised societies people managed their domestic, social, and political

affairs, and solved their issues by cooperation and opposition "through kinship, ritual" and other primordial ways (O'Toole 30). The power was not single-centred yet it was through a sophisticated kinship system which also "helped Africans resist European colonial domination" (O'Toole 31). However, colonial policies that proved to be successful in northern Nigeria where kingdoms and empires reigned, faced many opposition from women in the east and some parts of western Nigeria (Nnaemeka and Korieh x). Specifically, the Igbo in the southeast regions of Nigeria did not have a centralised state system but the political power was founded on the decisions of agebased hierarchy of the elders of each town (an Igbo village unit) in their unique patrilineal socio-political structure and they remained so until the early twentieth century before the advent of British colonial rule (Falola and Heaton 22). Axel Harneit-Sievers states that precolonial Igboland "consisted of a multitude of villages and towns without a centralised form of political organisation" and they were not necessarily similar to each other in terms of administration (2). Since the way the political affairs were performed was not controlled by a single-centered power structure or a written law, it could be assumed that chaos and disorder would dominate the decentralised societies in Nigeria. However, writers like Chinua Achebe tried to oppose this oversimplistic assumption of Nigeria since in his earlier novel, Things Fall Apart (1958), and later in his African trilogy No Longer at Ease (1960), Arrow of God (1964) and A Man of the People (1966), he attempted to display precolonial Nigeria with its complex kinship-based structured societies and quite elaborate social, political and cultural systems. He objected to the unappreciated view of Africa's stateless societies. Especially, in *Things Fall Apart*, he illustrated the traditional life in Igboland while employing the elements of its customs and structure of extended families before the first contact with Western civilization (Larson 30). In short, before colonisation, Nigeria was not a unified nation-state, but it had different kinds of political systems with amplified cultural, linguistic and religious diversities.

Firstly, Portuguese traders made contact with Nigeria in the fifteenth century, which marked the first European influence on Nigeria (Falola and Heaton 49). Slavery and slave trade already existed in Nigeria before the fifteenth century; and in the north of

the country, Borno and Hausa states were trading slaves with North Africa through trans-Saharan trade route before 1500 (Falola and Heaton 59). In the fifteenth century, Europeans who sought trade of gold, textiles, foodstuffs and slaves arrived at Nigeria (Falola and Heaton 40). There was an increasing slave trade conducted mainly by French, English, and Portuguese traders until it declined in the nineteenth century (O'Toole 38). Mainly, there were two main slave trade routes passing through Nigeria; trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic, the latter of which proved to be very profitable for both Europeans and the Nigerian kingdoms that were in control of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Falola and Heaton 44). Economic activities in precolonial Africa were "interdependent and based on long-distance trade before the contact with Europeans" (DeLancey 92). In medieval times, gold, salt, and slaves were traded through trans-Sahara. In the nineteenth century, Britain dominated the coast of East Africa and they tried to abolish the slave trade. (DeLancey 92). Owing to the increasing pace of the Industrial Revolution in the nineteenth century, European countries sought raw materials for their industry (DeLancey 93). Therefore, in the nineteenth century, the slave trade was replaced with legitimate trade with Europeans after the British abolition of slave trade in 1807 (Falola and Heaton 61-62).

In spite of the fact that Nigeria had already been exposed to colonisation by European countries via the trans-Atlantic slave trade since the fifteenth century, the direct colonisation of the country was initiated with the defeat of the Sokoto Caliphate by the British in 1903 (O'Toole 46). Igboland had already become a part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century before British colonial rule abolished it (Harneit-Sievers 2). The British adapted an "indirect rule" which meant that they chose to govern colonies through "traditional, tribal authorities" that would make Africans feel that they were in charge of the land (O'Toole 47). As O'Toole argues, "[w]herever and whenever the colonial rule was established, it was essentially a paternalistic, bureaucratic dictatorship" (47). Despite the fact that indirect rule was almost going to work in northern Nigeria where there had already been the sense of a traditional leader, authorities who tended to corrupt their power economically or were objected by their subjects could be deposed and replaced by the British colonial regime (O'Toole 47).

Britain also tried to impose its indirect rule in other parts of Nigeria by "reintroducing monarchy to Benin (southern Nigeria), and attempting to reestablish the Oyo Empire among the Yoruba" (O'Toole 47). It can be deduced that the colonial regime sought to utilize the traditional ways of ruling such as monarchy and empire in their colony in order to establish colonial rule.

In order to control the country, Britain substantiated Nigeria as Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria and later on these protectorates composed one central administration (Okafor 4). However, what British colonial rulers did not anticipate was that the country could not be homogenic, and the vast differences between the already-existing-primordial groups were underlined fiercely (Okafor 4). The British colonial rule attempted to connect these centralized and decentralised societies commercially and culturally, but the amalgamation of diverse ethno-linguistic and socio-political groups of Nigeria was not a political success in terms of the future status of Nigeria. In short, Nigeria was forged in order to have a single Nigeria, but it became an "inorganic, alien and transformative" country out of necessity (Falola and Heaton 109), which meant the ignorance of the ethnic, lingual, political and cultural diversities in precolonial Nigerian societies.

As viewing the socio-political history of Nigeria is significant to this study to understand contemporary Nigeria, the socio-economic operations of precolonial, colonial Nigeria should be dealt with to compare the economic roles and responsibilities of Nigerian women in precolonial and colonial era, which shaped the status of women in Nigerian society. In addition to the changes in the socio-political domain in colonial Nigeria, the economy and the mode of production were also affected by the colonial policies of Britain. With the colonial rule, not only the kind of products that needed to be cultivated, but also the form of farming had changed (DeLancey 94).

In the light of the historical information on the socio-economic and socio-political changes in precolonial Nigeria above, the status and the roles of Nigerian women in precolonial and colonial era should to be examined to reflect on the changing duties and status of the new African woman in the postcolonial Nigerian context. Upon the socio-political, socio-cultural changes and diversities existing in the country, the gender ideologies of precolonial centralised and decentralised Nigerian societies have to be viewed for a clear comparison of the changing representations of the African woman by two Nigerian authors who comment on the predicament of Nigerian women in the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Nigeria.

Before colonisation, women used to have different positions and status in society according to which tribe or society they were in (Dennis 13). The structure of kinship and the role of women in the economic structure of a specific primordial society determined the position of women in precolonial Nigeria (Dennis 13-14). Brian Siegel comments on the importance of kinship in African societies and points out that the "African notion of family . . . refers to the extended family system" (224). Most African countries have unilineal kinship structures that descend from one line of ancestors through one's father's side, patrilineal, or his/her mother's side, matrilineal (Siegel 224). Also, patrilocality is essential in Nigerian patrilineal societies, and it necessitates the bride to leave her father's home and move to her husband's family house (Siegel 226). For example, in northern Yoruba, there were "linked, rectangular courtyards that house the members of the compound's patrilocal and patrilineal extended family" (Siegel 235). There is an exchange of alliances between the bride and the groom's families, and the marriage is legitimized by bridewealth; thus, binding the children born to a marriage with their father's patrilineage (Siegel 226). To compensate for "the loss of their daughters and the wealth she will bring to her husband's family," the family of the bride asks for bridewealth from the family of the groom (A. Gordon 253). The family of the bride accepts livestock or other movable property to legitimize the marriage (Siegel 230). In order to understand the concept of bridewealth, the economic and social significance of women to their societies and families ought to be acknowledged, since it also comprises her economic responsibilities as a provider, and

her womanly duties as a future mother. Both men and women are encouraged to marry at early ages and there is always the chance of marrying multiple wives for men. Generally, African women do not have to take the name of their husbands when they marry and that can be interpreted as paying respect to one's kinship and familial identity (A. Gordon 253). There is also the practice of divorce and remarriage in African societies. A woman can decide to leave the house of her husband and return to her father's house if her husband mistreats her (A. Gordon 253). However, the consequences of a divorce were not always for the benefit of a woman; on some occasions, she could be forced to leave her children behind when returning to her father's house or the family of the bride would have to pay the bridewealth back to the groom's family (A. Gordon 253). Women in precolonial Nigeria tended to marry outside their own villages or communities, so they were the agents of bringing changes or novelties in crafts, music, entertainment and cookery that they learnt from their new communities, to their ancestral home (Afigbo 7). In Nigeria, it was preferred for women to get married to Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa families to ensure a much stronger kinship which was important for Nigerian society that was patriarchal and patrilineal (Dennis 14). In Nigerian patrilineal descent system a woman would obtain a position according to her ability to bear children and she used to gain approval from the elders, especially on the condition that she had sons since she would guarantee the future of the clan or the tribe (Dennis 14). Within the patriarchal society, women were believed to belong to their households especially in the Muslim societies of northern Nigeria, yet there was the sexual division of labor, meaning there were jobs especially reserved for women so that the family could survive financially (Dennis 14). Women were thought to be producers, and were responsible for growing most of the family food, tending animals, making tools and even constructing residences and buildings (A. Gordon 252-253). They were generally engaged in farming and craft making, except for women from Hausa societies who were excluded from working and the public sphere according to Islamic principles. In Nigeria societies where a woman was expected to work outside her compound, women and men completed each other in terms of workforce since they had complementary responsibilities and duties. Women were also in charge of selling their surplus products in local markets, and they took part in commercial activities (A. Gordon 253). In fact, women exercised power and authority through different

organizations and institutions such as "woman's court, market authorities, secret societies, and age-grade institutions" (A. Gordon 251). Their authority was parallel to that of men, and "parallel authority structures allowed men and women to exercise authority over their own sex and activities" (A. Gordon 251), which meant the existence of separate domains of activities for both sexes to exercise authority and power. Especially Yoruba women were expected to provide for the family and also they would obtain some economic and political power under changing circumstances (Dennis 14). Morevover, by marrying or being born into ruling Yoruba families, women would normally achieve indirect political authority, but they did not necessarily display it among people unless they were the leaders of women market traders (Dennis 14). Even though this indirect power was not gained deliberately and fairly, it could suggest that Yoruba women could, in fact, possess some limited power in their societies. As Adiele Afigbo points out, "Yoruba women were involved actively in the political process" in southern Nigeria during precolonial times (7). Also, in Igboland where there was no centered political authority, Igbo women could benefit from the political structure that "was widely dispersed within each autonomous unit," and the power was not centered on a single sex, so it was rather shared by both men and women (Afigbo 7).

Overall, women in Nigeria were confident about the decisions that they made about their own affairs since only they could know the concerns and problems about their business. Besides being pioneer businesswomen, they were "reproducers in society where children were wealth, old age security, and the guarantors that one would be venerated as an ancestor after death and not forgotten" (A. Gordon 253). Since it was their children that would carry the legacy of the family and pay respect to the souls of their ancestors, they were the markers of adult status and were essential for becoming an immortal ancestor (Siegel 222). Thus, it was widely believed that a marriage without a child could not be a successful one in the eyes of the society, so having children was always the primary motive in a marriage. Therefore, polygyny, which is a man's right to have more than one wife, had been and is still quite common in Nigeria as well as in most African countries (A. Gordon 253). Although polygyny is interpreted by Europeans "as a sign of women's low status", it was actually convenient for both wives

and families' benefits in the African context (A. Gordon 253). Polygyny arose out of African circumstances in precolonial Africa; thus, it should be considered within the African context as it grew out of the social, cultural and economic systems in Nigeria. Generally, the elder wives received assistance from younger ones since they were expected to participate in economic activities that required them to be outside their compounds. There was cooperation between wives in terms of helping each other with domestic chores, child care and other duties of a wife such as meeting the sexual demands of a husband (A. Gordon 253). For example, younger wives became pregnant and gave birth while older wives did not have to fulfill the sexual demands of their husbands any longer. Wives also compensated for the absence of their husbands in most of familial duties among themselves such as providing food and shelter for the family. Also, co-wives became companions of one another in their social interaction and conversations (A. Gordon 253). In fact, woman was central in the family institution since she had to ensure the economic well-being of her family as she was expected to produce to deal with the economy of her family as a provider of food and shelter (A. Gordon 253). Interestingly enough, polygyny enabled African mothers to be active in the workforce as they could work inside and outside their compounds. Not only did they contribute to the continuation of their families and tribes as mothers, but also they were crucial breadwinners in their families and hence this added to their status and value in society.

Moreover, owing to their esteemed goddesses of fertility and social peace, women's social significance was appreciated by the religions of most Nigerian primordial societies, yet at the same time, witchcraft which signifies the potential danger of women's power that was uncontrolled by men was associated with women. Only, in Hausa, where Islam was the predominant religion, women were believed to be confined to the house. On the whole, they used to have an influence in the economic, social, religious domains and in some situations they had political authority even though it was limited by the structure of patriarchy and kinship. During the precolonial period, Nigerian women were expected to have financial independence to support their family, but it contradicted with the image of "colonially constructed new women" who were

expected to be confined to the home and should engage only in child-rearing and domestic chores (Mama 258). Before the advent of colonial rule in Nigeria, both men and women were responsible for farming and they shared their tasks and grew products for their families, and the surplus of the products was sold in the markets.

Along with colonization, previous social position of women was appropriated according to European patriarchal values that were nurtured by Christian principles and myths (Dennis 15). As A. Gordon states about the declining role of African women in colonial rule, "[t]he commercialization of agriculture through the introduction of cash crops altered the customary gender division of labor in many ways mostly disadvantageous for women" (A. Gordon 254). Woman's role within active labor tended to be disregarded and replaced exclusively by male power. Both colonial officials and African male elders worked together to restrict women from entering and making business in towns (A. Gordon 255). Although Nigeria had already been the place for trading raw materials with other countries even before the colonial period, with the colonial establishment, it became the place of job opportunities for Nigerian males. During colonisation, African men were taught to grow products such as coffee and cocoa for European markets while women continued to grow products for the needs of their family and local consumption. African men were introduced to new job opportunities such as cash crop farming and mining, which made them more socio-economically advantaged than African women (DeLancey 94). Before the colonial rule Nigerian farmers used to grow cocoa, palm oil, yams, cassava, bananas, plantains, rice, maize, millet, citrus fruits, groundnuts for both domestic use and export, but with the introduction of cash crop farming in the colonial era, the production of cocoa, palm oil and ground nuts was increased for the sole purpose of exportation (Falola and Heaton 3). Crafts making used to be conducted mainly by women and that was a profitable business, yet with the cheaply-manufactured goods from Europe and then Japan, the demand for the market declined drastically (Rojas "Women in Colonial Nigeria"). Thus, as the ways that Nigerian women used to earn their living slowly vanished during colonial rule, their economic roles and responsibilities that empowered them sociopolitically also disappeared. Additionally, the absence of women's participation in economic sphere rendered them powerless and worsened their socio-cultural rights and status. Moreover, men were primarily engaged in farming for international markets, whereas females were restricted to farming locally for their families, which was more undervalued and low-paid when both parties' agricultural productions are compared financially; thus, this new mode of production led to the collapse of the formerlycomplementary roles of women and men in the economy of Nigeria. Also, men did not always share the income with their wives, and women sometimes were unable to earn money by themselves because of the restrictions of colonial economy, so they "had to support themselves by selling sex, food, homebrew or domestic services to other men" (A. Gordon 255). With "the European assumption that only men were farmers, production of these crops (mainly coffee, tea and cocoa) was introduced mainly to men, even though African women have always been important farmers" (DeLancey 94). African men started to grow palm oil, cotton, coffee, rubber, peanuts, and cocoa which were the main cash crops grown for European markets. In addition to exported cash crops, men began to leave their homes to work in mines and earn money in the mines of Rhodesias and South Africa (DeLancey 94). As a result, women had to compensate their husbands' absence on their own by assuming the responsibilities that were once shared between them (DeLancey 94). While African men seemed to obtain a more favorable economic position, women had to sustain their families by producing food crops (DeLancey 94). As Virginia DeLancey argues, "colonialism did not originate to assist African countries to develop economically," but rather it served for the benefit of European countries (95). Although men and women were both exploited within the colonial economy, African men had the chance of gaining some advantages since they began to have money, skills, land and education while the same situation left women with less means (A. Gordon 254). The British colonial rule ignored and undermined female political presence and power while women's responsibilities toward their families -economic and domestic duties- grew (A. Gordon 254). What is more, the introduction of private ownership of land made it almost impossible for women to own land and grow cash crops for income since they did not have the means to buy it (A. Gordon 255). Ownership rights that were redefined in Western commercial terms banned women to "make decisions or profit from the sale and acquisition of family property" (A. Gordon 255). In case a husband and a wife got divorced, she would claim

"no right on the land she [had] helped her husband acquire through her labor" (A. Gordon 255). In short, colonial policies of economy discriminated against women in Nigeria, and through European patriarchal values and elements of already-existing indigenous male dominance increased female dependency (A. Gordon 250). Even after independence, African male leaders would continue the colonial legacy by sustaining the same imposed Western patriarchal values that were not originally in accordance with the former African patriarchal values (A. Gordon 250). As Kirsten Holst Petersen and Anna Rutherford coined the phrase, double colonization "[refers] to the ways in which women have *simultaneously* experienced the oppression of colonialism and patriarchy" (qtd. in McLeod 175). Colonisation celebrates male achievement while women are represented to be subjugated by the principles of colonial discourse and values of European patriarchy (McLeod 175). In addition, the fact that African males try their best to be a part of the political power that was structured by the colonial discourse and policies further complicates the state of double-colonisation of women. As Homi K. Bhabha states,

The effect of mimicry on the authority of colonial discourse is profound and disturbing [in terms of] . . . 'normalizing' the colonial state or subject, the dream of post-Enlightenment civility alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms. (86)

What used to be the norm of the primordial society had long gone, been distorted, or been reconstructed to seek compromise between the colonisers and the colonised, and the state of colonised women was deliberately ignored. Nigerian women who could not find any place in the colonial power systems and discourse were left speechless and powerless while Nigerian males attempted to adapt themselves to "the conceptuality of colonial man as an object of regulatory power, as the subject of racial, cultural, national representation" (Bhabha 90).

Actually, what British colonisers attempted to force into Nigerian communities was a view of their vision of their society that was shaped by Victorian principles and male-biased teachings of the church in the nineteenth century: women were subordinate to men, they belonged in the home and that was the only right way of things. On the

surface, the justification of colonialism was based on "saving the Africans" since they had been worshipping the false gods (O'Toole 43). Therefore, all colonial enterprise was initiated with the ostensibly explicit motivation of bringing Christianity and civilization to the continent. The African idea of a family was totally different from the Victorian ideas in British society. In the nineteenth-century Britain, women - wives or daughters- were expected to be "angels in the house" although the period later displayed great resistance to these ideas by women. As Amina Mama argues "[t]he dominance of the wife-mother ideal, an ideal which negated women's social and economic contribution, facilitated the devaluation of their work within the colonial economy" (258), which resulted in the deterioration of Nigerian women's position and function in society. As these women were replaced exclusively by males in terms of agricultural production, they found themselves trapped in the colonial gender ideology that complicated "the pre-existing social, political systems, and the cultural, political, and economic powers that women had been able to mobilize in defense of their gender" (Mama 258). In African societies, it was strange for African women not to have an active role in sharing economic responsibilities within the family. Owing to their extended family structure where a mother could get help from her family, a Nigerian woman could engage in financial exertion outside her home. Therefore, "the colonial economy tended to marginalise the economic position of the majority of women" by discouraging them not to take part in financial activities (Dennis 15).

Interestingly enough, although colonialism broadened the differences between the gender roles of men and women in African societies, it also made access to Western education possible for women. During the precolonial era, education was compulsory for boys and girls and it was informal (Shillington 359). Both sexes learned their religious beliefs, their social and economic skills for life mostly from their parents and other relatives of their extended families; whereas from the elders, they learned the history of their ancestors, oral traditions and customs of their community (Shillington 359). Later when they reached puberty, girls and boys were separately directed to initiation schools where they were kept away from the society for some time and were expected to attain the duties and responsibilities of their adult lives as a result of

learning religious beliefs and practices, gender-related social and sexual mores, moral behavior in these initiation schools (Shillington 359). However, during the colonial rule, there were "discriminatory colonial educational policies that provided little money or access to education for most Africans" (D. Gordon 58). It meant that only the children of wealthy African families could have the chance of Western education, which of course is still the situation in postcolonial Africa. Thus, the colonial educational policy contributed to the emergence of the Western-educated African elites and they took charge of local government in early twentieth century in both the French- and the British-ruled areas of Africa (O'Toole 48). Before colonization, the education was for both sexes and it prepared young members for their adult lives and transformed them into functioning individuals of their communities, but this education did not enable them to have jobs or careers that later emerged as a result of the colonisation period and global economy. While the formal education offers opportunities for young women to have careers, it is not attainable for all girls in Nigeria due to economic or familial problems. In spite of many inequalities that were caused by the colonial administration, Nigerian women could have the chance to change their lives for better by making use of the formal education that they have.

Later in the twentieth century, after World War II, ideas like actual political independence in the colonies of European countries began to emerge and soon British, French and Belgians granted independence to their colonies (O'Toole 49). Specifically, Nigeria gained her independence from Britain on October 1, 1960 and it became an independent state which "was administered at the center by the Federal government and three regions Government in the East, West and North of the country" until January 1966 ("Nigeria: Past, Present and Future"). Nevertheless, hopes for a better future also gave a totally new vision to the people of Nigeria. However, it also failed to serve that common goal since "the primordial demands of cultural sections" broke that bond (Okafor 4). As Kevin Shillington points out

The whole colonial emphasis upon the role of chiefs exaggerated so-called 'tribal' differences. The very word 'tribe' was deliberately used in derogatory sense by European colonists who looked down upon African societies as 'primitive' and 'inferior'. The British based their local

administration upon what they saw as a series of minor but totally separate pre-colonial chieftains. In order to make this a reality, they emphasized differences of dialect and redefined them as totally separate languages. [...] In many pre-colonial African societies there had been considerable overlap between the peoples, languages and customs of region. (356-357)

As a result of this "tribalism" constructed by the colonial discourse, the socio-cultural, socio-linguistic and socio-political differences between Nigerian societies were highlighted on purpose to create conflict among people from different societies. Feuds and rivalries among the primordial groups did not result from these differences between these societies, but the conflicts arose out of political power or economic advantage (Shillington 357). Thus, the country was not yet ready to act as a homogenic entity, and failed to be "a coherent and cohesive" nation (Okafor 8). In addition, the idea of democracy degenerated into authoritarianism since the colonial legacy of political administration in Nigeria was strict and authoritarian despite the fact that it was indirect (O'Toole 50). During the colonial rule, few Africans did not experience severe poverty and material deprivation, and after independence the power was shifted from colonial administrators to Western-educated African elites who were among the lucky few (D. Gordon 62). When these men became power-holders, they were driven with the ambition of social and economic gain and corruption began to oppress the unlucky majority in postcolonial Nigeria (D. Gordon 62). Therefore, the history of Nigeria is full of conflicts and political tensions (Okafor 4). The fact that it is not easily forged into one nation has also paved the way of possible future problems after independence. Still there are ethnic and religious tensions between the Northern Hausas and the Southern Igbos, which led to a three-year Biafran Civil War in the past (1967-70).

As Omoh Tsatsaku Ojior argues about the status and place of Nigerian women in society, after independence which was actually achieved owing to both men and women, males took over the charge of almost any field, leaving no political space for females to represent themselves (1-2). Even if they are elected for the political realms, they are often shy and far from defending their rights against men. In addition, even though maternalism and procreation are essential for the continuation of the society,

post independent Nigeria views women primarily as mothers, and only celebrates their act of procreation (Oijor 4). On the other hand, Oijor underlines the fact that "[a]lthough, majorities of the ruling class have been men, there have been women who have been on the stage serving in various capacities in Nigeria" (3). Women also work as lawyers, judges, cabinet ministers, senators in their country, but the case is not the same all over the land (Oijor 4). The main obstacle against the possibility of better jobs for women in all parts of Nigeria is the lack of education or inequal access to it. Even though there are many job opportunities, available jobs for women are the stereotypical ones that are similar to the jobs for women in the Western world: clerks, teachers, nurses, secretaries, which are rather gender-oriented and discriminating. (A. Gordon 260). Although colonialism opened the doors of education in the country and also abroad (preferably in London, and later in the USA), according to a 1971 report of The Federal Ministry of Labor of Nigeria, Nigerian boys and girls do not have equal rights in accessing education. During colonial rule, education for boys was clerical, bible studies, and for girls domestic science. Forced to learn domestic studies and virtues, young women were made into good and obedient housewives and mothers, not independent or self-sufficient breadwinners. After independence although there were some educational opportunities especially for the children of the Nigerian elites, there were and still are families who cannot afford to pay for the education of their children. The fact that a family with limited means tends to send their boys to school, not making their daughters the first choice which is generally owing to the economic and social status of a family, leads to discrimination towards education policy ("Women in Nigeria and Education" 105-106). As a result of their education which is discriminatory in terms of gender, girls can find the jobs that are acceptable for young women as nurses, teachers, secretaries, etc, while boys can obtain jobs that require scientific and technological knowledge and skills.

On the whole, women who could not afford to have a proper education when they were young are bound to the home, and their workplace is restricted to their homes. What they produce at home is unappreciated moneywise. The excruciating legacy of colonial rule and discourse has left Nigerian women almost no space to support themselves

financially and socially. Moreover, the economic situations can get even worse in a household with a single female parent. Especially child care is the biggest problem with which a mother might get help from her relatives from her extended family, yet that is not very plentiful (Mberu 514-517). Young daughters who have to take care of their siblings so that their mothers can work at low-paid jobs cannot dream of higher education for themselves. As a result, they might have to live a life which is similar to their mothers, and it is "perpetuating the life cycle of low education and low-paid jobs for women" (Mberu 517). Families with a single father tend to be richer than families with a single mother (Mberu 521).

All in all, oppressive rules of patriarchy and lingering traces of colonialism (even after the decolonization process) come into question while attempting to establish a better position for Nigerian women. Colonialism brought alterations in every aspect of life some of which were beneficial for Nigerian females. Some former privileges of women in terms of financial, social, political, marital rights were influenced by European patriarchy in the twentieth century with the changes in gender relations in colonised Nigeria. Hence, they were doubly-colonised and mostly ignored in public life in terms of having proper education and earning enough money. Women who were not Western and white were projected as exotic sexual objects of "Western heterosexual male desire," whereas white Western women were iconized owing to their Western-epitomized higher morals and civil standards (McLeod 175-176). However, in Igbo society the position of women is not that simplistic as an Igbo woman could achieve or earn respect that was originally thought to belong to males "through intelligence, resourcefulness, industry, resilience, talent, wealth or impeccable character" (Umeh 1).

The first chapter of this thesis is going to analyse and discuss the emerging identity and place of Nigerian women in *Second Class Citizen* by Buchi Emecheta. *Second Class Citizen* was specifically chosen to demonstrate that it is possible for Nigerian females to achieve economic and social independence which they lost in time on account of British colonialism and the African understanding of patriarchy. Emecheta is a life-long

supporter of African womanism and she believes that Igbo women are capable of achieving greater things if they have confidence in themselves ("Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 180-181). African womanism is a term that was first coined by Alice Walker who states that "[w]omanist is to feminist as purple to lavender" (Walker xii). According to Walker, womanism recognises and represents the individual differences while celebrating African women and their culture which values motherhood and womanhood (xi). The reason why Emecheta uses African womanism instead of African feminism is that she refers to the solidarity between African women who seek political, social, economic independence through empowering institutions and organisations in the context of African countries while refusing to use the term "feminism" as it denotes an outsider and to some extend a patronising perspective on the predicaments of African women. As defined by Carole Boyce Davies, "African feminism examines societies for institutions which are of value to women and rejects those which work to their detriment" (Davies 9) while Ogunyemi defines black womanism as "[incorporating] racial, cultural, national, economic, and political considerations into [. . .] philosophy along with [. . .] consciousness of sexual issues" (Ogunyemi 64). To conclude, the first chapter is going to put forward the changing roles and status of Nigerian (specifically Igbo) women who struggle to assert themselves as independent individuals against the male-biased assumptions of their patriarchal societies.

The second chapter will discuss Chinua Achebe's definition of women's place in Igbo society and why they should be regarded as indispensable parts of modern society. In order to define the new woman, Achebe's two novels -*Things Fall Apart* and *Anthills of the Savannah*- are going to be discussed in terms of the representations of women in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Igbo societies, and also the progress of Achebe's depiction of female voices is going to be analysed in the light of these two novels. Achebe portrays a quite realistic picture of precolonial Nigeria with a rich depiction of Igbo customs, proverbs, traditions, and way of life in order to revitalize the image of precolonial Africa and to demonstrate the complexity of African societies and their primordial lives before the advent of the colonial rule in *Things Fall Apart*, while in *Anthills of the Savannah*, Achebe's first developed female protagonist, Beatrice, leads

and guides the people around her in a postcolonial and an independent African state along with the other strong female figures. Thus, this chapter is going to discuss the alteration of female representations of Achebe via these selected two novels that can clearly reflect the comparison between the roles and responsibilities of women in precolonial and postcolonial Nigerian context.

The conclusion of this thesis will argue that in the light of the discussions of the chosen novels by Emecheta and Achebe, representations of African women have changed drastically under European colonial rule and also after colonial rule in free Nigeria. During the colonisation period, patriarchal interpretations of Christianity and African patriarchy, the latter of which was invigorated by the colonial policies restricted these women who to some extend had been in control of their lives economically and socially in the precolonial era. However, along with many disadvantages that Nigerian women had to struggle with during the colonial rule, after independence, they had the chance to have formal education that was brought by British colonial enterprise so they could change their status in the society by assuming new roles and responsibilities that are in accordance with modern and global Nigeria.

CHAPTER I

CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN BUCHI EMECHETA'S SECOND CLASS CITIZEN

In this chapter, Buchi Emecheta's Second Class Citizen will be discussed in the light of

Emecheta's contributions to the depiction of the new African woman who suffered from double colonisation in her own society. Among the works of Buchi Emecheta, *Second Class Citizen* has been chosen as it depicts the new African woman who objects to the oppression due to patriarchy (or male dominance) and the long-lasting consequences of gendered colonial policies which were exercised during the colonisation period against women in socio-political, economic and cultural spheres.

Emecheta, in this semi-autobiographical novel, reflects the traits and qualities of the new African woman who is confident and determined enough to make use of the opportunities that colonialism brought to Nigeria in order to become an independent, intellectual, and a fully-realised woman while not yielding to the old fashioned traditions of her identity which would not be in her favour. However, Emecheta does not eliminate all the elements of her African (specifically Igbo) identity and culture in defining the new role of the modern Nigerian woman; on the contrary, she celebrates and emphasizes some of them which can be of use in her development and gaining of integrity.

Buchi Emecheta, who was born in Lagos, Nigeria in 1944 and raised both in Lagos and in Ibuza, depicts the aspects of Nigerian culture in her fiction, but since Nigeria is not composed of a single or uniform cultural identity, she generally chooses what she feels most familiar with: the Igbo culture. Her Igbo parents who wanted their children to feel

close to Igbo customs and traditions raised them partly in Ibuza and Lagos since, according to her parents, staying in Lagos quite long would cause her to have "loose morals and speak Yoruba all the time" ("Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 173). Having Igbo upbringing as a child, she was highly affected by Igbo culture and traditions. She states:

It was at home that I came across real story tellers. I had seen some Yoruba ones telling their stories and songs and beating their drums whilst we children followed them-Pied Piper like-from street to street. But the Ibo story teller was different. She was always one's mother. My Big Mother was my aunt. A child belonged to many mothers. Not just one's biological one. We would sit for hours at her feet mesmerized by her trance like voice. Through such stories she could tell the heroic deeds of her ancestors, all our mores and all our customs. She used to tell them in such a way, in such a sing-song way that until I was about fourteen I used to think that these women were inspired by some spirits. ("Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 173-174)

Fascinated by the art of women story tellers, Emecheta decided to be a story teller as she states "It was a result of those visits to Ibuza, coupled with the enjoyment and information those stories used to give us, that I determined when I grew older that I was going to be a story teller like my Big Mother" ("Feminism" 174). Owing to her upbringing by her paternal grandmother, she employs the oral tradition of storytelling, incorporating the elements of Igbo myths and cultural elements (Nadaswaran 146). She embraces the Igbo identity in all its reality as well as adding autobiographical elements in her novels such as In the Ditch (1972), Second-Class Citizen (1975), and Head Above Water -the last of which is autobiography- (1986). According to Florence Stratton, "[c]ritics generally view Emecheta's novels as providing an authentic representation of African women" (113). Specifically, Emecheta reflects the experiences of Nigerian women whose stories she sees or hears in her trips to her motherland in order to be in close relationship with the Igbo world (Ogundele 450). Based on Emecheta's motivation to reflect women's voice and experiences, Theodora Akachi Ezeigbo calls Emecheta as "first and foremost an African feminist" (6). In order to elaborate on Emecheta's Second Class Citizen the theoretical understanding of African womanism should be examined since she advocates African womanism and voices the problems and struggles of African women in society as seen in her works.

According to Chickwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi, the concept of black womanism should be differentiated from European understanding of feminism:

It is important to establish why many black women novelists are not feminists in the way that their white counterparts are and what the differences are between them. African and Afro-American women writers share similar aesthetic attitudes in spite of factors that separate them. As a group, they are distinct from white feminists because of their race, because they have experienced the past and present subjugation of the black population along with present-day subtle (or not so subtle) control exercised over them by the alien, Western culture. These extraliterary determinants have helped to make the black female novel in English what it is today and partly account for the conflict between white and black women over strategies and priorities in sexual politics. (64)

As it is pointed out in Ogunyemi's discussion, applying European feminist ideology to conceive the issues of African women would be irrelevant and oversimplified since they had been subjugated and rendered silent by the colonial discourses of the West and Western culture. Also as Peterson argues, the contradiction between African womanism and European (Western or white) feminism is the impossibility of understanding and solving the issues of African women via European feminist ideology (251-252). Kirsten Holst Peterson comments on her impressions of a conference she participated on the role of African women:

[...] a group of young German feminists [...] debated their relationship to their mothers, in terms of whether they should raise their mothers' consciousness and teach them to object to their fathers or whether perhaps it was best to leave them alone. The African women listened for a while, and then they told their German sisters how inexplicably close they felt to their mothers/daughters, and how neither group would dream of making a decision of importance without first consulting the other group. (Peterson 251)

Peterson points out the obvious disharmony in terms of the agenda of Western feminism and African womanism as she states while German women can explicitly question the existence of the bond between their mothers and them, African women cannot even doubt the existence of this bond since there is mutual respect and trust between them (251). The extent of the relationship between a mother and a daughter is quite different

in Europe and Africa, but at the same time this difference is interesting in terms of considering the bond between a mother-daughter as these African womanists do not feel obligated to educate their mothers; on the contrary, they would like to benefit from virtues and morals of their mothers. In this respect, European feminists and African womanists have their unique yet separate cultures and traditions constructing them as mothers and daughters, and determining the extent of the bond between mothers and daughters. They clearly do not have the same understanding of womanhood and motherhood as in the example of the German feminists and African womanists. Thus, solidarity or a "universal sisterhood" cannot possibly exist between European feminists and African womanists as they have their separate agendas and different issues to deal with (Peterson 251). Peterson differentiates the agenda of Western feminism and African womanism as she states, "[o]ne obvious and very important area of difference is this: whereas Western feminists discuss the relative importance of feminist versus class emancipation, the African discussion is between feminist emancipation versus the fight against neo-colonialism, particularly in its cultural aspect" (251-252). African women have to struggle for more economic, social and political power that they lost due to the economic and social restrictions during colonialism and they prioritize the right to claim their role and place in their societies. The primary concern of African women is not the same for European feminists who prioritize "the fight for female equality" while not dwelling on issues related to "neo-colonialism particularly in its cultural aspect" (Peterson 252). It is a fact that African women have to struggle against the gender inequalities and the oppressive colonial policies that were maintained and sustained in the postcolonial African context. Incorporating or rather representing African women and their issues without degradation in the context of Western feminist ideology, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues, is almost impossible as it fails to incorporate the problems of African women into its discourse or analysis and there is not even a single or homogenized Western feminist discourse that entails the issues of all Western women (259). According to Mohanty, the essential problem is defining African woman in the single feminist discourse, since "[t]he homogeneity of women as a group is produced not on the basis of biological essentials, but rather on the basis of secondary sociological and anthropological universals" (Mohanty 262), which may result in considering African women a single unit of victims who experience oppression. In

Mohanty's point of view, it is clear that the real problem emerges when African women are represented as a single and homogenised group of people regardless of their need to be defined in a multiple and individual context. Reflecting these women to be the passive bearers of oppression would not be realistic or relevant and it would marginalise African women as "the average third world women" (Mohanty 261). Mohanty opposes the mode of European feminist ideologies that constructs African women in an oversimplified manner as they would downgrade the struggle and issues of African women regardless of any socio-cultural and socio-linguistic differences and characterise them as "average third world women" who are associated with being "ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, and victimised" (261).

What Mohanty argues about Western feminism and its misrepresentation of African women in this restricted context is also supported by Amina Mama. The Western feminist discourse –especially radical feminism-, as Mama states, does not include racial inequalities as sources of violence and oppression against women (263). It also fails to address the African understanding of wifehood and womanhood since "it has been assumed that most women live in nuclear marriages with breadwinning husbands upon whom they are economically dependent" (Mama 263), which excludes most of the black and working-class women. This assumption denies the traditional role of a wife in the economy of her family, however as mentioned above; the economy of families in most African societies depends mostly on women's production and labour so they are expected to work and serve their families (A. Gordon 253). Therefore, it can be concluded that

[T]he transfer of European feminist theories and strategies to Africa cannot be easy. Not only are there historical biases which have not been purged, but these theories have also been developed in late-capitalist contexts under a specific set of [...] conditions that are very different from those in African countries. (Mama 264)

Thus, what includes Emecheta within the frame of African womanism is her ability to depict African women's struggles and experiences in an appropriate socio-cultural and socio-lingual Nigerian context, not yielding to male domination, not victimising female characters, not stereotyping their roles and always discovering ways to gain power in

the society of the past and the present. Also her resistance towards being labelled or defined by European feminism in her own struggle for representation of Igbo women determines the extent of her African womanism. Especially *Second Class Citizen* aims at representing what the options could be for those women even in the worst conditions without making those options unrealistic or historically incorrect since "[r]ealism is also Emecheta's response to the stereotypical representations of women" (Stratton 113). In reply to the criticism that she tends to display her male characters unrealistically weak and historically irrelevant, Emecheta defends herself in an interview with Oladipo Joseph Ogundele as follows:

[Male characters] don't possess any type of weaknesses. I describe Nigerian males as we see them but once they are read outside the culture people realize how weak they are. But our men don't realize that they are weak because they hide behind the women and at the same time, they put the women down by not acknowledging the type of addition the women make to our daily living. (453)

When Emecheta was asked to state her function as a writer, she said that her sole motivation in writing is to tell women's stories to the world which had silenced them for many years (Ogundele 449). Therefore, she employs female protagonists in most of her novels with few exceptions such as Double Yoke (1982), The Rape of Shavi (1983), Destination of Biafra (1982) in which she also applies male voices. She frequently questions double standards and gender inequalities that exist in Igbo society through fictional characters and sometimes through her semi- autobiographical persona, Adah, in Second Class Citizen (1975). She is highly critical of the male dominance and female subjugation taken as the norm within the society while her determination to preserve the social structures and positions (such as being a daughter, sister, wife and mother) which enable women to obtain and sustain power to a certain extent. As a female writer, Emecheta advocates that she "[sees] things through an African woman's eyes [. . .] [and chronicles] the little happenings in the lives of the African women [she knows]", also she admits that she was not aware that "[she] was going to be called a feminist" in her well-known lecture, "Feminism with a small 'f'!" ("Feminism with a small 'f'!" 175). According to Ogunyemi, why Emecheta, as a black woman novelist, does not desire to be included in the trajectory of white feminism is that "[m]any black female

novelists writing in English have understandably not allied themselves with radical white feminists; rather, they have explored the gamut of other positions and produced an exciting, fluid corpus that defies rigid categorization" (Ogunyemi 64). Emecheta states that "African woman in her diverse roles as mother, daughter, sister, and wife[... [is] presenting slices of her reality or elucidating the position of the African women in a culturally specific environment" (Umeh 1). She mostly believes in the practicality of African womanism which she thinks "is free from the shackles of Western romantic illusions and tends to be much more pragmatic" ("Feminism" 177). It is clear in her understanding and interpretation of African womanism that she simply opposes being constructed in a foreign discourse which would not empower African women but would render them victims. She is well-aware of the traditional roles of women, which are despised and not appreciated by European feminists, but in fact these roles of women as mothers, wives are not to be undermined. However, the constructed definition of African womanhood needs to be redefined and replaced by African women, not by Western feminist discourses since the predicament of African women does not only stem from the gender and class inequalities but also from racial and sexual oppression as double colonisation subjugates colonised women and renders them powerless and silent. As Ketu H. Katrak states, women's "self and sexuality are constructed and controlled by indigenous patriarchies and British colonial practices" ("Post-colonial Women" 232). Precolonial African patriarchy was strengthened by the colonial policies and practices "to worsen women's predicament" ("Postcolonial Women" 232). As mentioned above, due to colonisation, primordial patriarchy in Africa was nurtured in time by the Victorian understanding of European patriarchy which already constructed European women as the angels in the house, and put them on pedestals so they would not even consider interfering in or participating in political or economic affairs which were accepted to be man's businesses. Mama defines this domestication process as follows:

[C]olonizers introduced a bourgeois Victorian ideology of domesticity into Africa. While the vast majority of African women gained no access to education at all, a minority was invited to acquire the graces of "civilized" femininity, namely, to be schooled in embroidery, cake decoration, and flower arranging. The purpose was to turn these women into suitable wives for those African men who performed administrative roles in the colonial state [. . .] These colonially constructed "new women" were to stay at

home and keep house for the small numbers of African men in the employ of the colonial regime. (258)

Thus, African women (or in general sense colonised women) "are twice colonised –by colonialist realities and representations, and by patriarchal ones, too" (McLeod 175). Thus, Emecheta succeeds in opposing the doubly-colonised stereotype of African women by creating more critical female characters that are willing to question restrictions imposed on a colonised woman who is constructed and defined by primordial patriarchy and colonialist discourse. It should be significant for a postcolonial female writer to question patriarchal values rather than to perpetuate them (McLeod 178). Indeed, Emecheta who aims at empowering African women successfully describes and reflects the authentic struggle of African women who want to assert themselves as individuals of their societies.

While she has no claim to evoke a new feminist ideology, for Katrak, Emecheta includes her "exploration of Igbo culture and traditions of bride-price and polygamy in her novels" ("Post-colonial Women" 230). As Katrak states, Emecheta questions the patriarchal order in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial era of Nigeria and examines womanhood, motherhood while she also writes about the traditions of bride price and polygamy ("Decolonizing Culture" 257).

According to Tuzyline Jita Allan, in *Second Class Citizen*, Emecheta displays her own life story which is full of success to be an example of "female liberation" (98). In formulating solutions to the self-realization of the individual, Emecheta is very much to the point; her female characters in the novels as well as her semi-autobiographical protagonist, Adah can be successful at being "weavers of [their] own destiny" as long as they rescue themselves from being dependent by education and economic self-sufficiency" (Allan 98). Like Emecheta in her own life, Adah also manages to have the formal education that leads her to be a successful individual who accomplishes her life goal; to be a writer who writes about her own customs and culture. Adah, like

Emecheta, does not yield to the racial and sexual obstacles that try to block her way to education and self-realization. It can be asserted that Emecheta may have proved that an African woman can be economically and socially independent regardless of her doubly-colonised position in society. An African woman does not necessarily have to give up her African identity or culture to liberate herself from her marginalised position in her society as a colonised woman.

According to Katrak, in order to portray Igbo women realistically, Emecheta does not "romanticise a pre-colonial past" ("Postcolonial Women" 232) since she knows that Igbo society has always been a patriarchal one where there existed certain expectations from women such as being a wife and a mother. In her works, she employs the empowering institutions through which Igbo women could assist each other historically and traditionally. According to Emecheta, a sense of solidarity organically exists between African women, and that cooperation could be in multiple forms such as being a member of the age groups (age-mates) in order to be more independent and powerful or helping co-wives in polygamies ("Feminism" 178). Just being a mother or a wife cannot be adequate for a woman to realise herself, and Emecheta displays the misfortunes of being that kind of woman in The Joys of Motherhood (1979). The protagonist in the novel, Nnu Ego, is portrayed as a devoted and selfless mother who only cares about her children and is not able to develop any healthy relationship with her age-mates or later with the co-wife. However, when she needs help or sympathy from her children the most, she realises that she is all alone and consequently, she dies alone on a sidewalk and is buried without a proper ceremony by her children. By creating such a character, Emecheta conveys to her female audience in her own words that:

We believe that we are here for many, many things, not just to cultivate ourselves, and make ourselves pretty for men. The beauty in sisterhood is when women reach the age of about forty. The women who cultivated sisters either through marriage or through village age-group start reaping their award. ("Feminism" 177)

Accordingly, the definition of being joyful is not only associated with being a mother or a wife, and one must develop socially as a person even if that means creating a sisterhood among co-wives. At the same time, Emecheta underlines the necessity of solidarity between women to achieve greater things and although being a mother can be very essential and joyful for most women, it should not be the sole joy in their lives; otherwise, their lives would be wasted and they would not appreciate the real joy in their life span, which is to have a successful career and become a self-confident individual. As mentioned above, traditional Nigerian societies pay much attention and respect to a mother who has sons because by giving birth to healthy sons, a woman guarantees the continuation of her husband's family, whereas giving birth to girls is not considered to be fruitful since they would be involved with another family when they marry. What is expected of women is very clear in the Igbo world, and Emecheta creates her characters according to the circumstances of the society they dwell in. Lauretta Ngcobo underlines the significance and necessity of procreation in African socities:

The reason why African families desire high fertility have to do with 'human capital' and 'social security'. This all important need for children has led to the institutionalizing of motherhood through fertility rites, taboos and beliefs and has acquired some religious significance. For a man it has become a sacred duty towards his whole lineage. Failure to immortalize the ancestors is taboo and a shame that a man cannot bear. As a result, childlessness is associated with women, for the alternative is unthinkable [. . .] In cases of childlessness, people do not think of and share the couple's or woman's agony-rather, they hear the echoing cries of the unborn children that she (the mother) will not 'rescue' and bring to life. (142)

Ngcobo states that the crucial role of procreation in the African familial context also oppresses women more than men since the former would be blamed unless there is a child in the marriage (142). In *The Joys of Motherhood*, Nnu Ego is well aware of the patriarchal oppression through her experiences with her husbands and her father. Upon not getting pregnant, she insists that she is the only one to be blamed, and she justifies the harsh treatment of her husband who calls her infertile. In addition to her dilemma, her father forces her to get pregnant by sending her messages from home and pressuring her in any way possible. Being a mother is not an option that she can decide; rather it is a communal expectation that she cannot ignore. When she finally gives birth to sons,

she is thought to reach the greatest joys that a woman can ever reach, but she is dissatisfied with her marriage yet knows that she cannot protest. About her disillusionment, her father says:

Why do you want to stand in your husband's way? Please don't disgrace the name of the family again. What greater honor is there for a woman than to be a mother, and now you are a mother- not of daughters who will marry and go, but of good-looking healthy sons, and they are the first sons of your husband and you are his first and senior wife. Why do you wish to behave like a woman brought up in a poor household? (*The Joys* 132)

Nnu Ego does become a mother of healthy sons but she cannot enjoy the joy of being a mother contrary to the expectations of her society who assume that motherhood is the ultimate joy in a woman's life. Obtaining almost no assistance from her husband, she works very hard to look after her children and she questions whether being a mother is really worth the entire struggle. Finally, she accepts that "[u]ntil we change all this, it is still a man's world, which women will always help to build" (*The Joys* 210). She is oppressed under her father, husbands and the burden of her sons that she is obliged to take care of even in her old age. Thus, she says "God, when will you create a woman who will be fulfilled in herself, a full human being, not anybody's appendage?" (*The Joys* 209) to express her frustration of being an Igbo woman who constantly has to serve the needs and the expectations of her family and society while she cannot consider her own ideals or pursue her own life goals. Therefore, Nnu Ego is defined by Nancy Topping Bazin as the "victim" and "perpetrator" of the patriarchal system since she thinks that the sole purpose of her womanhood is being a good daughter, wife and of course a mother (Bazin 145).

According to Bazin, "[t]he patriarchal glorification of motherhood" should be declined by women in order to gain freedom, otherwise they would be enslaved by the neverending demand to produce sons by their society (147). According to Emecheta, who is the mother of five children, being a mother is a joyful thing when a woman wants to experience it, but it is not the only thing that she can get out of life. She thinks that a woman should also be capable of realising herself fully not just yielding to the demands

of her father, husband and son. In short, what Emecheta really objects to is not procreation; she simply advocates that women should decide about their position in their society. As Allan states "Loyalty and resistance characterize Emecheta's fiction voice- the former stemming from her rootedness in African culture and the latter from her opposition to women's place within it" (97). As stated, the role and position of African women in the modern world is conveyed through Emecheta's semi-autobiographical novel, *Second Class Citizen*. Adah struggles to gain more power and freedom to fulfil her ideals to be an intellectual writer, but she does not lose her Igbo identity and culture as she still performs her duties as a mother and a wife. However, she does not become a subservient woman and she succeeds in becoming independent and free from the oppression of patriarchy by opposing the irrelevant patriarchal institutions and concepts.

Second Class Citizen tells the story of an extraordinary Igbo girl, called Adah, who has to struggle against many difficulties throughout the novel. First, she has to convince her parents- especially her mother- to go to school since Adah's education is not a priority in their family while they agree that her brother should be educated. As a child, she does not give up her desire to be at school and her determination does not fail her and she becomes very successful at school. Adah, a strong woman who does not just follow orders and social codes, uses what the coloniser brought to her land, education, for her own benefit. She generally has to make important decisions about her life as she knows that her family cannot support her financially and she may have to find some lifechanging solutions to realise her aim to be a librarian. For instance, she has to lie about the money that she is given to buy meat but instead she uses it to pay the tuition for the entrance exam of her dream school: the Methodist Girls' Schools (Second 20-23). Then, she gets a brilliant score in this exam and studies on a scholarship at this school (Second 22-23), and the education that she gets will make her qualified enough to find wellpaying jobs after she graduates. In this respect, Adah is a quite unusual Igbo girl as she could have submitted to the oppressive patriarchal understanding in her society as well as in her family; however, she always finds a way to assert herself in this patriarchal and oppressive order. Consequently, her education has a significant role in her formation of

being an independent Igbo woman since she is aware of the fact that she needs no one to support her financially or morally and she has already learnt to be self-sufficient when she was a little girl:

Children, especially girls, were taught to be very useful very early in life, and this had its advantages. For instance, Adah learned very early to be responsible for herself. Nobody was interested in her for her own sake, only in the money she would fetch, and the housework she could do and Adah, happy at being given this opportunity of survival, did not waste time thinking about its rights or wrongs. She had to survive. (*Second* 18)

She does manage to survive and develop as an independent woman in spite of all sorts of difficulties such as the lack of support from her mother. Adah has an unusual upbringing as she has only one mother, which does not resemble the traditional Igbo family structure. Since polygamy exists in precolonial Igbo society, children used to be raised by multiple mothers assisting each other in childrearing and other domestic chores. However, as a result of colonialism, marrying multiple wives contradicted with the teachings of Christianity; thus, although it did not vanish completely, some preferred -or prefer- monogamy in Nigeria. Likewise, Adah's mother does not have cowives, so Adah is raised by one single mother whom she does not develop strong mother-daughter bond and relationship with. She lacks this important source of power and she could have been an inadequate mother to her children, but she compensates this lack with her education and self-awareness of her motherly duties. One of the reasons that she lacks the bond is that she and her mother do not share many qualities; on the contrary, she identifies herself more with her father whom she feels comfortable with as he does not undermine her self-confidence and to some extent supports her (Second 13-14). Thus, even though she lacks her mother's support, she is able to take control of her life due to her strong character and will power that enable her to fulfil her ambitions. Especially she feels his encouragement when he decides to send her to Ladi-Lak which is a posh school according to Adah instead of the Methodist Primary (Second 14). Thus, although it is significant to have a strong bond between a daughter and a mother, Adah does succeed in becoming an efficient mother that she has always wanted to be as she is capable of taking care of them financially and emotionally. Even when Adah is proud of her work and career, she still thinks that her greatest asset is her children and

takes pride in claiming custody rights of all of them after the divorce (Second 174). She is not a totally career-driven woman, but still maintains her Igbo characteristics. In short, Adah cannot bond with her mother and she lacks one of the great support systems in an African woman's life, so she has to rely on her own capacity, which is quite extraordinary. Furthermore, she does not fail to embrace the essence of being a dutiful mother to her children and she develops her motherly intuitions successfully in spite of the lack of an appropriate role-model while she is raised by her mother. When she is at work, she is generally portrayed as thinking about the condition of her children (Second 45, 58). As Christine W. Sizemore states, the description of Adah's public life is limited even though she works every day and she constantly thinks of the security and wellbeing of her children while she is at work (371). She does not seem to have time for fashion talk, but has a family and more importantly children to take care of (Second 44). In other words, "Adah has a family but no community, no friends" (Sizemore 371). Adah also confesses that she can never feel at ease when she is near a woman (Second 12, 44). However, when she becomes friends with Bill who is a colleague in her new job, she feels good as she "had the tendency to trust men more because her Pa never let her down" (Second 152). Unable to develop a bond with her mother and later with other women, Adah manages to have a sophisticated friendship with Bill who is also an immigrant in London like Adah. Unlike the women colleagues of Adah whom she does not share anything in common with, she does find a common ground with Bill who compensates the absence of her father to a certain extent (Second 152). To Adah's surprise, Bill, a Canadian immigrant in London, does not idealise anything that is called English as he prefers to call English as "Britisher" yet he introduces Adah to the works of black writers and develops her intellectually about her own culture and people (*Second* 152).

As she can only be comfortable with a male companion, when she was a little girl, she even preferred to be punished only by her father since her mother "would not cane, she would smack and smack, and then nag and nag all day long" (*Second* 11). She thinks that her mother "had given her such a very low opinion of her own sex" (*Second* 11). In this respect, Emecheta's representations of a conventional mother through the depiction

of Adah's mother and of a more modern and formally-educated mother through Adah can suggest a comparison between the traditional and the modern roles of motherhood in the Nigerian context.

For Elaine Savory Fido, "when a daughter loses a mother, she loses lines of communication with other women as well", so on account of Adah's both emotional and literal loss of her mother, she loses her "line of communication" with women and tries to compensate for that loss with a creation of "false self" which can be defined as a false identity (336-337). According to Fido, that "false self" is both the result of the imposition of the patriarchy and the consequence of "trauma between mother and daughter" (337). Indeed, Adah thinks that her lack of self-confidence results from her fruitless relationship with her mother:

She thought that it was these experiences with Ma so early in life that had given her such a low opinion of her own sex. Somebody said somewhere that our characters are usually formed early in life. Yes, that somebody was right. Women still made Adah nervous. They had a way of sapping her self-confidence. She did have one or two women friends with whom she discussed the weather, and fashion. But when in real trouble, she would rather look for a man. Men were so solid, so safe. (Second 12)

Although the loss of the mother is seen in Emecheta's fiction, she is still a devoted mother who dedicated *Second Class Citizen* to her children by writing "To my dear children, Florence, Sylvester, Jake, Christy and Alice, without whose sweet background noises this book would not have been written" (*Second* 6). Like Emecheta, Adah also enjoys being a mother and succeeds in becoming an accomplished mother despite the lack of a role model while she grew up. Adah's being a good mother can also be the result of her insight that enables her to anticipate exactly when her children need her or the instinct that she can sense when they are in trouble (*Second* 52-59). Though not defending polygamy, Emecheta illustrates the reality that an African woman can exist and succeed even though she lacks the important bond of mother-daughter due to colonial imposition of monogamy by depicting Adah who has one mother with whom she fails to establish that bond and lacks this support but still survives and succeeds.

Emecheta's primary concern, as she told herself, is promoting equal opportunity of education for girls since she is a firm believer in the notion that female education is the key to progress in a society. Thus, she sincerely advocates in her talk "Feminism with a small 'f' " that "it is true that if one educates a woman, one educates a community, whereas if one educates a man, one educates a man [only]" ("Feminism with a small 'f'" 175). In *Second*, she underlines the significance of female education in Igbo society through the eyes of the protagonist, Adah:

School- the Ibos never played with that! They were realising fast that one's saviour from poverty and disease was education. Every Ibo family saw to it that their children attended school. Boys were usually given preference, though. So even though Adah was about eight, there were still discussions about whether it would be wise to send her to school. Even if she was sent to school, it was very doubtful whether it would be wise to let her stay long. (Second 8)

As poverty is a significant issue for the majority of families in Nigeria, unfortunately education for girls is not seen as of primary importance to those families. Likewise, Adah is not considered as the first choice by her mother and it is decided that her brother goes to this expensive school that Adah wants to attend (*Second* 9-10). Her family is forced to make a choice between their children due to economic reasons, but unfortunately, the choice that is made is not in favour of Adah, so she suffers from the gender inequalities that Stratton points out in terms of education:

Male bias in education is clearly one such factor. As we have already seen, colonial policy in Africa favoured the education of boys over girls and hence operated to cut women off from the written word. The same male bias is evident in education in 'post-colonial' Nigeria. Speaking in 1984 at the Third Annual Conference of Women in Nigeria, Ayesha Imam referred to the notion of equality of opportunity in education as a 'myth'. 'Not only are there more boys than girls in schools', she says, 'but also there are more schools (and school places) for boys'. (80)

However, there is also the fact that the more educated a girl gets, the more her bride price will increase, which also complicates bridewealth in Igbo society. Since Adah is determined to continue studying to be a librarian, she has to find a way to accomplish her purpose. In order to be successful in what she aspires, she manipulates the institution of marriage for her own sake. When she agrees to get married without a bride price, she actually has a plan for her future. After the death of her parents, Adah has had to live with the relatives of her mother who do not care about Adah enough to contribute to her education financially and Adah has had to be creative in terms of making her future plans to get educated (Second 19-23). However, she manages to get the scholarship she needs to enter the Methodist Girls' School which will contribute greatly to her academic background (Second 23). Unfortunately, life means struggle for Adah and she has to fight for the things she wants to have in her life: education and a career. She manages to make use of the opportunities that colonialism brought to Nigeria: access to education. Adah has enough confidence and determination to continue her education, but she lacks a home which will enable her to lead a peaceful life that she has always longed for since the death of her parents (Second 23). She is well aware that after she graduates from the Methodist Girls' School, she has no place to go, so if she wants to continue her education, she has to get married (Second 23). She chooses to marry Francis without a bride price, which is very unconventional in Igbo society. Nevertheless, not being able to pay Adah's costly bride price, Francis' family would be in debt to Adah's family -or Adah in this case- for a long time and this makes Adah advantageous over the situation since she does not have to follow every decision in Francis' family and she can object reasonably and she can be more powerful compared to her former life with her mother's relatives. In addition, Francis' family is sure that Adah will find a job that pays well to be distributed within the family, so they also think that this marriage would be in favour of both sides. Later Adah does find a position as a librarian in the American Consulate Library, which makes Francis insecure about himself since she will be able to earn much more than him. According to Francis' father, however, Adah is the money-maker in the family, so he gets angry at Francis and his decision of not allowing Adah to take the job:

You are a fool of a man, you are. Where will she take the money to? Her people? [...] Her relatives, who did not care whether she lived or died? This money is for you, can't you see? Let her go and work for a million Americans and bring their money here, into this house. It is your luck. You made a good choice in marriage, son. (Second 24)

While her education helps her to gain power over her marriage, she angers and resents her relatives since she is a college-trained bride without her costly bride price being paid to them:

[Adah] got great satisfaction, too, from the fact that Francis was too poor to pay the five hundred pounds bride-price Ma and the other members of her family were asking. She was such an expensive bride because she was "college trained", even though none of them had contributed to her education. The anger of her people was so intense that none of them came to the wedding. (Second 24)

It is Adah's own choice to marry Francis without a bride price, which also indicates she is indeed an extraordinary Igbo girl who employs her education and her reason to make decisions about her life. Even the fact that she can make decisions about her life empowers Adah unusually, but she is an intelligent and self-confident young woman who has ambitions and ideals to fulfil in her future. She finds a way out of the patriarchal order of her Igbo society as an extraordinary survivor. Marrying without a bride price could not be accepted as traditionally correct and as seen in the novel, could be an ultimate reason to annihilate kinship with a daughter. In the novel, Adah grows apart from her blood relatives since she breaks the usual cycle of tradition in her society. Also, Adah's refusal of bridewealth means her rejection of becoming a profitable source of wealth for her own extended family, which characterises one of Adah's rebellions against the Igbo traditions that she cannot benefit from for her purposes.

However, bridewealth is the indicator of her economic significance to her future family since the wife was the provider and "keeper of the food" as well as her motherly duties (Amadiume xiii). As Ngcobo states, dowry and bride-price are essential in African societies as the bride is the promise of the continuation of the family of the groom:

The basis of marriage among Africans implies the transfer of a woman's fertility to the husband's family group. [. . .] To facilitate this transfer of fertility, a dowry must be paid; not to buy the wife as missionaries have wrongly understood. The dowry not only gives exclusive sexual rights to the man, but essentially it is a means of social control over the children that the woman might bear in marriage. This becomes clearly evident where the dowry has not been paid, for no matter how long and strong a relationship

may be between a man and woman, in many societies in Africa, the children they get will belong to the wife's people, taking her family name as well. (Ngcobo 141-142)

Thus, it can also be suggested that the tradition of bridewealth disempowers mothers in terms of claiming custody of their children in case of a divorce when it is considered in modern terms. It certainly favours the father by granting all the custody rights of children on one single parent, that is the father. In this respect, the father pre-buys the children that are likely to be born during the marriage before getting married, which Emecheta actually objects to in *Second*. By rejecting her bridewealth, Adah is free from the obligations and restrictions that are caused as a result of this practice and after their divorce; she takes the custody of her children and becomes a single parent (*Second* 174).

Moreover, bridewealth, as Gülsen Canlı states, results in the daughters' being "considered as a commodity" (10). As a result of being regarded as commodities that could be sold and bought in exchange for money or livestock, young females encounter female subjugation and male dominance in their lives. For Canlı, Emecheta's novels reveal solutions to issues of "African's women's total bondage", that is, all they need for freedom are "courage, determination and education" (9). Emecheta also discusses and challenges the oppressive aspect of bride-price as she says:

Until I had five children I was still on hire-purchase because my husband could not afford to pay for me. As soon as my mother in-law realized that I was leaving her son the first thing she did was to sell the family house to pay for me. In that way I would not be able to leave him. I could have taken my children to another man, I could have changed my name, but she tied me down. [...] I have the money, she can sneak out land for me and I buy it. I don't buy in my own name, I buy in the names of my sons. Everything I acquire I get through them. In my own village people consider me wealthy, but it is only possible through my sons. Why is this so? Because my mother in-law has paid the bride-price. What made me fed up was that I went through school with the help of scholarships. Nobody in my family paid for my education, but when it came to the bride-price, they were all there, and so was I. (*Criticism and Ideology* 151-152)

On the one hand, Emecheta desires to question the challenges that African women face such as lack of education, bride-price, poverty in families, teenage marriages. On the other hand, Emecheta values some traditional institutions such as polygamy as a beneficial institution for both sides as she claims that

In many cases polygamy can be liberating to the woman, rather than inhibiting her, especially if she is educated.[...] Polygamy encourages her to value herself as a person and look outside her family for friends. It gives freedom from having to worry about her husband most of the time and each time he comes to her. ("Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 178)

Even though she points out the inequalities and limitations existing in the same society, according to Emecheta, polygamy empowers women in terms of their esteemed positions in socio-cultural and financial activities. As polygamy is a system that was necessitated by precolonial African socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions, it is contradicted by the monogamous principles of Christianity imposed during the colonial era and resulted in the degradation of Nigerian women's active role and position in the colonial society, so these women were victimised to a certain extent during this transition period from polygamy to monogamy.

Despite their traditionally high position as wives and mothers in the society, Igbo women have to obey the patriarchal reality which hinders the possibility of African female empowerment. In this patriarchal society, a woman is valued as long as she produces children, which unfortunately denies a woman her rights to be an individual of the society. Being a mother should be the choice of a woman; however, in this respect it is an obligatory expectation from a woman and this expectation becomes a burden if she also wants to concentrate on her life rather than only taking care of her children. Likewise, Adah is put on a pedestal and respected by Francis' family mostly due to her fertility, but she is not considered as an individual who has ambitions and fears by Francis' family. Emecheta illustrates the dilemma of a Nigerian woman as a mother in the Igbo community through Adah:

[Adah] did not disappoint her parents-in-law [on being a mother]. For, apart from the fact that she earned enough money to keep them all going, she was

very prolific which, among the Ibos, is still the greatest asset a woman can have. A woman would be forgiven everything as long as she produced children. (Second 26)

Adah also has had to struggle to resist some Igbo ways of thinking that deliver outdated advice to young girls as she objects to subservience to the males. For instance, even when Adah was eleven years old, she knew that she would not "have to serve [her husband's] food on bended knee: she would not consent to live with a husband whom she would have to treat as a master and refer to as "Sir" even behind his back [even though] [s]he knew that all Ibo women did this, but she wasn't going to!" (Second 19). According to Ifi Amadiume, recalling their primordial position in Igbo society is significant to restore African women's power and dignity:

If African women were the economic backbone of the continent (and still are today in the subsistence economy and informal sector), they must have been well organized in very effective women's organizations, institutions, rituals and religions. If women were used to defending their economic position and fighting the ever-present, controlling and oppressive forces of patriarchy, they must have developed a very strong sense of female solidarity. (163)

Ifi Amadiume who comments on the anthropological studies of Chiekh Anta Diop which assert that African societies were originally matriarchal, she suggests that Africa has historically been the site for power games for various forces (from Arab domination and influence to European colonialism). According to Diop, although matriarchy was the original prevailing structure in Africa, as a result of conquests, Arab influence and European colonialism, the continent was introduced to patriarchal values and understanding. Diop gives historic examples of African countries from Ethiopia to Egypt which displayed the ruling of powerful queens and matrilineal regimes while he argues that Africa had not been primordially patrilineal and patriarchal (47-50). Diop argues that:

Matriarchy is not an absolute and cynical triumph of woman over man; it is a harmonious dualism, an association accepted by both sexes, the better to build a sedentary society where each and everyone could fully develop by following the activity best suited to his physiological nature. A matriarchal regime, far from being imposed on man by circumstances independent of his will, is accepted and defended by him. (108)

Nevertheless, Emecheta demonstrates the patriarchal issues that disempower Nigerian Igbo women, through Adah. Even when she is the sole breadwinner in the family; she is still under a male authority or decision-makers mechanism that can determine her life:

[A]s most young African wives know, most of the decisions about their own lives had to be referred first to Big Pa, Francis's father, then to his mother, then discussed amongst the brothers of the family before Adah was referred to. She found all this ridiculous, the more so if the discussion involved finance. After all, she would have to pay for the plan in most cases but the decision would have been made behind her back [...] So she found herself alone once more, forced into a situation dictated by society in which, as an individual, she had little choice. (Second 26-7)

Escape from the patriarchy for Igbo women is clearly not effortless regardless of how educated and economically independent they are, as Adah's case shows, although Adah is an intelligent young woman with a bright future ahead of her, she is still bound to the patriarchal system of thought and practices in her life. Even though she desires to be at school and be successful in spite of the objections of her mother, she is expected to be a subservient wife and a mother of her future children. In her society, the path of Adah is not filled with academic achievements and degrees or a career, but she is destined to be a fruitful mother and a serving wife. In this respect, Adah's mother maintains and sustains patriarchal codes by not allowing her to make use of the opportunity for higher education mostly because she fears that Adah's suitors would be reluctant to marry a highly-educated and independent girl (Second 19). Interestingly enough, Adah does not share her mother's concerns; on the contrary, she is confident that she can benefit from this situation as her possible suitor might be less educated than she is and she can be in charge of her marriage easily in order to pursue her goals. In this respect, Adah's understanding of marriage is novel and it certainly detaches her from being a traditionbound wife in the Igbo society, so she might be considered as an innovative representation of the new Igbo woman questioning who holds the authority in a marriage.

Although Adah has to follow the decisions that are made for her, and she is aware of the fact that she would be an outcast in Lagos if she rejects all those traditions and customs that are in accordance with patriarchy. By marrying Francis without a bride price, she takes control of her life even though this control is limited. She can be insistent on her demands in her marriage as she has rendered Francis' family dependent on her financially. At least she can affect the decisions that are made in her new family to some extent as the money-making bride. Although she is actually quite content with her life in Lagos as she is "cushioned by the love of her parents-in-law, spoilt by her servants and respected by Francis's younger sisters" (Second 26), she aspires to continue her education to be a librarian and later a writer since she feels that being content with all this would be "superficial" (Second 26). In order to fulfil her dream, Adah knows that she cannot just continue to be a mother and a wife or to content herself with her wellpaid position as a librarian at the American Consulate. She feels that it is high time for her and Francis to go to London for their education and they are financially capable as Adah earns more than they can spend. One of the reasons that Adah wants to go to London so much is that she may consider this as a stepping stone in her status and career as an educated Igbo woman. When she was a little girl, she observed the preparations of the women in her village before they greeted Lawyer Nweze, the first lawyer who returned from the United Kingdom to their town in Ibuza (Second 7-8, 14-16). This admiration level is appalling and Adah witnesses very early that being a beento, a Lagos phrase for those who had "been to" England, (Second 27) equals to being a significant person in the eyes of her society. Therefore, going to the United Kingdom is a childhood dream of Adah. As a child, Adah used to think "[g]oing to the United Kingdom must surely be like paying God a visit [and] the United Kingdom, then, must be like heaven" (Second 8). Therefore, Adah becomes very happy when Francis accepts Adah's plan to save up and go to the United Kingdom so she can continue to study to be a librarian while Francis can study to be an accountant in London (Second 25). They plan that Francis should go there first while Adah sends him money and continues saving for her and the children's fare to go and meet Francis later (Second 26). Thus, should they go to the United Kingdom, they can "live their own lives" (Second 27) and she can have the freedom that she has always dreamt of. However, while Francis' father allows him to go, he refuses Adah and the children to leave Lagos, so her request is rejected by the patriarchy:

Father does not approve of women going to the UK. But you see, you will pay for me, and look after yourself, and within three years, I'll be back. Father said you're earning more than most people who have been to England. Why lose your good job just to go and see London? They say it is just like Lagos. (*Second* 27-28)

Being a fearless girl, Adah has never fully surrendered to the demands of her society. While not refusing the roles that she traditionally fulfils, she also does not refrain herself from developing intellectually and individually, which she achieved due to her education. Growing to be more educated and wiser, she is aware of the options that she can choose. Therefore, she does not yield to the objections and rejections of Francis and his family and somehow convinces Francis and his family (Second 32-33). Actually, Adah has many advantages in her favour; she has provided children so she is a fruitful mother; she also provides economically for her family and Francis' family, so she is a dutiful wife and a daughter-in-law. She is vigilant and smart in performing her duties and fulfilling the expectations that are required in a successful marriage in the Igbo society. Thus, Adah convinces Francis' parents by saying that she could earn more in London than she does in Nigeria so she could send more money to them (Second 32-33). Not to her surprise, they are persuaded and allow Adah and her children to go to London as long as they know that she is going to send them money. First, Adah has to convince Francis' mother by drawing her attention to the financial advantages she will have when she returns home with her diploma given in the United Kingdom:

Think of it, Ma- Francis in his big American car and I in my small one, coming to visit you and Pa when you retire. You'll be the envy of all your friends. Mind you, in England I'll work and still send you money. All you have to do is to ask, and then you'll get whatever you want. All I have to do is to work, look after Francis and attend classes in the evening. And when I come back, I shall earn more than double what I'm earning now. (Second 33)

Thus, Adah makes use of the opportunity that colonialism has provided for its former subjects, which is the right to be an immigrant for educational purposes and to better

one's position. Now that she can continue her studies, she feels excited to leave Lagos for London as she is full of many expectations to "come back with pride" (Second 34). As she imagines when she is a little girl, she can return with a pride of being a been-to. It can be suggested that she idealises the United Kingdom and finds it as a place of unlimited opportunities for educated immigrants. Also, even though she convinces Francis's mother by reassuring her that she will come back, she sincerely does not want to return to her hometown. When the title of the book is considered, Adah plans to be a citizen in London and she surely does not settle for just being an immigrant in the country. Even though the title also suggests that even if she is to become a citizen, Adah may have to tolerate being treated as a second class citizen, she is simply determined to better her status and position in her Igbo society as result of becoming British.

However, when she arrives in London with her children, she cannot escape being trapped by an oppressive husband. Even though Francis is never the ideal husband and father, he has become a different person after he starts to live in London. Francis moves towards being a dysfunctional husband and father to a more dysfunctional and lazier individual when he is away from his family. Through Francis, Emecheta criticises his inability of becoming a father and a husband while being a burden on Adah. While making London plans with Adah, Francis might have never sincerely believed that one day Adah could come to London with the children. Also, he may have never truly wanted her and the children to start to live in London, so Francis grows more impatient and less tolerant towards the children and Adah and he says to her: "It is allowed for African males to come and get civilised in England [b]ut that privilege has not been extended to females yet" (Second 37). It is a sign of Francis' inferiority complex and he does not want Adah to be one of those been-to. Francis is jealous of Adah since she is smarter than he is and she earns more money than he does, and although he does not reveal his jealousy, he considers his been-to-England state as an achievement in his life. Although he feels insecure deep down, he projects this insecurity on Adah by behaving as if he were superior and calling her a second class human (Second 164). His misogynistic frustration might stem from his resentment of his wife's success since he knows that Adah is capable of achieving many things in spite of many challenges. He is jealous of Adah's success and determination and this leads him to be more misogynistic especially toward Adah. He is not only a jealous husband, but also has a low opinion of women whom he is intimidated by. For Francis,

[A] woman was a second-class human, to be slept with at any time, even during the day, and, if she refused, to have sense beaten into her until she gave in; to be ordered out of bed after he had done with her; to make sure she washed his clothes and got his meals ready at the right time. There was no need to have an intelligent conversation with his wife because, you see, she might start getting ideas. (*Second* 164-165)

As he devalues women in general and Adah in particular, Francis is depicted as a torturer of Adah who wants to improve herself but is prevented by her husband constantly. Emecheta actually reveals and criticises the misogynistic patriarchal attitude and thought through Francis since in his opinion women are not equal to men, but they are inferior to men (*Second* 164). Francis also resorts to physical and verbal abuse toward Adah and his mistreatment even occurs on account of his bad mood or as a result of another failed attempt to pass his examination. Moreover, due to Adah's disappointment with the size of the room that they are going to live in, she thinks that there is not even room to breathe, but Francis defends himself:

Well, I know you will not like it, but this is the best I can do. You see, accommodation is very short in London, especially for black people with children. Everybody is coming to London. The West Indians, the Pakistanis and even the Indians, so that African students are usually grouped together with them. We are all blacks, all coloureds, and the only houses we can get are horrors like these. (Second 38)

Feeling inferior, Francis chooses the easier way to get away with his laziness, and he is buried under his own excuses that Adah does not actually believe in. In addition to his misogyny, he is also discriminatory toward all immigrants in London including himself and just like he considers his own wife as second class, he also views these immigrants like himself as second class citizens. Adah is quite sure that he has not tried to find the best apartment at all, but he settles for the first apartment when he arrives in London since he accepts the idea of inferiority thoroughly.

To worsen Adah's problems, their problem of finding convenient housing continues to be one of their problems later when they are forced to move out and have to look for another room (Second 87). They also experience the issue of lack of day care facilities for working immigrants when Adah starts working at the library (Second 45-46). When Adah is selected for the position in the library, the question of who will take care of the children in daytime creates many issues (Second 46). At first Francis agrees to look after them temporarily, though reluctantly, later he reveals how he feels about looking after them and produces excuses (Second 45). Francis who thinks that taking care of their children is definitely not his responsibility has the reason of an African man according to Adah who accepts that "Francis was an African through and through. . . to him, he was the male and he was right to tell her what she was going to do" despite the "very expensive education at Hussey College in Warri, . . . his outlook on life was pure African" (Second 28). Thus, Francis refuses the idea of taking care of their children when Adah is at work by saying "I can't go on looking after your children for you" (Second 45). For Adah, Francis's calling their children as "her children" is very typical since "[i]n Nigeria, when the children were good, they were father's, they took after him, but when they were bad, they were mother's, taking after her and her old mother" (Second 45). Adah opposes the subservient role of a traditional Igbo mother as she questions Francis' inadequacy as a father and a husband. Even though she loves taking care of her children and enjoys being a mother, she also thinks that Francis should help her with childrearing and some domestic chores since Adah has to work full time in the day and study to be a librarian in the evening while she has to take care of the children and Francis at the same time (Second 45). For Abioseh Micheal Porter, Francis' lifestyle in London "is now characterized by gross antisocial behaviour, a feeling of inferiority, laziness, and the utter irresponsibility" (269). Now that Adah has become a career woman and expects her husband to change in accordance, her expectations also point to her new identity as a new African woman who expects equality in a marriage where partners respect each other and share their burden together. To Adah's misfortune, she would wait in vain for Francis to become a husband that she wants him to be, but still her expectations from Francis show her new modern self.

Like her mother, Adah is also in a monogamous marriage, which is considered to be outside the African tradition, and because she is the only wife, Francis expects her to be sexually ready for him whenever he desires to make love with her. When he finds out that Adah is not in the mood for sexual intercourse, he accuses her of being frigid (*Second* 40). He does not sympathise with her being completely exhausted as he does not appreciate the extent of the service that Adah has to offer to her family: she has to work as a librarian as she is the sole breadwinner, and she has to do all the housework as Francis does not offer any help. Unfortunately, she tolerates Francis' affairs with their neighbours as long as Francis behaves discreetly. Another reason that Adah is reluctant to have sex with Francis is that she does not want to get pregnant again before she gets accustomed to her new life in London as she does not apply any birth control. Emecheta points out one of the struggles in monogamy in the context of an Igbo family, as both Francis and Adah grow up in a society that values a woman's fertility yet curses birth control practices (*Second* 146).

However, as educated parents, Francis and Adah should be in control of their family planning ignoring the outdated and superstitious beliefs and practices of their culture. Nevertheless, only Adah wants to apply birth control until she is harshly rejected and condemned by Francis (Second 146). She has already two children when she comes to London and if she wants to finish her degree to be a librarian, she has to concentrate on her studies while working and taking care of her children. In this respect, Adah's concerns are quite unusual for a traditional Igbo woman since a woman's control over her body is a relatively new concern and traditionally an Igbo woman did not use any contraceptive methods to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Adah is quite revolutionary in terms of adapting herself to the requirements of her modern life, but since she is an educated young woman who aspires to have a well-established career, she has to maintain her independence even though she is married with children. Even though she loves being a mother, she also wants to choose when to get pregnant. Although Francis' promiscuity and his sexual harassment would disturb the other tenants in their apartment, Adah feels glad that he no longer accuses her of being frigid and leaves her alone at nights. However, Adah continues to be antagonised by her husband's degrading attitude which is also seen in the part where Francis finds out that Adah is using birth control caps and blames her for doing things behind his back by saying "she a married woman, [. . .] came to London and became clever enough within a year ago to go behind his back and equip herself with a cap which he, Francis, was sure had been invented for harlots and single women" (Second 146). Francis implies that birth control methods do not exist in their culture and society, so he thinks that Adah must have acquired the idea of using birth control methods in London. For him, Adah goes against tradition and makes decision about her body on her own. Indeed, Adah is quite unconventional when she uses the birth control caps to prevent unwanted pregnancies, which may seem unprecedented. Adah's control over her body is not even tolerated by Francis who thinks that he has the right to decide for her even in such circumstances. Hence, Adah is creating a new African woman image that has her say and independence since she is economically superior and she is taking control not only of her life but also her body and as a result, Adah is redefining her roles and rights.

Nevertheless, Francis sees himself to be capable of making decisions for Adah, his wife, although it is quite evident that he actually cannot decide on anything without consulting his family in his homeland or other tenants in London. Unlike Francis, Adah, who can easily make important decisions about her life (whether to continue her education in Lagos, or to go to London with the children, or to become a published writer) by subtly convincing people around her to help her realise what she aspires to do, which reflects her self-confidence.

On the other hand, Adah adapts herself quite fast to being modern especially when she treats herself in her second delivery in London after her first delivery which goes horrible for Adah. She witnesses that women get spoiled by their husbands and friends with a shower of cards, flowers, presents after giving birth at the hospital and she is shocked by the attention that these women get since for Adah, they just deliver babies, which is very natural for a woman (*Second* 112-113). Then, she resents Francis for he

fails to recognise that they live in a different culture and Adah might need such indulgence:

The only table that was bare in the whole ward was hers. She had no flowers, she had no cards. They had no friends, and Francis did not think flowers were necessary. [...] Why was it that men took such a long time to change, to adapt, to reconcile themselves to new situations? (*Second* 116)

Adah's questioning of the lack of attention from Francis makes her realise the condition of the women she sees at hospital, and she compares her own status in London. In order to be adapted fully, Adah recognises that she should act like a real modern woman in any context, or in her words, she is "learning" the rules of being a first class and modern woman (*Second* 118). In fact, Adah realises the materialist requirement to get accepted in modern life that she begins to know and dwell in, and decides that in her second delivery she should pretend as if she were equipped with these material necessities:

Yes, she deserved a present from Francis. She did not mind if he bought it with her money, but she was going to show it around the ward, and say to her sleek neighbour, "Look, my husband bought me a double nightdress, with a lacy petticoat, just what I was dreaming about." she was going to do that. Well, she was learning. When in Rome, do as Rome does. (*Second* 118)

Thus, Adah is in constant transformation in London where she first observes and accepts and then applies these rules although she has no prior reference for any of them. Adah's resilience and adaptability are deliberately highlighted to support Emecheta's understanding of African womanism as Adah displays her brilliance and gumption through her deeds and thoughts. Emecheta endorses Adah with the ability to change and move toward progress as Emecheta supports the idea that Igbo women have been always survivors and fighters and they do not give up easily (Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 180-181).

Nonetheless, Adah has to struggle with racism both against whites and other blacks since her new woman concept requires her to struggle on both fronts. Thus, Adah and Francis have had to realize that London does not bear any resemblance to the image they have had before they arrived, and to be able to adjust to the conditions of being

immigrants in London would be arduous. Unity among black people does not exist realistically and what is worse, there is a false sense of superiority between a black person from the African countries and one from the West Indies (*Second* 70). Adah witnesses a certain amount of racism and hostility that immigrants have had about each other and she cannot make sense of this disharmony between people from different countries. As Abioseh Michael Porter states, Adah realises the essence of racism through their shared experience of "house hunting" with Francis when she experiences the jealousy of the other Nigerians in London (272). Also due to the fact that Adah does not send their children to be fostered, unlike most of black immigrants, she is frowned upon since they all think "[o]nly first-class citizens lived with their children, not the blacks" (*Second* 47). For Adah, sending her children to be fostered is not acceptable and she cannot picture herself away from her children whom she loves dearly. As an immigrant African woman in London, she has to fight against racism as well as sexism, which exacerbates her status in London. Adah is aware of the discrimination against black people in London, and being an African woman worsens her predicament:

Nearly all the notices had "Sorry, no coloureds" on them. Her house-hunting was made more difficult because she was black; black, with two very young children and pregnant with another one. She was beginning to learn that her colour was something she was supposed to be ashamed of. She was never aware of this at home in Nigeria, even when in the midst of whites. (*Second* 70)

However, she does not accept to be treated as a second class citizen and opposes the racial and sexist discrimination. She decides to continue her search for an apartment although she realises that what she can find will not be in a decent and clean neighbourhood (*Second* 70). Moreover, she does not send her children away even though taking care of them is difficult and she has to make some financial and social sacrifices. Furthermore, she works and studies hard for her degree as a librarian in London even though she has to struggle since she "was like a peacock, who kept wanting to win all the time" (*Second* 47). Thus, her Nigerian neighbours are jealous of her self-confidence and status in London since she is a white collar employee, and does not send her children away to be fostered like these immigrants, but keeps them near her, so according to her neighbours, they are living "as if they were the first-class

citizens, in their own country" (*Second* 69). In retrospect, Adah feels confused about dealing with discrimination from other tenants:

Thinking about her first year in Britain, Adah could not help wondering whether the real discrimination, if one could call it that, that she experienced was not more the work of her fellow-countrymen than of the whites. Maybe if the blacks could learn to live harmoniously with one another, maybe if a West Indian landlord could learn not to look down on the African, and the African learn to boast less of his country's natural wealth, there would be fewer inferiority feelings among the blacks. (*Second* 70)

The discrimination that Adah is exposed to by the tenants and other discriminating immigrants that she encounters can be analysed in the context of Fanon's theory of horizontal violence. According to Frantz Fanon, "[e]very colonized people- in other words, every people in whose souls an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality- finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country" (18). How colonised people define themselves in "the culture of the mother country" actually determines how much value they give to each other. There is no unity among black people. As Fanon states, "[f]or the black man there is only one destiny [and] it is white", black men aspire to prove themselves to white men "the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect" (10). Acknowledging that their traditional culture and language are not demonstrators of intellect and elegance, they regard everything that is thought to be 'primordial' or close to it with disdain. In Francis' case, his inferiority complex is clearly observed in his attitude towards Adah whose motivation to be a published writer really bothers him since he does not respect her as a woman and disdains her because for Francis Adah "is only a woman" for whom he feels apologetic (Second 93). Unlike Francis who internalises the constructed sense of inferiority without even questioning it, Adah opposes being treated as a second class citizen as she is a self-confident woman who is sure about the education she has got in Lagos. She always moves forward for her ideals and ambitions in her life whereas Francis always follows other people's decisions, judgments and does not develop as much as Adah. Adah is capable of seizing the opportunities that colonialism brought to Nigeria. In Lagos and Ibuza, she has had to struggle against the oppressive patriarchal order of the Igbo society that allows her to be educated enough to have a more costly bride price, but

she has managed to have the education she wants. Moreover, she uses the opportunity of being an immigrant in London and finishes her degree and becomes a librarian. She is insistent in achieving her aims, and after achieving her previous goal to be a librarian, she sets herself another to fulfil. After completing her degree as a librarian, she wants to be a published writer. Thus, her success is due to her development and progress that she goes through as a new African (Igbo) woman.

However, Francis simply thinks that "[t]he white man can barely tolerate us men, to say nothing of brainless females like you who could think of nothing except how to breastfeed her baby" (Second 167) after he learns her aspiration to be a writer and refuses Adah's request to read her manuscript. He fails to decolonize his mind from the falsely exposed notion of inferiority and oppression unlike Adah who believes that she, an Igbo woman, stands a chance of being published one day in London despite the cold welcome or discriminating attitude. However, Francis considers living in London means facing the same discrimination for all black people by claiming that "the day you land in England, you are a second-class citizen [s]o you can't discriminate against your own people, because we are all second-class" (Second 39). Francis accepts that they are second-class citizens and therefore they are inferior. Brought up with the idealization of the myth that white is superior, Francis seems to sustain the idea rather than question it even though he considers himself to be an educated African male. What makes Adah and Francis feel inferior is never the same; and they always fail to sympathise with each other's feeling of insecurity. Adah's insecurity and restlessness is clear when she is to mingle with her same-sex and white colleagues. She finds their conversation topics irrelevant as "they made her inferior somehow, always talking of boyfriends and clothes [and although] she was the same age, she knew that if she opened her mouth she would sound bitter" (Second 44). Adah lacks any possible chances of bonding with them mostly because of their vast difference of social and cultural backgrounds. She has had to cope with many hardships while growing up, and her life made her mature almost too quickly leaving her no time to talk or think about idle issues such as fashion or boyfriends unlike her same-age white colleagues who were probably brought up with the comforts of developed countries like sanitized hospitals, welfare system, and

compulsory education without any gender preference. Adah who acknowledges but does not internalise discrimination as her husband does, criticises Francis:

But Francis was from another culture. There was a conflict going on in his head. What was the point of marrying an educated woman? Why had his parents been asked to pay a big price if all she was going to do was to come to England and start modelling her life on that of English women, not wanting to work, just sitting there doing nothing but washing the babies' nappies? To him he was being cheated. (*Second* 163-164)

For instance, Adah experiences a frustration upon her requests –or rather her fantasy- to be taken out to dinner by Francis who thinks that going out to eat in restaurants in London is not for "blacks" (*Second* 58). Adah is disappointed with her husband's inferiority and reflects:

She used to tell herself that, when Francis qualified and she had become a librarian, Francis would bring her to such places to eat. She sensed that, in her case, it was an empty dream. Even if Francis did qualify, he would never have the courage to bring her to a restaurant to eat, not in London anyway, because he firmly believed that such places were not for blacks. Adah knew that his blackness, his feeling of blackness, was firmly established in his mind. She knew that there was discrimination all over the place, but Francis's mind was a fertile ground in which such attitudes could grow and thrive. (*Second* 58)

However, Adah does not accept the discrimination and inferiority but challenges the idea of superiority of white men, also demystifies the colonial myth about the honesty and civilised nature of white men when she discovers that Trudy, the daily-minder for Adah's children, mistreats and neglects her children so much that one of them developed meningitis due to exposure to unhygienic environment and malnutrition:

[. . .] one of the myths that she had been brought up to believe: that the white men never lied. She had grown up among white missionaries who were dedicated to their work, she had then worked among American diplomats who were working for their country in Nigeria, and since she came to England the only other white she had actually mixed with were the girls in the library and Janet. She had never met the like of Trudy before. In fact she could not believe her ears; she just gaped in astonishment. (Second 52-53)

Furthermore, the tension between Adah and Francis reaches its ultimate point when Francis burns her manuscript which is Adah's "brainchild" and actually reflects his patriarchal and misogynistic attitude which is dominantly the result of the injection of patriarchal values especially of his upbringing. Upon burning Adah's manuscript, Francis defends himself by claiming that "my family would never be happy if a wife of mine was permitted to write a book like that" (*Second* 170), which reveals his insecurity to make decisions by himself even though he is miles away from his homeland and family . Adah is also aware that "Francis could never tolerate an intelligent woman" (*Second* 168). They have a marriage that is filled with many challenges emerging especially when they start to live in London. Thus, Adah decides that divorce would be the escape from Francis, but the utterance of divorce in Igbo culture is not tolerated. As Ngcobo states:

The image of divorced women in our society and our literature is negative. Only a handful may earn the understanding of the community such as in cases where the woman has a clean reputation which contrasts sharply with her husband's maltreatment of her. Only in a few cases do some women win the sympathy of the public. This is confirmed if they are seen to behave with dignity after the divorce. On the whole a wife will do everything to endure even a stressful marriage, for in a divorce she comes out the loser: Even when her husband is the offending party, society sees her as having failed to hold him in place-therefore his failure is her failure as well. (Ngcobo 149-150)

Adah does not yield to the traditional assumptions on divorce that she would be blamed and be excluded from her society. She thinks that there is no point of continuing a marriage if it fails to function although she highly respects marriage as an institution. Nevertheless, being able to conceive the world completely isolated from her traditional way of thinking (her Igbo way of life) is not an option for Adah and she still blames herself saying that "[if] she would not have had this urge to write now; her marriage would have been saved, at least for the time being, because she knew that some time later she was going to write" (Second 168). Her hesitation and self-blame do not necessarily mean that she should just surrender and embrace what is there for her. On the contrary, Emecheta attempts to deliver an important message to all women who are willing to take control of their lives through Adah; and the message is that they should struggle against all obstacles that block their path. Yielding to the demands of an

oppressive husband is definitely not a step for achieving greater things in an Igbo woman's life, and although being a wife and a mother is important in their culture and identity, she does not have to be oppressed by the expectation of her husband and her society.

In conclusion, Emecheta represents the possibility of being an independent Igbo woman economically and socially through Adah. Second suggests that as Adah grows stronger and more independent, she does not have to give up the elements of her African Igbo identity. As seen in the novel, Adah is a compassionate mother towards her children and a dutiful wife to Francis and a respectful daughter-in law to Francis' parents, but she is also a successful librarian who aspires to be a published writer. She is not subservient; on the contrary, she fulfils her passions and ideals. In Nigeria, Adah experiences double standards even by her immediate family –not wanting to send her to school, but making her brother their first choice. In London, she has to endure Francis' misogynistic, unsympathetic and even violent attitude along with the racism of London life. According to Sizemore, Adah tries to "create a place for [herself] and [her] children" while "the structure of white patriarchy" creates issues for immigrants like poverty and welfare housing (372-382). Emecheta depicts a future which should be earned by education for African women, but to avoid being too simplistic over such a complex issue is also not very easy. Likewise, Adah has to struggle much in order to gain power and freedom throughout the novel and eventually, she receives the place that she yearns for in her life even though that would mean that she would be condemned by her own people. For instance, she gets married without her bride price and her extended family excludes her from the family, also she insists to use birth control as she wants to be in control over her body; and also by getting a divorce that actually does not exist in their society for Francis who thinks that "[o]nce a man's wife, always a man's wife until you die" (Second 171-172). Adah's decision to use birth control indicates her right to take control over her body is significant in defining Adah as a new Igbo woman with selfconfidence and determination. Adah knows that in order to be an individual, she has to take control of her life. Last but not least, that Adah becomes a published writer is the literal and symbolic expression of making her voice heard which had been silenced for so long.

CHAPTER II

CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN CHINUA ACHEBE'S THINGS FALL APART AND ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH

In this chapter Chinua Achebe's representation of the new African woman will be discussed in the Nigerian Igbo context in the light of Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Anthills of the Savanna. In Achebe's earlier fiction especially in Things Fall Apart (1958) he represents the conventional Igbo woman in the context of Igbo society and its societal rules. He portrays conventional Igbo women as co-wives in polygamous marriages, and sometimes as a priestess -Chielo- which is a respected yet marginalised position of an Igbo woman in Igbo society. The Igbo woman that Achebe depicts in Things Fall Apart, as Rose Ure Mezu states, "is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is inessential as opposed to the essential [or in other words], she is the other" (Mezu 196). Mezu defines the role of women in Umuofia, the fictional village that Things Fall Apart is set in, as "the inessential, the object" (Mezu 197). Nevertheless, Achebe reflects both the flaws and virtues of the patriarchal Igbo community before the advent of colonial rule, as it was a gender-based society in which there were different yet shared roles and responsibilities for both sexes (Dennis 14). However, in his last novel, Anthills of the Savannah (1987), Achebe searches for the missing constituent in postcolonial Nigeria: the woman. In this novel, Achebe depicts the changing role and position of the new Nigerian woman in the context of the new socio-political order of Nigeria after independence. Thus, the analysis of Achebe's two novels -Things Fall Apart and Anthills of the Savannahenables a visible comparison of the roles and positions between conventional Igbo women and modern Igbo women and how and why their roles in Igbo society have altered. In Anthills, Achebe proposes the new role, status and model of the African woman which embodies not a Western woman but an African Igbo woman with new duties, roles and functions in society. Therefore, as it shows the progress from the

conventional to the new or modern, Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* is studied to provide the representation of conventional Igbo women, their status and function in society.

The Nigerian author, Albert Chinualumogu Achebe, known as Chinua Achebe was born in Ogidi, Nigeria in 1930 and died on March 21, 2013, in Boston. His father was a Christian evangelist and teacher, and his "devoutly Christian parents had an intense sense of their difference from the non-Christians around them" (Booker 80). He was also surrounded with people who were following traditional Igbo culture and religion (Booker 80). Therefore, it would not be wrong to suggest that he must have been nourished from the "hybridity that informs postcolonial literature" (Booker 80). Achebe is defined by The Encyclopaedia of the African Diaspora as "one of the most influential voices of the 20th century, [is] recognized as one of the first African novelists encountered across the Diaspora" (Akoma 10). Achebe was a prolific and versatile author since he worked as a teacher, novelist, poet, a statesman and an essayist (Akoma 10). He published his first book *Things Fall Apart* in 1958 which became a modern classic and without long intervals he wrote No Longer at Ease (1960), Arrow of God (1964), and A Man of the People (1966) which were "widely read, studied, written about, and imitated works of contemporary world literature" (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 64). He also produced children's literature, Chike and the River (1966) and published his essays of criticism in Morning Yet on Creation Day (1975), Hopes and Impediments (1988), Home and Exile (2000) and many other essays (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 64). As a short story writer, he collected his short stories in Girls at War (1972). In 1987 Achebe's Anthills of the Savannah (1987) was published and it was an effective return of his fictive power as he took a long pause to write novels for a while; yet it was nominated for the Booker prize (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 64).

Achebe, as Simon Gikandi states, is always influenced by realism in his fiction since "it enables him to imagine African cultures, especially post-colonial cultures, possible and knowable" ("Foreword" xiv). Achebe states his motivation for writing as follows,

I wanted to write it, in fact, ever since I was very young, since 1953. I had been impressed by the works of Joyce Cary and especially by one of his books, *Mister Johnson*, in which he shows Nigerian characters. He is an excellent writer who has lived here, for he resided in Northern Nigeria during his youth, but he cannot see the Hausa like a proper Nigerian and, in fact, what results is more of a caricature than a true depiction. Also, reading Cary impelled me to show what was false in him and brought forth a desire to write that I've had for a long time. I really wanted to write a long novel, the action of which would take place over a hundred years. I divided it into three parts. (*Conversations with Chinua Achebe* 7-8)

Achebe felt the urge to represent the Igbo culture and society in a historically accurate narrative, which should mean a non-biased interpretation of Igbo reality for Westerners in the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial era of Nigeria. Thus, it is not surprising that "Things Fall Apart is almost certainly the African novel that is most often read by Westerners and most often taught in British and American classrooms" (Booker 65). In many ways, Achebe's African trilogy -No Longer at Ease (1960), Arrow of God (1964) and A Man of the People (1966)- is a justified answer to the misrepresentation of people from African countries and their culture in the eyes of the West and the literary cannon of the colonial period especially in Anglophone legacy. As Arthur Ravenscroft states, the reason why Achebe's Things Fall Apart has been widely accepted as the prominent anti-colonial novel in the West is "his having projected the tragedy of the destruction of a valuable pre-colonial African culture, but [making] it largely measurable through the personal tragedy of a hero who embodied most but, very importantly, not all of his society's cultural characteristics" (253). Indeed while defining his purpose of writing, in Home and Exile, Achebe states:

What Mister Johnson did do for me was not to change my course in life and turn me from something else into a writer; I was born that way. But it did open my eyes to the fact that my home was under attack and that my home was not merely a house or a town but, more importantly, [. . .] the story I had begun to learn consciously the moment I descended from the lorry that brought me to my father's house in Ogidi, the story that, seventeen years later at the university, I still had only a sketchy, tantalizing knowledge of, and over which even today, decades later, I still do not have sufficient mastery, but about which I can say one thing: that it is not the same story Joyce Cary intended me to have. (*Home and Exile* 37-38)

In this long answer, Achebe elaborates on his motivation to write the story of his homeland in the way that he sees and he desires everyone else to see, while refusing Cary's (or any outsider's, for that matter) literary representation of Nigerian cultures and traditions. Achebe opposes the representation of African cultures and identities which are constructed and sustained through the colonial discourse and literature by Europeans (or non-Africans) since he strongly opposes for Africa and people of Africa to be represented by a Eurocentric and an overtly racial perspective. Thus, he is motivated to decolonize the depiction of African traditions, cultures, religions and ways of life in their own reality and harmony. However, his urge to write back, or deconstruct what had been constructed falsely about Nigeria and its culture and people precipitated his process of writing. For Achebe, "where good writing becomes overwhelmed by racial cliché . . . [or it is] overwhelmed or merely undermined, literature is always badly served when an author's artistic insight yields place to stereotype and malice" (Home and Exile 41). In his chapter titled "The Empire Fights Back" in Home and Exile, Achebe questions and criticises the validity of the representation of Nigerians or the essence of Africa in the works of Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness, Joyce Cary's Mister Johnson, Graham Greene, Elspeth Huxley and refuses their description of the "Negroes" as stock characters who are falsely portrayed as beasts and godless creatures who have no understanding of civilization (Home and Exile 41-46). In order to restore and celebrate the value of the African story, Achebe employs a well established metaphor in his essay titled "Today the Balance of Stories" which suggests, "until the lions produce their own historian, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter" (Home and Exile 73). Obviously, the lion image symbolizes the African people (or specifically Nigerians) while the hunter is the symbol of colonisers and the hunt is colonisation in this specific context. The need to claim and narrate the real story of Africa is essential for Achebe and many African writers who have shared his vision. Though "Achebe was not the first African literary figure" and is preceded by many African writers such as Amos Tutuola, Peter Abrahams, Sol Plaatje, and Cyprian Ekwensi, as Simon Gikandi argues, "it is often said that modern African literature originates with Achebe" (Reading Chinua Achebe 2). According to Booker, Things Fall Apart (1958) is one of the earliest African novels and it demonstrates a wide range of significant predicaments that "face Western readers of African novels" (65).

In *Things Fall Apart* Achebe conveys realistic descriptions of rituals, beliefs, ways of life and complicated structure of Igbo society in the precolonial era in every possible aspect while later in his African trilogy, [*No Longer at Ease* (1960), *Arrow of God* (1964) and *A Man of the People* (1966)] he portrays the issues and predicaments during the transition period that is from colonial to postcolonial era of Nigeria. He aims at liberating African fiction from the "distortions and stereotypes imposed in European accounts", so "[t]he Africans of Achebe's book [in his African trilogy] live not in primitive savagery, but in a sophisticated society" (Booker 65). Thus, Achebe states:

To the colonialist mind it was always of the utmost importance to be able to say: 'I know my natives', a claim which implied two things at once: (a) that the native was really quite simple and (b) that understanding him and controlling him went hand in hand—understanding being a precondition for control and control constituting adequate proof of understanding. ("Colonialist Criticism" 58)

Achebe is a responsible author who thinks that a writer should be in connection with his society and his dedication to be the teacher of his readers (or his society) embodies his mission. Reviewing his earlier works, Achebe reflects his task which is to "teach [his] readers their past" and he suggests that "[t]he writer cannot expect to be excused from the task of re-education and regeneration that must be done" (*Hopes and Impediments* ch. 4). However, while he celebrates the Igbo customs and traditions in precolonial era, as Gareth Griffiths points out, "he is aware that as a modern writer he cannot identify totally with the values of the tribal past, since these values are only part of his inheritance, and often conflict with the social and emotional demands which the modern African experience makes upon those who live it" (69).

As mentioned above, the examination of the representation of the conventional Igbo woman in *Things* is instrumental in order to understand the new role model that is represented in *Anthills*. For Stratton, Achebe does not question the patriarchal and hierarchical order in Umuofia where the story mostly takes place in *Things* and his female characters are generally weak since they are generally "systematically excluded from the political, the economic, the judicial, and even the discoursal life of the community" (25-28). However, as Stratton states, Achebe makes one exception in his description of the powerful priestess Chielo of Agbala who chooses to "outlive the men

who could own her", which could be the only option for women who do not want to be treated as commodities sold and bought by menfolk (25). As Mezu states, in his early novels, "Achebe confirms both the systemic plurality of wives [polygyny], and the fact that women of Umuofia, and by extension, traditional women largely existed on the "fringes" of the social fabric [. . .] " (235). At the beginning of the tenth chapter of *Things*, the depiction of the day when a court proceeding takes place to decide on a marital issue is illuminating:

It was clear from the way the crowd stood or sat that the ceremony was for men. There were many women, but they looked on from the fringe like outsiders. The titled men and elders sat on their stools waiting for the trials to begin. (*Things* 77)

However, as Mezu further points out there is "a salient undertone of an unspoken female solidarity" (Mezu 235) and Achebe demonstrates this sense of solidarity among the co-wives of Okonkwo. The solidarity among co-wives against Okonkwo and his oppression is visible when his younger and comparatively more inexperienced wife goes to her friend's house to have her hair plaited and ignores her duties and responsibilities as a wife and a mother (*Things* 25-26). She is expected to cook both for her children and her husband in her compound and by the time her husband comes to visit her, she has to serve him; however, Ojiugo does not return early enough to cook. Okonkwo is infuriated when he finds out that "there was nobody in the hut and the fireplace was cold" (*Things* 26). When he confronts his wives, the first wife tries to "minimise Ojiugo's thoughtlessness" by lying to Okonkwo (*Things* 26). Therefore, as Mezu states, "these traditional Igbo women silently and effectively make a collective act of protest and defiance at an unjust feature of traditional society" (236). However, their solidarity does not prevent Okonkwo from beating Ojiugo even during the Week of Peace and due to his disrespectful attitude; he is punished severely.

Stratton questions "the authenticity of Achebe's representation of male-female power relations in pre-colonial Igbo society" in *Things* while she examines "the relationship between the novel and the patriarchal situation which provided an important component of its generative ambience" (26). The problem that complicates Achebe's depiction of

women is not about the validity of the authenticity of primordial life depicted in the novel, but as Stratton states, the real problem rests upon the tone of it which favours patriarchy to a large extent (25-27). In Umuofia, misogyny exists with its hideous reality and it shows itself in Okonkwo's wife-battering. In patriarchal Igbo society, wife-battering is tolerated and what causes Okonkwo to be punished is not the fact that he exercises physical violence on his wife, but the fact that he beats her during the Week of Peace, which means that wife-battering is tolerated outside the sacred week. Okonkwo is punished by the earth goddess, Ani for whom Ezeani, the priest of the earth goddess, speaks. Although Okonkwo is punished by a female divinity due to his misconduct during the sacred week, he should also be punished or condemned by the divinity whenever he rules "his household with a heavy hand" (Things 12). Indeed, when Okonkwo gets frustrated when he learns that Ekwefi, his second wife, cuts "a few leaves" off a banana tree and accuses her of killing the tree completely so he beats her; not surprisingly, Okonkwo is not punished dearly by anyone but his wives only try to interfere with him and tell him to stop beating (*Things* 34). Achebe frequently portrays his bad-tempered nature and his inclination to physical violence towards his wives, but whether he praises the masculinity and the patriarchy of the precolonial Igbo society or criticises this overrated masculinity in this society with Okonkwo's downfall and suicide at the end is ambivalent. Thus, Achebe's depiction of precolonial Igbo women in *Things* remains controversial as Peterson opposes the idea that Achebe represents conventional Igbo women as happy and content with their lives even though they are oppressed and mistreated;

Achebe's much praised objectivity with regard to the merits and flaws of traditional Ibo society becomes less than praiseworthy seen in this light: his traditional women are happy, harmonious members of the community, even when they are repeatedly beaten and barred from any say in the communal decision-making process and constantly reviled in sayings and proverbs. It would appear that in traditional wisdom behaving like a woman is to behave like an inferior being. My sense of humour has always stopped short at the pleasant little joke about Okonkwo being punished, not for beating his wife, but for beating her during the week of peace (Achebe 1958). The obvious inequality of the sexes seems to be the subject of mild amusement for Achebe. (253)

However, as mentioned above Igbo women had important functions and responsibilities in precolonial Nigeria even though these roles and status were generally considered to be secondary by their society. As stated above, Igbo society has a gendered workforce in which males and females used to have their own shared but different responsibilities and duties both daily and communally. Prior to colonisation, not only could women provide for themselves and their families economically and socially, but also they exercised power and authority through their various organisations and institutions (A. Gordon 251). It is true that during the colonisation period women lost much of the power and authority that they held before colonisation, but the struggle that they had should not be left unappreciated. Ifi Amadiume, who attempts to reinvent the core and history of gender relations in Africa, states about the economic activities of African women, saying that:

Their economic role was - not confined to the household and wider kincorporate units. They managed and controlled a very extensive market network where they were selling and buying. These marketplaces were also social places where outings were held after life-cycle ceremonies involving birth, marriage and death. Markets and marketing were not governed by pure profit values, but the basic need to exchange, redistribute and socialize . . . The most women would gain from being wealthy was the right to belong to prestigious associations, such as titled societies, and leadership of the various women's organizations and the Women's Council. (102)

Although *Things* does not convey the stories of power and authority of Igbo women, the novel generally praises the male-biased system in Umuofia where *Things* is set, and it resembles the precolonial Igbo society, and "it is an androcentric world where the man is everything and the woman is nothing" (Mezu 280). Nevertheless, Umuofian women can have certain power and authority although limited:

Anasi was the first wife and the others could not drink before her, and so they stood waiting. Anasi was a middle-aged woman, tall and strongly built. There was authority in her bearing and she looked every inch the ruler of the womenfolk in a large and prosperous family. She wore the anklet of her husband's titles, which the first wife alone could wear. She walked up to her husband and accepted the horn from him. She then went down on one knee, drank a little and handed back the horn. [. . .] The other wives drank in the same way, in their proper order, and went away. (*Things* 18)

Even though the source of power and authority described above seems to be not fair for all women in a polygamous order in a family, it enables the first wives to be respected and honoured by the society. Husbands sometimes ask their opinions about the family affairs and these first wives are held responsible for the younger wives, so they can be said to have a relatively prestigious position as elder wives. This sense of responsibility is seen Okonkwo's questioning of the first wife, Nwoye's mother when he is frustrated by the absence of the youngest wife in her hut (*Things* 25-26). While ordinary women lack unlimited authority and power, in *Things*, as Mezu states, female divinities and priestesses are represented as highly influential, such as the figure of Nneka-mother who is supreme and appears to help and comfort to anyone who is in need of aid and shelter, and Ani, the earth goddess, represents fertility (236,283). Also, Chielo, the priestess of the oracle of the Hills and Caves, is represented as the only respected woman in Umuofia and she decides that Okonkwo should be punished since she can exercise some power on the affairs of patriarchal Umuofian society (*Things* 26-28). In addition to these archetypical representations in *Things*, there is also the depiction of a fearful medicine woman who seems to be an outcast in this society:

[Umuofia] was powerful in war and magic, and its priests and medicinemen were feared in all the surrounding country. Its most potent warmedicine was as old as the clan itself [. . .] In fact, the medicine itself was called *agadinwayi*, or old woman. It had its shrine in the centre of Umuofia, in a cleared spot. And if anybody was so foolhardy as to pass by the shrine after dusk he was sure to see the old woman hopping about. (*Things* 11)

Even though this medicine woman is depicted to have much power, she is not actually referred to as a woman as if her gender were ambiguous or not important. She is referred to by the pronoun "it", which signifies her neutralised (or deliberately ignored) gender and she is not accepted as an individual woman yet she is feared by this society. Although not explicitly stated, she might be an outcast due to her ability of magic-craft or witchcraft that people of Umuofia assume that she has. Women of certain power such as the medicine woman and the priestess Chielo, are feared and respected by the Umuofians; yet they are not actually viewed as the individuals of the society and there is almost no detailed mention of their personal lives and gender. It can be deduced that their respected positions and status in the precolonial Igbo society strip them of their

womanhood or personhood since their femaleness is not considered by the members of the society. As the word "woman" (agbada) equals to being feminine and femininity is associated with being weak in Umuofian society (Things 13), these powerful women cannot be regarded as women for that matter. Nevertheless, the extent of Okonkwo's fondness of his daughter, Ezinma who is not represented like the other young woman in her village, is quite ironic as he likes her more than he does his sons but he wishes that she should have been born as a boy (*Things* 55). Ezinma is not a typical young woman as she is fascinated by wrestling matches (*Things* 36-40) and she is quite resourceful and agile, but these qualities are generally attributed to men in this androcentric society. Thus, Okonkwo who thinks that the features of men and women should be defined in a clean-cut manner, tries to appropriate her tomboyish attitudes as he says, "Sit like a woman!" to Ezinma (Things 39). Even though Ezinma is not portrayed as a stereotypical woman character, she is still trapped by the gender obstacle that is very visibly discriminatory and male-biased in *Things*. Ironically enough, Ezinma still becomes the only child who earns Okonkwo's respect and admiration despite this gender obstacle:

"I wish she were a boy," Okonkwo thought within himself. She understood things so perfectly. Who else among his children could have read his thoughts so well? (*Things* 153)

Since Okonkwo, as Gikandi notes, "strongly believes that 'manhood' is only achieved through the exclusion of women" (*Reading Chinua Achebe* 48), his exclusion extends to anything that stands for femininity. For instance, Okonkwo even disdains his father, Unoka as he finds him impotent and idle after leaving Okonkwo no title or land but a heavy debt when he dies (*Things* 4,7), so Okonkwo associates Unoka's idleness with femininity:

[Okonkwo's fear] was the fear of himself, lest he should be found to resemble his father. Even as a little boy he had resented his father's failure and weakness, and even now he still remembered how he had suffered when a playmate had told him that his father was agbala. That was how Okonkwo first came to know that agbala was not only another name for a woman, it could also mean a man who had taken no title. And so Okonkwo was ruled by one passion— to hate everything that his father Unoka had loved. One of those things was gentleness and another was idleness. (*Things* 12-13)

Not only do gentleness and idleness refer to feminine qualities in Umuofian society, but also they are widely looked down upon as seen in the relationship between Okonkwo and his father. In Umuofia, being a woman literally equals to being inferior or secondary as seen in *Things*, so it is not a society in which women are praised for their qualities but they are excused and excluded from socio-political spheres that men dominate.

Thus, it can be concluded that Nigerian Igbo women's struggle against female oppression in male-dominated societies has a rooted yet bitter history and although Achebe's mission to reflect the African authenticity in terms of its vast culture, amplified religious practices and more importantly the dignity of African man succeeded greatly, he may have ignored a significant part of the African reality which concerns the issues of African women and their voice(lessness) particularly in his earlier fiction, specifically in *Things*, and his African Trilogy. As Achebe states this favouritism of patriarchal order in *Things*:

Okonkwo [. . .] symbolizes strength and aggressiveness. These are some of the qualities that his people admire, and I wanted a character who could be called representative of this particular group of people. And they admired a man of strength, a man of wealth, a man who has a big compound with wives and who had many farms, that sort of thing. [. . .] The weakness of this particular society, I think, is a lack of adaptation, not being able to bend. I can't say that this represents the Ibo people today, but I think in his time the strong men were those who did not bend, and I think this was a fault in the culture itself. [. . .] this particular society has believed too much in manliness, and perhaps this is part of the reason why it crashed at the end. (*Conversations* 11-12)

It is clear in his statement that he does not favour the male-centred structure of Igbo societies and he can be highly critical of male dominance as illustrated in *Things*; too much manliness can lead to the downfall of the protagonist and the society as well. He also points out that without female participation, societies –in this context, Umuofia-will be doomed to collapse. In this respect, *Things* provides the context for understanding the conventional status and roles of African women and how they are represented by Achebe.

However, in Anthills of the Savannah published in 1987, Achebe raises crucial questions such as "what does citizenship mean?" and "what rights do citizens have in a nation they call their own?" (Jussawalla and Dassenbrock 65). After two decades of an interval between his novels, (since the publication of his last book, A Man of People 1966) Achebe aims at producing possible solutions to alleviate the troubled state of Nigeria with Anthills. The novel does not bear much resemblance to Achebe's other novels in terms of its form, subject matter and its multiplicity of narrators. Moreover, unlike his earlier fiction, in Anthills, Achebe employs a female protagonist who is portrayed as a developed character and is not represented as the stereotypical or cliché women in his fiction. With Anthills Achebe searches for the historic traces of powerful women who will be confident enough to lead the society, since the existing malefavoured system fails to be the solution to the problems of the country. In this respect, this female protagonist, Beatrice is the metaphor that signifies the major change that should be made in the society. As postcolonial Nigeria has been ruled and administrated exclusively by men so far and they have failed to a large extent in terms of building socio-cultural and socio-economic stability and peace, Achebe urges a system change in nation-building that calls for the participation of the new Nigerian woman that is embodied by Beatrice in Anthills. In order to adapt to the pace of the modern world, the role and status of the new African woman has to be redefined and she has to have different roles and status in this new postcolonial Nigerian society. Achebe expresses how he feels about women's participation in African societies; he says:

It's not enough for men to work out what women should do now. I think women should organize themselves to speak, from a real understanding of our situation and not just from a copying of European fashions, women's lib and things like that, but out of our own traditions to work out a new role for themselves. This is the challenge I throw both to the men and to the women, but particularly to the women. (*Conversations* 150)

However, Achebe's attempt to revitalize the identity and role of women does not convince most of the feminist critics such as Ifi Amadiume and Florence Stratton, since both doubt the sincerity of the content and do not find the novel "either as a revolutionary or as a feminist text" (qtd in Morrison 149). On the other hand, there are some female critics such as Rose Acholonu and Elleke Boehmer who agree on the

improvement in Achebe's *Anthills* in terms of its employment of female voice (qtd in Morrison 152-154). Despite the possibility of the validity of Amadiume's and Stratton's criticism, *Anthills* deserves solid appreciation in relation to its celebration of women and acknowledgement of their potential to make great changes in society even if conditions are not settled or welcoming. The final chapter of *Anthills* where the baby girl of Elewa, who is the girlfriend of Ikem, is born signals that women of Nigeria are there to claim their roles in the society back, which is what Nigeria needs according to Achebe. For him, the country has suffered so much and so long that there should be a certain change that has not been applied by menfolk yet.

Anthills of the Savannah is set in a fictive Kangan state which is generally accepted to represent postcolonial Nigeria after the Biafran civil war (Morrison 138-139), and harbours the life stories of four narrators whose lives intersect with one another. However, it can also be read to analyze how the power and discourse can be constructed, distributed and maintained through certain means in postcolonial countries that have recently gained their independence from European colonial countries. As David Carroll states, "the exercise of power has become even more extreme: [Anthills] opens with the military ruler of the African state of Kangan disdainfully treating his civilian cabinet like children" (167). Anthills, as Carroll argues, reflects the two decades of Nigeria in which the country suffered from "a civil war, the corruption of power, the rapid alterations of civilian and military rule" after independence (Carroll 167). It can easily be concluded that the fictional Kangan state –the fictive country to represent Nigeria- is not politically and economically ready for a transition period which would end the lasting effects of colonialism and mark the beginning of a democratic administration. On the contrary, the transition is not smooth but rather bloody, and certainly it is not democratic.

Anthills, along with its title, bears many metaphors and much imagery that symbolize the past, present and future of Nigeria socio-culturally and socio-politically. To illustrate, during a drought in the Savannah, due to bush fires, all vegetation comes to an

end except for the termites that are among the few survivors of nature and while termites are doing their job with the soil, they leave certain formations on the earth in the shape of hills, then the cycle continues when the grass starts to grow again, and termites continue their usual job. For Annie Gagiano, the title promises the hope that "[t]he anthills tell, simultaneously, of the fires of destruction and of the waters of redemption" (106). Therefore, "although the novel clearly does deal with the political crisis of Nigeria (and other African states) in the present day, it is also intended to resonate with small struggles for survival that are, in a sense, timeless" (Morrison 138). While *Anthills* can inhabit a reading of postcolonial criticism of the country in terms of its socio-political and socio-cultural structures, it can also be analyzed in terms of its use of gender roles and participation. It would not be very far-fetched to suggest that *Anthills* is a novel that harbours various layers of controversial topics. In one of the interviews Achebe gave about the postcolonial issues of African countries, he expresses his grief as follows:

It seemed as if all our hopes and beliefs had been misplaced, and we just had to begin to deal with the situations of the Nigerian nation and what one's place in it was to be. . . . If we have learnt anything from the post-colonial experience, it is the fact that you make one step forward and take two back, and perhaps stop, catch your breath and then move again. It seems to be that way. It's going to be slow and painful and expensive. But we can work to limit the expense and the delay and the waste. (Jussawalla and Dassenbrock 65-68-69)

Like in *Things*, the political atmosphere of *Anthills* is also androcentric and it does not seem to welcome women in its structure since the country is ruled by a power-driven dictator who does not tolerate any shift in his power mechanism. In *Anthills*, the reader witnesses the state affairs in Kangan that is apparently ruled by a military regime and how the members of 'His Excellency's' cabinet seem to follow the power to become a part of it so they have to be vigilant constantly about not making any mistakes that would infuriate Sam (His Excellency) as he rules by screaming, scolding, humiliating the members of his cabinet (*Anthills* 2-12). Indeed Sam –His Excellency- constantly exercises verbal abuse on the cabinet when he feels disappointed by his cabinets' inadequacy (*Anthills* 2-19).

As *Anthills* takes place in an androcentric setting, the male characters are also significant and need to be analyzed since they are all connected to Beatrice in one way or another. Interestingly enough, the characterisation and background stories of these males, Sam, Chris and Ikem, share similarities and differences with Beatrice; therefore, when the male characters are compared with each other, their weaknesses and strengths are also revealed before and through the end of *Anthills*. For instance, Sam's incompetency is generally depicted by Beatrice who thinks that he holds the authority that he is overwhelmed by so she is not late to predict that he is going to become a corrupt politician and a reckless head of the state. Sam is also criticised by Chris who mentions Sam's lack of experience and the sudden turn of events when Sam becomes the head of the state:

His Excellency came to power without any preparation for political leadership— a fact which he being a very intelligent person knew perfectly well and which, furthermore, should not have surprised anyone. [...] And so, like an intelligent man, he called his friends together and said: "What shall I do?" (*Anthills* 11)

Sam, unaware of how to govern a state, grows more stressful and tense and his fear is felt on his cabinet since he exercises "quite irrational and excessive fear of demonstrations" (*Anthills* 12). Sam is depicted as a strong and brilliant army man who has ambitions to be very important to his country; however, he fails to act rationally and he is overwhelmed by his greed and anxiety that prepare his doom as a dictator. Actually, while Sam becomes a corrupt and a failed leader to his country, his incompetency in leading is overshadowed by Beatrice's competence in leading the people around her. In this respect, when Sam is compared to Beatrice, his superficial and presumptuous nature is revealed since he takes his power and authority for granted.

On the other hand, Beatrice Okoh is portrayed to have a strong character with a very determined and self-assured nature which enables her to take "a walloping honours degree in English from London University" (*Anthills* 57). She has a significant position in the government as the Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and because she graduates from collage with an honours degree, Sam expresses his

admiration by saying that "Our Beatrice beat the English to their game" (*Anthills* 68). In this respect, Beatrice becomes a different representation of an African woman, who not only has a good job, but she is capable of being at the top of the administration of her country. She demonstrates her resilient nature which defies the oppression and the restriction of the patriarchal order of her culture as Romanus Okey Muoneke considers Beatrice as the representative of "three categories of women: the oppressed, the rebellious, and the redeeming" (146). Beatrice reflects her self-righteous rebellion when she is constantly told that she cannot be too ambitious:

I was determined from the very beginning to put my career first and, if need be, last. That every woman wants a man to complete her is a piece of male chauvinist bullshit I had completely rejected before I knew there was anything like Women's Lib. You often hear our people say: But that's something you picked up in England. Absolute rubbish! There was enough male chauvinism in my father's house to last me seven reincarnations! (Anthills 81)

One of the important features of Beatrice's representation as the new African woman is her strong character that is demonstrated by her rebellious nature due to the oppression that she experienced from her own father in her childhood. She is oppressed by patriarchal realities both at home and in the Igbo society. Her reaction against male chauvinism is very similar to the struggle that African feminism is based on, in that respect, she also acknowledges that being self-conscious about existing male oppression is not something that she "picked up in England" (Anthills 81), but it has always been with her. When she remembers the bitter memories of her childhood, she questions the oppressive attitude of her father and the passive-aggressive nature of her mother. Her father is an abusive man who resorts to physical violence toward his wife and children while her mother sustains the violence at home by remaining silent and doing nothing to prevent it although she is oppressed physically and mentally by him, too. Beatrice's questioning of her physically and verbally abused childhood sheds light on the physical violence in families, while it actually makes Beatrice a developed character Anthills as her psyche is observed at the same time. Unlike the stereotypical women in *Things*, she is portrayed as an individual who can dwell in her spiritual world to reflect on her past experiences. For instance, she reflects on his abusive father and her isolated personality:

And then one day as my mother came out wiping her eyes I rushed to her and hugged her legs but instead of pressing me to herself as I had expected she pushed me away so violently that I hit my head against the wooden mortar. After that I didn't feel any more like telling my father to die. I couldn't have been more than seven or eight at the time but I know I had this strong feeling then –extraordinary, powerful and adult- that my father and my mother had their own world, my three sisters had theirs and I was alone in mine. And it didn't bother me at all then, my aloneness, nor has it done so since. (*Anthills* 79)

Beatrice, like Adah in *Second Class Citizen* cannot develop a healthy relationship with her mother and thus, both lack the ability of bonding with women around them. Just like Adah who has a quite isolated childhood without any mention of happy memories of having girlfriends, Beatrice feels all alone at home even though she has sisters who "never took [her] much into confidence" (*Anthills* 79). However, unlike Adah, Beatrice manages to gain self-confidence via her education and career earlier than Adah does, since Beatrice has more options to achieve what she desires compared to her. Unlike Adah who cannot establish friendship with women, Beatrice understands the significance of solidarity early enough to cultivate a friendship and allies; so eventually she succeeds in sympathising with women around her.

Another important aspect of the new African woman revealed through Beatrice is her employment of reason. Ironically, Beatrice bears a name that is actually an indicator of the patriarchal code of her society and she has to face the feeling of inferiority regardless of her successful degree from London University or her high-esteemed position in her career. Nwanyibuife, Beatrice's baptism name, means "a female is also something", her birth was not a joyful event to celebrate for her mother since she had five daughters but not a single son (*Anthills* 79). As stated, in the patriarchal Igbo community giving birth to a son (preferably to sons) is a sign of respect and appreciation both from the family and society for a mother since she would guarantee the continuation of the family. In this case, Beatrice's mother resents having another baby girl who will not be capable of continuing the legacy of her family by eventually

getting married and moving out of her family. Beatrice expresses her mother's disappointment in her:

I didn't realize until much later that my mother bore me a huge grudge because I was a girl -her fifth in a row though one had died- and that when I was born she had so desperately prayed for a boy to give my father. . . . But I must mention that in addition to Beatrice they had given me another name at my baptism, Nwanyibuife-A female is also something. Can you beat that? Even as a child I disliked the name most intensely without being aware of its real meaning. It merely struck me at that point that I knew of nobody else with the name; it seemed fudged! Somehow I disliked it considerably less in its abridged form, Buife. Perhaps it was the nwanyi, the female half of it that I particularly resented. My father was so insistent on it. "Sit like a female!" or "Female soldier" which he called me as he lifted me off the ground with his left hand and gave me three stinging smacks on the bottom with his right the day I fell off the cashew tree. (Anthills 79-80)

Due to her failed attempt of looking for affection and intimacy from her parents, Beatrice looms a cocoon to isolate herself from the members of her family, and by doing this she actually grows to be a distant woman who is quite sceptical and cynical of the people around her. In a way, she must have developed a defence mechanism that would prevent her getting hurt by her loved ones. She reveals the reasons of her sceptical nature as follows,

It was a matter of experience having taught me in my little lonely world that I had to be wary. Some people even say I am suspicious by nature. Perhaps I am. Being a girl of maybe somewhat above average looks, a good education, a good job you learn quickly enough that you can't open up to every sweet tongue that comes singing at your doorstep. Nothing very original really. (*Anthills* 80)

By employing reason and judgement when she has to cope with an issue, Beatrice is not portrayed as a stereotypically coy or naive woman who can be easily seduced by any men. On the contrary, she does not fall for any tricks or "sweet tongues" that her suitors might use to lure her as she is perfectly aware of her own beauty and qualifications. Furthermore, she objects to being a damsel-in-distress and refuses to wait for a man since she is quite confident about her strength as an individual yet she does not lack the emotional depth as Beatrice and Chris have an affectionate and a quite impassionate

relationship. Even though Chris is a fugitive as he is given the death penalty and being searched by the government, Beatrice does not miss the chance to meet him despite the danger that she will probably be in, so she is quite brave for embracing an active role in their relationship. Beatrice is not a passive lover and decides to spend a night with Chris before he leaves the town (*Anthills* 181). It is clear that she predicts she may not see Chris for a while, but still Beatrice is determined not to accept a weak role in a love affair that would reduce her to a simple fiction character in a love story:

Why should she accept this role of a star-crossed lover in a cheap, sentimental movie waving frantically from the window of an express train at her young man at his window in another train hurtling away on opposite tracks into a different dark tunnel? And so she rebelled with a desperate resolve grounded on a powerful premonition that Chris and she had tonight come to a crossroads beyond which a new day would break, unpredictable, without precedent; a day whose market wares piled into the long basket on her head as she approached the gates of dawn would remain concealed to the very last moment. (*Anthills* 181)

She states that she does not wait for anyone even any man to rescue her, and as Jago Morrison states, "with Beatrice, we are offered a woman who is the intellectual equal of male companions" (150). She does not fit into the description of a stereotypical female that is recurrently –falsely- represented as acting with the guidance of her emotions, not according to her logic; on the contrary, Beatrice always employs her intellectual nature in making decisions and does not have idle dreams. In one of her conversations with Chris, Beatrice makes such a remark about the situation of Kangan: "Well, you fellows, all three of you, are incredibly conceited. The story of this country, as far as you are concerned, is the story of three of you . . ." (Anthills 60). Beatrice means Sam, Chris and Ikem and explicitly mocks their vanity as they are so self-centred and preoccupied with their own agenda. Also, as Carroll states, "their connectedness is asserted not through solidarity but through competition and resentment: this is the world in which their careers have developed" (Carroll 170). The reason why she has the potential to influence and lead people is that she has "her modern self" and "prophetic self" (Muoneke 148).

Unlike Achebe's earlier novels, there is the novelty of representing negativity of masculinity conveyed not only through the observations of Beatrice but also by other narrators such as Ikem and Chris, so masculinity is not appreciated in this novel but rather Achebe questions its boundaries and influence on people (Morrison 149). Beatrice's reason is generally contrasted with the weakness of masculine male characters whose power is ostensibly effective and endless. She is associated with Idemili, the daughter of Almighty, who is sent "to bear witness to the moral nature of authority by wrapping around Power's rude waist a loincloth of peace and modesty" (Anthills 93). Her endeavour, as Muoneke argues, to "wrap modesty around Sam's rampaging power" is the embodiment of her prophetic role which also could be illustrated when she warns Sam against his corruption and betrayal of his country due to his own benefit (Muoneke 148). As stated above, Beatrice is courageous enough to think that it is women's turn to tell men what should be done to change the country for the better, so she is quite bold in her actions and thoughts unlike Chris whom she finds to be too reasonable to speak openly about what he thinks. Moreover, Beatrice is critical of Ikem who is ambivalent about whether women should be involved in socio-political affairs:

In the last couple of years we have argued a lot about what I have called the chink in his armoury of brilliant and original ideas. I tell him he has no clear role for women in his political thinking; and he doesn't seem to be able to understand it. Or didn't until near the end. (*Anthills* 83)

Due to the countless arguments that Beatrice and Ikem have had about the position of women in their society, Ikem finds her accusation a bit unfair since it is Ikem "who has written a full-length novel and a play on the Women's War of 1929 which stopped the British administration cold in its tracks, being accused of giving no clear political role to women" (*Anthills* 83-84). However, Beatrice objects to being called for action as a last resort, and for her this role is not adequate to make significant alterations in the country. Regarding this ambivalent attitude toward Nigerian women, Achebe refers to the Aba riot as the significant women's interference in Igbo history:

Now in real life, in my own society, there was a case where the women took over. It was when the British first came and began to tax the population. The men surrendered and allowed themselves to be taxed like slaves, but the

women said no and came and took over and really caused the downfall of the system of colonial administration: the British had to think again. (*Conversations* 149-150)

While the praised features of masculinity that are elevated in Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* are being ridiculed, the qualities which are ostensibly associated with femininity are tested through the characterization of Beatrice. Ikem later admits Beatrice's contributions to make him realize "the new role of women" and hands a letter which will encourage Beatrice to take an active role as she leads the naming ceremony of Elewa's baby (*Anthills* 151). Ikem confesses this to Beatrice when he says:

Thank you, BB. I owe that insight to you. I can't tell you what the new role for Woman will be. I don't know. I should never have presumed to know. You have to tell us. We never asked you before. And perhaps because you've never been asked you may not have thought about it; you may not have the answer handy. But in that case everybody had better know who is now holding up the action. (*Anthills* 90)

It is Beatrice and her employment of reason that enables Ikem to consider the troubled state of women and give more room to express themselves in his plays, Ikem also grows more conscious about the state of doubly-colonised women and he acknowledges their oppression which goes back to biblical times:

The women are, of course, the biggest single group of oppressed people in the world and, if we are to believe the Book of Genesis, the very oldest. (*Anthills* 90)

Referring to the Book of Genesis, Achebe also refers to the biblical fact that Eve caused Adam to fall, which eventually led women to become scapegoats for the mistakes of men. Thus, it is possible to suggest that Achebe subverts the biblical myth that acknowledges the power and authority of masculinity or rather patriarchy by demonstrating an apparent contrast between the rational Beatrice and the conceited Sam, Chris and Ikem, although Chris and Ikem grow more mature and self-aware with the winds of change that surround the country. To illustrate, although Beatrice's father

is represented as an authoritarian father figure, he is indeed a weak man who exerts violence in both the domestic and public sphere:

He was a stern man, my father-as distant from us children as from our poor mother. As I grew older I got to know that his whip was famous not only in our house and in the schoolhouse next door but throughout the diocese. One day the local chief paid him a visit [...] the chief was full of praise for my father for the good training he was giving the children of the village through his whip. (*Anthills* 78)

Achebe portrays Beatrice as an individual who makes logical choices and realistic deductions in order to display her reasonable nature. As Simon Gikandi argues, "In his detailed representation of Beatrice, as both a narrator and character, Achebe also seeks to narrate a salvational perspective" (*Reading* 145). Beatrice, a woman of reason, functions as a mediator in the world of irrational men and women, and becomes the sole survivor of the narrators due to her practical insight and correct evaluation of the events. Upon the exercise of extreme authority in Sam's dictatorship, Beatrice grows restless and agitated since she is not sure about her security. When she witnesses Sam's reckless use of his authority, Beatrice realizes that they are all under a great threat. As Robin Ikegami states, Beatrice's "concerns are not based solely in egoistical interests, like Chris's and Ikem's initially are, but in the connections between people, the interconnectedness of all" (75). She successfully senses the growing threat concerning all three of them and warns Chris against this approaching danger:

And I see trouble building up for us. It will get to Ikem first. No joking, Chris. He will be the precursor to make straight the way. But after him it will be you. We are all in it, Ikem, you, me and even Him. The thing is no longer a joke. (*Anthills* 105)

Another significant feature of Beatrice as a representation of the new African woman is the fact that she can lead and guide people and literally unite them safely under her roof unlike the male characters —or narrators—in *Anthills*. As each narrator delivers his/her perspective of the events in separate chapters, Achebe provides an implicit comparison between the characters, but eventually Beatrice, who becomes the sole survivor among these three narrators, is able to finish her story successfully. Since she appears as the

surviving narrator, she is strong and experienced enough to lead and guide the people around her. She becomes the symbol of change in her society while being a role-model for Elewa and Agatha who are the women coming from a lower social background compared to Beatrice. For instance, Beatrice stays calm and she comforts Elewa who learns that her boyfriend gets suspended and is being searched by the government (*Anthills* 137-138). Not yielding to depression or grief, Beatrice is aware that she should look after this girl since Elewa yearns for her sisterhood and compassion and Beatrice says "[m]y sister, make you no worry yourself. As we de alive so, na that one better pass all ..." (*Anthills* 138). It is clear that Beatrice sympathises with Elewa's concerns and problems rather than looking down on her emotions even though they have almost nothing in common. Beatrice is sometimes like a mother to Elewa:

Elewa exploded into loud crying now. Beatrice went and sat beside her and brought her head against her breast with one hand and began to tap her shoulder rhythmically with the other. When she had quietened her down she slowly disengaged her embrace and laid her gently on the pillow. (*Anthills* 161)

Beatrice can transcend the barriers of her socio-cultural and socio-economical class; although she holds degree in English, she speaks Pidgin English with Elewa but not in a condescending manner as it is obvious that Beatrice wants to show Elewa that she can understand what Elewa is going through and she is ready to help her. That Beatrice can reconcile with the people from different backgrounds by embracing differences between them enables her to be a surviving narrator at the end of *Anthills*. To illustrate, she can overcome the difference between her and Elewa since she is able to predict what is happening in their country "The future she saw unfolding so relentlessly before them would demand brutal courage, not squeamishness, from the likes of Elewa and herself, from now on" (*Anthills* 157). Beatrice is educated and well-equipped enough to act on time unlike the other narrators of Anthills, so an immediate solidarity between Elewa and Beatrice emerges out of their intersecting fates. After the sudden death of Ikem, Beatrice takes care of Elewa and although Beatrice is suspicious of her at first, Elewa proves herself to be a mature young woman by making Beatrice her role-model. To Beatrice's surprise, through the end of the novel, Elewa grows strong enough to calm

Beatrice down with her wise words on the death of Chris just like when Beatrice calms her down at the beginning:

BB, weting be dis now?" Elewa remonstrated, showing her two palms of innocence to the powers above. "Even myself I no de cry like dat! What kind trouble you wan begin cause now? I beg-o. Hmm! (*Anthills* 216)

As Muoneke points out Ikem functions impeccably successful in carrying Beatrice to her leading role at the end (151). Beatrice's wish to alter the traditions in the name of the benefit for the future of women and their society could be best exemplified with the naming ceremony of Ikem and Elewa's daughter, since it is unprecedented to have the ceremony initiated by a woman. As Muoneke argues, "In this ceremony the role of women is defined and given free expression", when "Beatrice performs the ritual role traditionally reserved for men, and does not subsume the role men play, [but] adds a new dimension, invigorating society with the strength, fortitude, endurance, and fruition of the Earth Mother" (152). Not only does Beatrice decline the new ruler's invitation to the state funeral that is arranged for Chris, but also undergoes a transforming role in her nature as she is the redeemer of Igbo society promising hope and improvement with the naming ceremony. The baby girl is named "Amaechina" meaning "May-the-path-neverclose", which as Gagiano argues, is the most apparent symbol of the endeavour theme in the novel for a transformative society since the Nigerian society they dwell in is no longer conventional or rural but it is modern and urban (107). Still adhering to her Igbo roots, Beatrice chooses an Igbo name for her, yet the naming ceremony bears both the elements from various religions, Christianity, Islam, Pagan rituals of Igbo society, and the starting of unprecedented interpretation of already-existing rituals. Thus, Beatrice is the embodiment of the new woman, who will be capable of steering the society to a hopeful course, and it is vital for them not to close this symbolic path in order to make drastic changes for the future of their daughters, and sons. Morrison notes that "Achebe invents considerable importance in gender as an axis of positive political change" (157). On the significance of the name that Beatrice decides for the baby Achebe states:

Amaechina is a real name and the implications of the "path", "May-the-path-never-close," is really that is only a boy who can keep the family homestead alive, and the path they are talking about is the path that leads to the family's compound. Girls don't count because they go out, they marry

elsewhere. It is only the boy who stays in the compound. If there is no boy, then the compound closes. This is why if you find a family that is having difficulty having a male issue, but finally succeeds, they are likely to call him Amaechina: their hope of immortality hangs on this one person. (*Conversations* 147)

Therefore, as Achebe states above, this is a patriarchal society that pins its hope upon boys exclusively but this is an out-dated view that needs to change since girls also are quite capable of making changes in society. Furthermore, Achebe states the necessity of making alterations in the conventions and traditions of the past since it is essential for a society to adapt and transform itself in accordance with the changes emerging in the world. The precolonial Igbo society that he depicts in *Things* would no longer apply to the realities and requirements of the postcolonial modern era. Therefore, the conventional duties and roles of the Igbo woman as a mother and a wife as depicted in *Things* remain irrelevant in the postcolonial African societies. However, they enable an important comparison between the conventional and the modern status and roles of Igbo women in society. The patriarchal structure depicted in *Things* defines Igbo women with their relation to their husbands:

[Okonkwo] had a large compound enclosed by a thick wall of red earth. His own hut, or *obi*, stood immediately behind the only gate in the red walls. Each of his three wives had her own hut, which together formed a half moon behind the *obi*. [. . .] Near the barn was a small house, the 'medicine house' or shrine where Okonkwo kept the wooden symbols of his personal god and of his ancestral spirits. He worshipped them with sacrifices of kola nut, food and palm-wine, and offered prayers to them on behalf of himself, his three wives and eight children. (*Things* 13)

As witnessed in *Anhills*, there is no longer a depiction of a compound or the huts of cowives, and their assistance to each other in terms of domestic chores and child-rearing. In *Anthills*, there are different concerns and issues of Igbo women presented mostly through Beatrice. In this specific context, Beatrice is iconoclastic as she is represented as a modern and an educated woman who is capable of making decisions independently and altering the traditions that she can make use of while she is self-confident enough to leave behind the useless traditions that she can no longer benefit from. In addition to her strong and self-confident character, she becomes the leader of society as she undertakes

the naming ceremony and guides people to a renewed version of their traditional naming ceremony (*Anthills* 206). Not only does she become the embodiment of the new African woman with her resilience and determination, but she also appears as the leader who can guide her society and change it for the better.

Accordingly, Beatrice also functions as a pragmatic and rational woman who enables both Elewa and Agatha to uncover their wisdom and self-confidence. Moreover, through Elewa and Agatha, Achebe indicates that women without the formal English education can also survive in society and they can even contribute to it if they are selfconfident enough to express themselves. Beatrice shows these women how to take care of one another in their modern and urban setting as Igbo women cannot perform their traditional roles as mothers and wives in a way that they used to in precolonial and rural era when they used to produce and provide the food for their families and perform their daily chores and sell the extra product that their families did not need since the economy of primordial families was self-sufficient. Now they have to work outside their compound in exchange for a salary and insurance for themselves and their families since the requirements of their lives have changed and they have to sustain and maintain themselves socio-economically. Thus, they have to adapt themselves to the changing socio-economic circumstances. Upon the changing socio-political circumstances, the need to define the roles and status of the new Igbo woman is vital as they are described in and mostly embodied in the characterization of Beatrice in Anthills. In Anthills, it is clear that African women do not have to settle for secondary positions or roles in society; they can occupy primary roles or positions like Beatrice who holds a position which is just as significant as any male character has in the novel as she is on the top of the administration.

The other important women characters are Elewa and Agatha who are represented to come from a different socio-economic and socio-political background in *Anthills*. Although they are less fortunate than Beatrice in terms of making use of the opportunities such as higher education, they are able to exist as individuals and earn a

living in society. Their roles in the novel do not resemble the roles of women characters in *Things*, as both Agatha and Elewa are not defined by the typical roles such as wives and mothers, but they are individuals who represent strong African –specifically Igbowomen.

First of all, Elewa, as Ikegami states, is "very logical and practical" (Ikegami 78) at the same time she employs pragmatism to supress Beatrice's misery over Chris' death. For Beatrice, Elewa is a self-confident young woman who tries to survive despite the fact that Elewa is "[a] half-literate salesgirl in a shop owned by an Indian; living in one room with a petty-trader mother deep in the slums of Bassa" (*Anthills* 168). Even though both Agatha, Beatrice's maid and Elewa struggle to survive on their own, they do not seem to have many shared personal qualities. Although both are not fortunate enough to have the same conditions as Beatrice does, while Agatha grows bitter and distant; Elewa seems to be a radiant and affectionate person (*Anthills* 168).

It was perhaps the strong, spiritual light of that emergent consciousness that gave Elewa, carrying as it turned out a living speck of him within her, this new luminosity she seemed to radiate which was not merely a reflection of common grief which you could find anywhere any hour in Kangan, but a touch, distinct, almost godlike, able to transform a half-literate, albeit goodnatured and very attractive, girl into an object of veneration. (*Anthills* 169)

Indeed Elewa is not depicted as the educated and career-oriented woman, but her goodnatured and confident personality is highlighted in Beatrice's comments about her
qualities. Although she is younger than Beatrice, Elewa's maturity and optimism attract
Beatrice's attention and to her surprise, Elewa wins her respect on account of her
durability in spite of all misfortune. In this respect, Elewa is a successful projection of
an Igbo woman who struggles to survive in society thanks to her determination and
resilience as described by African womanism. Elewa's presence in *Anthills* proves that
the new and modern Igbo society needs hardworking and radiant working class women
who may not be socio-economically fortunate enough to have a higher formal education
abroad, but still find places and status in society. In Elewa's case, being acknowledged
as an individual by society is not easy since Elewa is pregnant yet not married and will

become a single parent and the hostility toward her is delivered by Agatha's treatment at first. However, since Beatrice can also reconcile with Agatha, whom she thinks is too judgemental on account of her devotion to religion, she becomes a mediator between Elewa and Agatha. When Agatha chooses to ignore the presence of Elewa at home and does not take care of her even though she is pregnant and feels quite miserable over Ikem's death, Beatrice blames her for having "no single drop of charity in her own anaemic blood" (*Anthills* 168) though she views herself as a devoted Christian. Agatha consciously rejects helping Elewa since from her point of view Elewa is a sinner who has committed adultery. However, Beatrice attempts to mediate between them and she expresses her insight:

She had never belittled the problem or consciously looked down on anyone because she was a servant, so help her God. For she was sensitive enough and intelligent enough to understand, and her literary education could not but have sharpened her perception of the evidence before her eyes [. . .]So how could a girl like Beatrice, intelligent, compassionate, knowing that fact of our situation look down on another less lucky and see more to it than just that—blind luck? (*Anthills* 168)

Here Beatrice acknowledges one more time that she is just lucky to have the education abroad and find a well-paid and respected job while she could be a maid like Agatha serving others if she did not have the education and her career. She can sympathise with Agatha's not wanting to serve Elewa due to Agatha's religious reasons, just like she sympathises with Elewa's problems; thus, she regrets excluding Agatha since it is not a reasonable step to take in the name of progress and solidarity between women especially when they all need each other and she apologises to her and her sincere apology leads to "a sunrise of smiles" upon Agatha's face (*Anthills* 170). Not being opinionated about how she thinks of Agatha, Beatrice finds a way to mediate between Elewa and Agatha since she believes that "[i]t is now up to [...] women to tell [men] what has to be done" (*Anthills* 169), so they should form a close-knit society to survive through their politically unstable environment. Ironically, the news of Chris' death penalty brings Elewa and Agatha together to support Beatrice as Agatha consoles her not to worry about him and Elewa agrees with Agatha on the matter (*Anthills* 172).

Achebe, as Simon Gikandi proposes, "is also calling attention to the need for his readers to look beyond the narrated events, which are grim and pessimistic, toward the future of renewal and rebirth suggested at the end of the novel" (Reading 125), which is represented by Beatrice and her small group. The socio-political parallelism between the Kangan state, which Anthills is set in, and postcolonial African countries is not coincidental but deliberate since Achebe confirms the parallelism by saying, "[w]hat I am trying to do is look at the story of Africa in the modern world, looking at it from different angles, according to what's happening at the time . . ." (Conversations with Achebe 145). Witnessing successive military coups and a bloody civil war, Achebe employs a female voice in his fiction, Beatrice who is a leader as Achebe visions her to be, since she remains a survivor among the other protagonists of the novel. In a peculiar way, he may be responding to feminist criticism that questions his representation of women and their problems in the colonial and postcolonial context. As Gikandi confirms in Achebe's "detailed representation of Beatrice, as both a narrator and character, he also seeks to narrate a salvational perspective [since] the fact that Beatrice is the first sustained female subject in Achebe's fiction is important" (Reading 145). Achebe acknowledges the potential of Beatrice while responding to the disappointments related to the position of Beatrice:

[The novel] does not rule out women in political positions. We've had such women, but what this story is concerned about is really not that. It's something more about the essence of the problem than simply who is running the State. [. . .] I think what women need to bring into human civilization has to be different from what men have so far been able to bring.[. . .] Women came in in critical moments, you see, in the past. This century alone, Igbo women have stopped the government three times. (Jussawalla and Dassenbrock 72)

Clearly Achebe, like most people in his country, is unsure about the state of the government but he underlines the fact that the country desperately requires female participation in terms of political management. When his quotation above is taken into consideration, he sincerely advocates the idea that the new Nigerian society should be supported by Igbo women. He grants these powerful women from Nigerian history the value that they rightly deserve, so he cannot be in ambiguity toward the necessity of women's active role and position in society. Thus, integrating or centring a female who

is well-educated and self-confident in the core of *Anthills* may be explained with Achebe's deliberate intervention in the overwhelming hegemony of male-favouritism and oppressive patriarchy in his country through fiction. In this respect, Achebe's portrayal of a self-confident female protagonist, Beatrice, who is well-educated enough to "beat the English to their game" (*Anthills* 68) demonstrates a role-model for the new African woman in the new Nigerian society. However, whether the societal norms are favourable enough to redefine roles and status of Nigerian women in the modern Nigerian context is problematic; since Achebe complains about the ambivalent attitude of Igbo society toward women:

There is ambivalence to women in traditional society. There is respect, a deep respect, which is implied in such names as "Mother-is-supreme," which is quite a common name, and in certain customs like the burial of a woman: she has to be taken back and buried with her people, because in her husband's place she may just be treated like an outsider, but when she dies she must be taken back, because she belongs to her father's people, she is just like the men. So there are these attitudes that suggest that there are two streams in the minds of our people: one in which women are really oppressed and given low status and one in which they are given very high honour, sometimes even greater honour than men, at least if not in fact, in language and metaphor. (*Conversations* 149)

Hence, the Nigerian society does not seem to be open-minded about the new roles of women as there has already been a strong confusion about the recognition of women's established status by the society itself. Clearly, Achebe aims at overcoming this problematic ambivalence of Nigerian society by creating a controversial female character that is at the centre of the novel and endowing her with many unprecedented features that Achebe thinks the society is probably not ready to embrace; since for him, the society either pays respect to women by putting them on pedestal, or oppresses them, which clearly did not restore the status of Nigerian women.

To conclude, Achebe calls all women in postcolonial countries of Africa "to bring sanity to an insane world dominated by the masculine principle, to rebuild and heal the society devastated by male aggression and abuse of power" (Muoneke 152). The future which Achebe signals in *Anthills* is full of hope and endeavour for women to overcome

the oppressive patriarchy since they will be capable of "reconciling the contrary forces and binary oppositions that define the postcolonial state" (*Reading* 147). Interestingly enough Beatrice, who has the formal higher education in the United Kingdom, is a representation of modern and independent Nigerian woman who can reform the conventional traditions and become a leader in her society, so she is the Igbo woman whose conventional roles and duties have been changed to fulfil the expectations of postcolonial Africa. As Mezu states:

[I]n Beatrice, Achebe now strives to affirm the moral strength and intellectual integrity of African women, especially since the social conditions which have kept women down in the past are now largely absent. Urbanization and education have combined to broaden women's horizons. [. . .] A revisionist reading of this new attitude is that Achebe's newly envisioned female roles can only be expounded articulated, and secured by woman herself. Since then, modern African women are busy creating a literary and cultural space of their own. (291)

Thus, in addition to conventional roles and responsibilities that African women have had, their struggle is now to express themselves in their urbanised countries. As seen in *Anthills*, women are confident about the new roles that they undergo and defy the malebiased idea that they belong to homes. On the contrary, Achebe depicts these different women characters in a struggle of survival and they do survive and are able to convey their stories through Beatrice. The fact that Agatha, Elewa and Beatrice are all portrayed to have characters and voices proves Achebe's representations of new African women have altered greatly to meet their changing socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic circumstances in their lives and societies.

CONCLUSION

Upon a comparison between Emecheta and Achebe's representations of Nigerian Igbo women in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial Nigeria, it is revealed that the representations of new African women have undergone many changes that stem from many socio-political and socio-cultural circumstances. Due to Arab influence (the influence of Islam), and European colonial rule (the male-biased interpretation of Christianity by clergymen and European patriarchy), the status and the role of the traditional African women experienced changes when the roles and status of African women were restricted and they were doubly-colonised and oppressed as colonial subjects and as women. However, after independence, the roles and status of the new African women, specifically Igbo women in Nigeria, needed to be redefined. In order to study the definition of new African women focusing on the former British colony of Nigeria, the Nigerian female author Buchi Emecheta and the Nigerian male author Chinua Achebe have been chosen as they employ self-confident and determined female protagonists in their work to underline the significance of female empowerment and participation in society. Emecheta and Achebe are both Igbo writers and they feel the necessity of defining the modern Igbo woman's role and status in the Igbo society after the independence of Nigeria. In this thesis, Emecheta's Second Class Citizen and Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* and *Anthills of the Savannah* are analysed to determine how they represent modern African women in the postcolonial Nigerian context. Accordingly, the female protagonists in Second and Anthills assert themselves as individuals in the patriarchal order of Igbo society; both Adah and Beatrice have to struggle against the oppression and discrimination in similar ways although their educational backgrounds, jobs, marital status and socio-political roles in society differ in many ways. In this respect, their experiences to fulfil themselves as individuals can offer some similarities and differences. While they oppose the patriarchal structures in the Igbo society and seek equal opportunities and equality, they do not refute all traditions and institutions while they attempt to fight against the oppressive conventions

that prevent women from socio-cultural empowerment and socio-economic liberation. Both Adah and Beatrice are confident enough to question the existing order and traditions, which is unprecedented for the conventional Igbo woman.

Both Adah and Beatrice are survivors and they are the representations of the new African women whose story of struggle was not learnt "from abroad, from Lapland" at all according to Ama Ata Aidoo since these women can find the willpower to fight against oppression within their own culture and history ("Feminism with a Small 'f'!" 183). As Emecheta advocates the necessity to make African women more self-confident and independent on their own terms, in Second, Adah fulfils her dream to be a writer while she does not give up all the constituents of her African identity. It is a deliberate message from Emecheta that women can achieve what they aspire to do provided that they make use of the opportunities that colonialism brought such as access to higher education, and they should have self-esteem and determination. They do not have to give up their African identities or object to all the customs or traditions to be modern or independent, and they can consciously embrace their culture and traditions which would be in favour of their improvement. For Emecheta, new African women do not have to be constructed in accordance with the instructions of Western feminism, and they possess the strength to struggle against obstacles which sometimes can be an oppressive and abusive husband or a father or sometimes can be obsolete societal rules or customs that no one can apply in the modern world. These women do not need to be dictated about how oppressed they are by a Western feminist who most probably analyses the situation from her own perspective and experience which would be Eurocentric and degrading and would not be of use to an African woman (Anthills 80-81). Thus, such an act of interfering would only deteriorate the delicate plight of African women's roles and place in society. An African woman can be a fulfilled person and a mother of multiple children while she can be highly educated and have a successful career. While the female characters in *Things* are presented as conventional women in the rural precolonial past of Nigeria with a few exceptions of women on the fringe such as the medicine woman and the priestess, Beatrice in Anthills is a modern African woman with a sophisticated education and a high-profile career in addition to her ability to preserve

the cultural, traditional and religious characteristics of her Igbo identity. While Beatrice can be a hopeful symbol of the new African woman as a survivor at the end of the novel, Adah can be one of the first representations of a modern and diasporic African woman who is able to overcome many problems in life and succeed in the end. In this respect, a clear distinction between the conventional and modern Nigerian women in terms of their literary representation is delivered with the analysis of Achebe's *Things* and *Anthills*. Even though the path to empowerment and liberation from patriarchy harbours many struggles and obstacles, the obvious message in *Second* and *Anthills* is functional in asserting the new roles and status of the African women. While elaborating on the representations of African women, European understanding of Feminism – or rather white Feminism- fails to respond to the issues of African women since it deals with the oppressive European patriarchy without analysing the excruciating African patriarchy and the oppressive consequences of colonialism on women's confinement to domestic life.

Both of these female protagonists have benefited from the educational opportunities in the colonial and postcolonial period; therefore, Adah and Beatrice are proud of their educational background and their education enables them to make decisions about their lives. Adah's decision to use birth control caps is very significant in terms of defining her role as the new African woman. By using a birth control method, she asserts control over her body and her life. Being a mother is highly respected in Igbo society; and Adah has many children and enjoys being a mother. However, she would also be more confident about her future providing that she gets pregnant by choice since this would enable her to make plans about her future. In *Anthills*, even though Beatrice does not explicitly refer to her use of birth control, it is quite clear that she has control over her body as well since she has sexual freedom and has a boyfriend. Both Adah and Beatrice have options in terms of making important choices about their bodies and lives.

Adah delivers a very important message to African women that if an African woman desires to be socio-economically and socio-culturally independent, education is the key

to achievement and freedom. As Adah refuses her bride price, which is unconventional, she goes against the tradition as she thinks it is no longer applicable for her. Likewise, Beatrice challenges and breaks the old-fashioned and outdated customs as she asserts herself as the leader in the naming ceremony. She is self-confident enough to lead the people in the ceremony and gives the name of the baby girl, which is unconventional and unprecedented (*Anthills* 210). Furthermore, Beatrice gives her a name that is traditionally known as a boy's name, and this implies her power of changing the convention if she thinks it is necessary. She is called "Amaechina" that means "Maythe-path-never-close" (*Anthills* 206), which is as symbolic as the naming ceremony. Beatrice does not appear to be a token in the novel, but a contemporary role-model of the new African woman who is in search of self-realisation and determination while she continues some of the traditions even though she may need to challenge, refuse or alter some of them.

While Adah is obliged to marry to continue her education and to have a career, Beatrice does not feel obliged to get married to be accepted by society. She knows that she has options as she has also benefited from good education, which, ironically, the colonial system provided for her. In Anthills, Beatrice lives alone with her maid, Agatha and she does not seem to be interested in getting married. Although she has a boyfriend, Chris, they do not mention marriage so Beatrice is a very unconventional African woman as she does not feel the necessity of appropriating her life according to the traditions and conventions of her society and culture. In this respect, for Beatrice, marriage is an option, not an obligation, so there is no obstacle for her to be a self-sufficient and successful woman who holds a significant position in the government. She does not continue the prescribed roles as a wife and mother, but she is a Senior Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance. For Achebe, she is the new African woman whose participation in the political sphere is essential. Like Adah, Beatrice is very proud of her education that she has had in the University of London with an honours in English. Both heroines are untraditional in their choices and control of their lives as Beatrice chooses to be a single woman living alone, and Adah refuses bride price and marries Francis. Although both women respect Igbo traditions and customs, they oppose the unnecessary

oppression that some of these traditions and customs may cause. Adah's decision to divorce Francis is radical for the Igbo society, so Francis strongly rejects it, but Adah does not yield to the oppression of the patriarchal order of the Igbo society, and she manages to divorce him. When she realises that their marriage prevents her from fulfilling her ideals and ambitions, and she cannot live with an oppressive husband, she decides to end her marriage. However, if she did not have the education and a well-paid job, she probably could not take this decision easily. In this respect, Adah's education provides her with alternatives; she does not have to postpone her ideals for the sake of a failed marriage or an oppressive husband. Thus, both these heroines have gained economic independence through education and well-paid jobs which are not agrarian ones as in the conventional society but they have urban roles, jobs and status. This is a new role and status of the new African woman in a changed urban postcolonial world.

In conclusion, although the works analyzed above are written by one female and one male author, their projections about the new African woman have many common points. While Achebe defines Beatrice as the modern African woman who has a good education and holds a significant position in the government, Emecheta, in her semiautobiographical novel, depicts Adah as an extraordinary woman in terms of fulfilling her ideals and ambitions to be a librarian, to go to London and to be a writer. Adah's aspiration to be a writer is significant to give voice to silenced African women and the title that she plans to give to her work is also quite symbolic as it is The Bride Price (Second 162). She will be the literary voice of African women who experience oppression and inequality in the patriarchal society. In this respect, both Adah and Beatrice are capable of achieving what they aspire to while they can preserve their cultural identities and traditions. It is significant that neither Emecheta nor Achebe describes the new African woman in a non-African context, but they both depict the change of her status and role from conventional to modern in the postcolonial Nigerian context. They both draw attention to the changing representations of African women who are able to respond to the modern and urban conditions and circumstances and who will contribute equally to the development of their society and countries.

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APPENDIX 1. ORIGINALITY REPORTS



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ YÜKSEK LİSANS/DOKTORA TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih: 09/11/2016

Tez Başlığı: Buchi Emecheta'nın Second Class Citizen ve Chinua Achebe'nin Things Fall Apart ve Anthills of the Savannah adlı eserlerinde Afrikalı kadınların değişen betimlemeleri

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 111 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 12/10/2016 tarihinde tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda belirtilen filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 3 'tür.

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Adı Soyadı: Cansu Çakmak Özgürel O9/11/2016
Öğrenci No: N09127093
Anabilim Dalı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı

Programı: İngiliz Kültür Araştırmaları

Statüsü: Y.Lisans Doktora Bütünleşik Dr.

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.

Prof. Dr. Burçin EROL



HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Date: 09/11/2016

Thesis Title: Changing Representations of African Women in Buchi Emecheta's Second Class Citizen and Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Anthills of the Savannah

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I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature

09/11/2016

Name Surname: Cansu Çakmak Özgürel

Student No: N09127093

Department: English Language and Literature

Program: British Cultural Studies

Status: ☑ Masters ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Burçin EROL

APPENDIX 2. ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORMS FOR

THESIS WORK



HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KURUL İZİN MUAFİYETİ FORMU

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA

Tarih:09/11/2016

Tez Başlığı: Buchi Emecheta'nın Second Class Citizen ve Chinua Achebe'nin Things Fall Apart ve Anthills of the Savannah adlı eserlerinde Afrikalı kadınların değişen betimlemeleri Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmam:

- 1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır,
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Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

Adı Soyadı:

Tarih ve İmza

09/11/2016

N09127093

Öğrenci No:

İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı:

> Programi: İngiliz Kültür Araştırmaları

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HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY

Date: 09/11/2016

Thesis Title: Changing Representations of African Women in Buchi Emecheta's Second Class Citizen and Chinua Achebe's Things Fall Apart and Anthills of the Savannah

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Ph.D.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Name Surname:

Student No:

Department:

Program:

Date and Signature

Cansu Çakmak Özgürel

N09127093

English Language and Literature

British Cultural Studies

☐ Integrated Ph.D.

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

Status: Masters

Buin Stal

Prof. Dr. Burçin EROL