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ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEFRAGMENTATION OF SOCIAL GENOCIDE IN A BEND IN THE RIVER BY V. S. NAIPAUL AND A GRAIN OF WHEAT BY NGUGI WA THIONG'O

THESIS

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis. (/   /2018).

Eda ELMAS

To my beloved one,

FOREWORD

I would like to thank my advisor Assist. Prof. Timuçin Buğra Edman who has always enlightened me with his intimate knowledge and showed me the right way. Also I am grateful for my mother that encourages me all the time even the times when I almost gave up. Last but not least, I would like to thank my beloved one for his support, encouragement, patience and help. Without them it would be impossible for me to be who I am now.

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TOPLUMSAL KATLİAMIN V. S. NAİPAUL'UN NEHRİN DÖNEMECİ VE NGUGİ WA THİONG'O'NUN BİR BUĞDAY TANESİ'NDE PARÇALANMASI

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasında,"toplumsal soykırım" terimi, sömürge sonrası çağda ve V. S. Naipaul'un *A Bend in the River* (*Nehrin* Dönemeci) ve Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o'nun *A Grain of Wheat* (*Bir Buğday Tanesi*) adlı eserlerinde incelenmektedir. Bu bağlamda, iki yazarın sömürgeleştirme, emperyalizm ve toplumsal soykırım konusundaki bakış açısı, diğer eserleri ve konuyla ilgili ikincil kaynaklar ışığında incelenmektedir. İncelenen edebi eserlerde, sömürgeci üstün güç ve insancıl olmayan amaçları toplumsal soykırımın temel kaynağı olarak gösterilmektedir. Bu amaçların başlangıcı ve ilk kaynağı ise Sanayi Devrimi olmuştur ve ilk etapta bu incelenmiştir. Sanayi Devrimi dünyada bir dönüm noktası olmuş ve hem kendi döneminde hem de daha sonrasında dünya üzerindeki her toplum için büyük değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu devrim, çıkış noktası olan İngiltere'ye birçok fayda sağlamasına rağmen, kendi toplumu için zorlu koşullar da oluşturmuştur. Öte yandan, sonsuz bir güce sahibi olma düşüncesi, Avrupalıların bu güçle diğer bölgeleri ele geçirme fikrinin ortaya çıkmasına ve Afrika ülkelerinin sömürgeleştirilmesine yol açmıştır. Bununla birlikte, sömürgecilik yalnızca bir politika olarak kalmayıp ve iddia edilenin aksine Afrika ülkelerine medeniyet getirmemiştir. Yerli halkın yaşamlarını, kültürlerini, dillerini ve geleneklerini değiştirmiştir. Dahası, bu politika yerli halk için psikolojik, sosyal, ve fiziksel soykırıma yol açmıştır, bu sebeple toplumun kültürünün yok edilmesinin aynı zamanda o toplumun da yok edilmesi olduğunu ve böylece bu soykırımın sosyal bir tür olduğunu da göstermiştir. Tüm bu sömürgeleştirme bakış açısı ve bunun toplumsal bir soykırım olarak sonuçları, V. S. Naipaul ve Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o'nun eserlerinde anlatılmaktadır. V. S. Naipaul, *A Bend in the River* (*Nehrin Dönemeci*) adlı eserinde sömürgecilik ve yeni sömürgecilik dönemlerinin yerli halkın hayatını nasıl etkilediğini ve ne gibi değişikliklere sebep olduğunu eserindeki karakterler ve temalarla göstermiş ve toplumsal soykırımın her açıdan ele almıştır. Başka bir bakış açısıyla, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, sömürgeciliği *A Grain of Wheat* (*Bir Buğday Tanesi)* adlı eserinde Kenya'nın bağımsızlığından yalnızca dört gün öncesini betimleyerek anlatır. Bununla birlikte, bu dört gün sadece o zaman zarfıyla sınırlı kalmayıp, sömürgeleştirmeden kaynaklanan tüm olayları ve yerli halkın karşılaştığı zorlukları ifade eder ve bu nedenle kendi zamanın ötesine geçmektedir. Bu iki roman ve ikincil kaynaklardan elde edilen kanıtlar göz önüne alındığında, bu çalışmada sömürge dönemleri, sömürgecilik etkileri, sömürgecinin rolü, kolonileştirme ve toplumsal soykırım incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sömürgecilik sonrası, toplumsal soykırım, Afrika'da sömürgecilik*

DEFRAGMENTATION OF SOCIAL GENOCIDE IN A BEND IN THE RIVER BY V. S. NAIPAUL AND A GRAIN OF WHEAT BY NGUGI WA THIONG'O

ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to state "social genocide" term in post-colonial era and analyse them in the selected works, in the order of; *A Bend in the River* by V. S. Naipaul and *A Grain of Wheat* by Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o. In this respect, the perspectives of the two writers about colonisation, imperialism and social genocide are examined in the light of their other works and other sources related to the topic. In the analysed literary works, the coloniser is shown as the superior force and the basic structure of the social genocide because of their subhuman wills. As the initiation and the source of these aims, the Industrial Revolution is examined in the first place. The Industrial Revolution was a turning point in the world and it caused several major changes for each society during its time and afterwards. Even though it brought many benefits to England, it also ended up with harsh conditions for its own society. On the other hand, the thought of having an endless power created a way for Europeans to have an idea of possessing other regions with this power and brought colonisation to African countries. However, colonisation did not remain only as a policy and did not bring civilisation to the countries as it was claimed. It changed the lives, culture, language and traditions of the indigenous people. Furthermore, this practice brought about genocide but not only physically, but also socially and psychologically because the destruction of a society's culture means destroying that society which leads to social genocide. All these perspectives of colonisation and the results of it as a social genocide are narrated in the works of V. S. Naipaul and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. V. S. Naipaul demonstrates both the colonisation and neocolonialism periods by the characters and the themes in *A Bend in the River*. By the characters he embodies the colonisation and in this way as a result of it, social genocide is clearly seen from each perspective. In another perspective, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes colonisation by narrating only four days before the independence of Kenya. However, these four days express all the incidents and the hardships of indigenous people caused by colonisation, and thereby, this work goes beyond its time. Considering all the evidences from these two novels and the secondary sources, colonial periods, the effects of colonisation, the roles of the coloniser and the colonised and social genocide as a result of colonisation are examined in this study.

Keywords: *Post-colonialism, social genocide, colonisation in Africa*

1 INTRODUCTION

This study aims to conduct

- Analysis of social and cultural perspective of genocide.
- A parallel reading of the two works in terms of social genocide.
- A parallel reading of the novels with regards to the analysis of the characters.

1.1 Thesis Statement

This disseration aims to analyse the two novels with regards to social perspective of genocide. In this respect, this study takes into account the characters and the incidents in both works.

1.2 Methodology

This study conducts qualitative-analytic approach to address the research questions.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How can the selected novels be read through the social genocide theory?
2. To what extent both V. S. Naipaul and Ngugi wa Thiong'o reflect the social genocide within post colonial period?

1.4 Colonialism

Oxford Dictionary defines colonialism as "the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically". Colonialism was a lucrative commercial operation, bringing wealth and riches to Western nations through economic exploitation of others. It was pursued for economic profit, reward and riches (McLeod, 2000, p.7). On the other hand, Albert Memmi describes colonisation as a government and a judicial system fed and renewed by the coloniser's

historic, economic and cultural needs (1991, p.91). This term —colonialism— created a new epoch for Africa and its society even after when the colonialism finished. However, colonisation is not a new term that came out in 1700s. Ania Loomba states:

> Colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods. But colonialism in this sense is not merely the expansion of various European powers into Asia, Africa or the Americas from the sixteenth century onwards; it has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history. (1998, p.2)

The starting point of colonialism dates back to the second century when the Roman Empire extended its lands to the Atlantic. Also in the thirteenth century, the Mongols subjugated the Middle East and China. The Ottoman Empire extended its lands over the Balkans and Asia during its period. In addition, Chinese Empire was also one of the largest empires with its occupied areas. However, the colonialism of the Europeans affected the whole world in a different way when it is compared to the other colonialisms above (Loomba, 1998, p.3).

According to Tom Bottomore, the European colonialism comprises of two phases: the first one is pre-capitalist and the latter is modern capitalism (1983, p.81). The difference between these two phases is considered as the second one refers to imperialism. On the other hand, imperialism goes back to pre-capitalist period. Also, some researchers place imperialism before the colonial period (Loomba, 1998, p.4). The fact is imperialism and colonialism are inseparable parts from each other because imperialism is entangled with colonialism. McLeod states that colonialism has many various types and different impacts in the world; and this term is related to two other concepts, which are 'capitalism' and 'imperialism'. He also indicates that this relation between concepts dates back to European discovery voyages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and exemplifies Christopher Colombus' discovery (2000, p.8). On the other hand, colonialism and imperialism differ in a way; imperialism does not contain the aim of settling in the colonial country but just using the power on them. Furthermore, even after colonialism ended, imperialism remained through post-

colonialial era. It can be said that imperialism is the thought, aim and action and colonialism is the statement of all these terms. Furthermore, modern capitalism, as Tom Bottomore called the second phase of the European colonialism, affected the area it conqured in various ways and Africa is one of these areas.

Africa witnessed the colonisation through the combination of two aims. Albert Memmi implies the situation in his book *The Colonized and The Colonizer:*

> You go to a colony because jobs are guaranteed, wages high, careers more rapid and business more profitable. The young graduate is offered a position, the public servant a higher rank, the businessman substantially lower taxes, the industrialist raw materials and labor at attractive prices. (1991, p. 4)

In other words, the reason for settling and administering in new lands for Europeans was the wish to take upper hand in the markets of those lands for themselves, beside assuring and procuring raw materials. To understand better the conditions of colonialism, it is essential to take a journey through some historical events of the African continent.

The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) had an important role for the colonialism in Africa. Before the conference, Europeans were using Africans as their labours and for industrialisation. It can be said that The Berlin Conference was the keystone of colonialism in Africa and this land was turned into a colonial area; moreover, in this conference European representatives decided to settle the colonial establishments and trading system in that continent.

Africa proceeded to be a colonial country until the Second World War and was decolonized as the third part of decolonisation. In the first two parts America, Canada, Australia and South Africa declared their independence. Unlike the other decolonized lands, Africa gained its independence thanks to the anti-colonialism perspective of locals and the military struggle. Countries within Africa obtained independency in order and the two decades (1960s and 1970s) became an ongoing decolonisation period. McLeod states that with the passing of Hong Kong from Britain to China on 1 July 1997, the numbers of those living overseas under British rule fell below one million for the first time in centuries — a far cry from the days when British colonialism subjected millions around

the globe (2000, p.10). Decolonisation involves various reasons which caused another dramatical change for each country just like colonisation. First, the reaction of indigenous people against the colonial system started a movement, which constitutes the first step of decolonisation. Another reason was the development of America and The Soviet Union affected the Britain's regression both economically and politically.

During the colonisation period, the culture and the values of the African society had its greatest impact, which has been going on since then. The effect on the society can be analysed in two sections: one is colonisation and the other is decolonisation period because of the diversified results within these times. The policy of extending European power depending on imperialism was doable with changing the society itself. The process is called "colonising the mind" (McLeod, 2000, p.18). It was the process of making indigenous people admit their lower level in the face of coloniser. By this means, it was easier to inject the idea of "bringing civilisation" to their society by the colonisers. There is no way that "civilisation" and "colonisation" can be considered in a parallel way. Aimé Cesaire states that out of all the colonial expeditions that have been undertaken out of all the colonial statutes that have been drawn up, out of all the memoranda that have been dispatched by all the ministries, there could not come a single human value (2). In fact, it is unacceptable that colonisers can bring the civilisation to African people. Because the way that they treat Africans takes them far away from being civilised.

1.5   The Terms Emerged with Colonisation

Even though the coloniser claimed brining civilisation to Africa, they realised the aim of capturing the land by changing the society psychologically, physically, economically, politically, and socially. They created a society in a way that they desire which is creating a 'cultural stereotype'. This term refers to using stereotypes for the act of colonisation of Europeans in the Orient and used for the first time by Edward Said. In this way the coloniser tried to imply the idea that the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal" (Said, 1977, p.48). This way of thinking starts the change within the society and brings social genocide

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with itself. In fact, any Oriental concept was formed by autonomous Western consciousness.

In addition, the imaginative research of Oriental things almost depends on the awareness of a dominant Western whose centrality caused the emergence of an Oriental world. First of all, who or what is an Oriental was decided with the general ideas. Then, it was described according to a detalied logic which was directed by repressions, desires, projections and investments (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2003, p.26). Said also explains the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised with these words:

> The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony…The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it could be— that is, submitted to being— made Oriental. (1977, p.5-6)

In other words, the "orient" term came up with the intention of Europeans against the indigenous people in Africa. Thus, this situation caused Europeans to settle in Africa and 'bring civilisation' to the area. Furthermore, Said states:

> No human being should be threatened with " transfer" out of his or her home or land; no human being should be discriminated against because he or she is not of an X or a Y religion; no human being should be stripped of his or her land, national identity, or culture, no matter the cause. (1980, p. xvi)

Within this quotation, Said implies all the acts of superior powers. However, the colonial system applies all the objects mentioned above. Said indicates the system as thinking about, settling on, controlling land that you do not possess, that is distant, that is lived on and owned by others (1993, p.7). Furthermore, Said states that imperial culture of the nineteenth century is full of terms such as inferior, dependency, expansion, authority, subordinate people, subject races and inferior (1993, p.9).

In addition to his explanations about colonial system, Said indicates the term "worldliness". According to Bill Ashcroft, this term is based on Said's own identity. He states, "The Palestinian 'victim', who resides in the metropolis as a prominent and celebrated intellectual, embodies in his own worldliness the very paradox of hybridity, development and will that complicates post-colonial cultural identity" (2001, p.117). For Said, being in paradox between being Palestinian and American, and not feeling belong to any of them leads to worldliness. Based on the analysis, this term can help to comprehend the ambivalence that indigenous people have because of colonisation. As the colonial system affects the indigenous people and brings about social genocide, it also causes "worldliness" for some people of the society. Therefore, these people lose their original identity and do not possess the new one fully either so that they become "worldliness". In this case, Said's paradox of identity is indicative of the complex identities of diasporic and post-colonial peoples throughout the world (Ashcroft, 2001, p.2).

In addition to Edward Said's implications, Homi K. Bhabha developed some concepts, such as mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity. These concepts give another point of view about indigenous people's colonized minds. Firstly, mimicry is the sign of a adouble articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which "appropriates" the Other as it visualizes power (Bhabha, 1984, p.126). Bhabha also states that colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite (1984, p.126). He mentions 'mimicry' as:

> Mimicry is like camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs/defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically. Its threat comes from the prodigious and strategic production of conflictual, fantastic, discriminatory "identity effects" in the play of a power that is elusive because it hides no essence, no "itself".(1984, p.131)

In other words, the colonizer wants to make the Other like himself and develop him at the same time, however the colonizer still tries to preserve the difference between him and the Other. In this way, the Other turns out almost the same

with the colonizer, but does not adopt to the ruling system that can be applied to the both sides.

Furthermore, Bhabha asserts that the colonial mimicry consists of an ambivalence (1984, p.126). In that sense, the ambivalence means the complicated relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. The relation between them is called ambivalence due to the fact that the colonized never opposes to the colonizer completely. Rather than assuming that some colonized subjects are 'complicit' and some 'resistant', ambivalence suggests that complicity and resistance exist in a fluctuating relation within the colonial subject (Mambrol 2017). Bhabha also describes 'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fanstasy of origin and identity. He indicates that 'otherness' is the productive ambivalence of the colonial discourse's object (Bhabha, 1994, p.67).

As the result of 'otherness', stereotypes emerged in colonial discourse. The stereotype as the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse, for both colonizer and colonized, is the scene of a similar fantasy and defence – the desire for an originality which is again threatened by the differences of race, colour and culture. Bhabha considers stereotype as grotesque mimicry or 'doubling' which causes the split of the soul and whole. In addition, the stereotype is the wrong image of the real world and this case takes the topic to hybridity (Bhabha, 1994, p.75).

According to Bhabha, the stereotype is the 'repetition' of the 'original' but it can never be the 'original' fully, or else it would be the 'original' and he states that this translation process from the 'original' to the 'repetition' generates a lack for the 'original'. Therefore the colonial discourse becomes 'less than one and double' and produces the terms 'hybridity' and 'the third space' (Gilbert, p.119). Bhabha describes hybridity as the translation from 'original' to the 'other', however in this case a third character does not occur, on the contrary 'the third space' emerges and he considers it as 'hybridity'. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives (Rutherford, 1990, p.211). Moreover Bhabha indicates 'hybridity' as:

It bears the traces of those feelings and practices which inform it, just like a translation, so that hybridity puts together the traces of certain other meanings or discourses. It does not give them the authority of being prior in the sense of being original: they are prior only in the sense of being anterior. The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.   (Rutherford, 1990, p.211)

In other words, hybridity, the third space and mimicry are the terms that are ambivalent. These terms emerge with both the colonizer and the colonized and create a new type for both sides. However, the new type is never the third character or any other one, that's why the hybrid type is caused by ambivalence.

The examples of the terms mentioned above are seen within the characters of the novels by V. S. Naipaul and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. However in order to analyse the two novels, it is essential to indicate the root of genocide term. In each way, such as physical, mental and cultural, colonisation brought an end to African society which takes the subject to 'genocide'; not only killing the people physically but also taking their values, language and culture which creates a social genocide.

1.6   Genocide and Social Genocide

'Genocide' was coined and first used by Raphael Lemkin, who was a Polonized-Jewish lawyer, in 1943. The word 'genocide' means annihilation of a nation or an ethnic group. This new word, coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word *genos* (race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing), thus corresponding in its formation to such words as tyrannicide, homocide, infanticide, etc. (Lemkin, 1944, p.79). The fact is, genocide does not specify exactly annihilating of a nation unless there is a massacre. Indeed, the genocide refers to annihilating and destruction of a nation by itself as a result of a goal of some intended deeds. Therefore, genocide is not only a physical but also cultural and social attempt. However, genocide term was not used in a social meaning at first. According to Damien Short, despite

the insights of recent scholarship, to date much of the field of genocide studies has failed to appreciate the importance of culture and social death to the concept of genocide (2016, p.5). For many years, the Holocaust, which is a genocide in which millions of European Jews were killed by Nazi Germany, was the only instance of genocide. The remarks about the Holocaust led to a view of genocide which is intentional mass killings of certain groups with the legal focus on the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide 1948.

However, in time, as the studies of human rights increased, sociologists started to view genocide from other perspectives. Thus, these other perspectives of 'genocide' term created a definitional conundrum. Identifying the social groups that can be the victims of genocide, the kind of genocidal intention, excluding cultural genocide and financially supported mass killing have been the main subjects during the debates of defining genocide. Some researchers say that genocide is only a physical act. Adam Jones, a Canadian researcher, states: "I consider mass killing to be definitional to genocide … in charting my own course, I am wary of labelling as 'genocide' cases where mass killing has not occurred" (2006, p.22). Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, mentioned in their work *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*, genocide is a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator (1990, Note 7). With this definition, Chalk and Jonassohn aimed to solve the problems caused because of defining the term as they stated that the perpetrator is the one that chooses the victim group of genocide. In addition, Howard Becker, who is an American sociologist, states that construction and destruction of enemies (or so-called 'deviants') depends on their labelling as such by the powerful. Furthermore, Jones indicated in his work *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction* that:

> Genocide means any of the following acts committed with the
> intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a nation, ethnical, racial or
> religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b)
> causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life

calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (2006, p.12)

Nevertheless, there are some definitions of genocide that show its social side completely. Sociologist Helen Fein indicates that victims of genocide are mostly the people who accept their existence and members of former real groups, thought of as collectivities or races. According to Fein, in sociological perspective, genocide is a term that should be broader when it is compared to the definition of The UN Genocide Convention, which defines the victim groups as racial, ethnic, national and religious. For Fein, these groups are ascriptive groups, which are based on birth but not choice. However, according to sociology there is no difference between groups which are congenital and groups which are chosen. Thus Helen Fein describes the target groups of genocide as *collectivities* and she defines genocide in her work *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* as: "Genocide is sustained purposeful action by a perpetrator to physically destroy a collectivity directly or indirectly, through interdiction of the biological and social reproduction of group members, sustained regardless of the surrender or lack of threat offered by the victim (Short, 2016, p.15). Fein suggests that genocide is a purposeful act that perpetrators aim to destroy the target group. This aim does not mean motive as the intent of the perpetrators consists of repeated actions and sustains as a purposeful action.

On the other hand, sociological definitions of genocide often ignored the cultural perspective of it and the relation between colonisation and genocide. In 1933 at International Conference for Unification of Criminal Law, Raphael Lemkin advocated that it is necessary to stop and forbid to destroy human groups physically and culturally (Short, 2016, p.18). Because an intentional destruction of a group involves killing the members of it and underestimating and changing the way of that group's life. For Lemkin, culture is the part of public memory, in which previous values stay alive and remain and all these cultural elements need to be protected. Destruction of a culture is making that culture's members forgotten individually and burying their memorials with

mortal remnants. In addition, according to Raphael Lemkin the concept of genocide is a coordinated plan of various actions aimed to destroy the lives of national groups and the significant bases of these due to exterminating the groups themselves. One does not need to exterminate or seek to exterminate every last member of a designated group. In fact, "One does not need to kill anyone at all to commit genocide!" (Jones, 2006, p.13). According to Lemkin, *genos* in genocide becomes alive with the culture and the common culture is the reason for the existence of the social group. Overall the genocide concept is a colonial attempt in substance. Furthermore, when the coloniser annihilates the national archetype of the victim group, the genocidal attempt brings about the national archetype of the coloniser and the victim group or the colonised society is allowed to live in the colonial area due to the coloniser's own nationals.

Ward Churchill impacts that, 'genocide' is a term that is misunderstood in English language and considered as the synonym of 'mass murder'. Churchill states that when the colonial oppressor imposes own national archetype as the result of 'policy', that act needs to be considered as a genocidal attempt. As the culture integrates the society and fulfil basic needs of an individual, the destruction of it is genocide. Even though national groups do not remain eternally as a result of cultural change, which is disappearing due to the fatigue of their physical and spiritual energy, or cultural genocide. As Lemkin stated dying of age or disease is a disaster but genocide is a crime (Moses, 2008, p.28). Moreover, all the indigenous people are connected to their territories. Therefore, capturing their lands, detracting them from there and ruling it with the colonial system is a pattern of genocide. Patrick Wolfe states that land is life thus, fighting for the land means fighting for life (2006, p.387). For indigenous people, losing the connection between their territory, livelihood and cultural elements are the consequences of impositions. Removal from their own lands causes social depression and dysfunction that lead to another perspective of genocide. In that respect, genocide is a sociological concept that demonstrates the relation between colonisation and its socially destructive impacts. In addition, Jean-Paul Sartre stated that colonisation is not just a simple conquest. It is necessarily a cultural genocide. One cannot colonise without systematically destroying the particular character of the natives, at the same time denying them

the right of integration with the mother country and of benefiting from its advantages (On Genocide 2007). Genocide is an act that aims to annihilate a group of people by the actions that purpose to undermine the necessities of a group to survive. Lemkin names these necessities or the core elements of a group as interdependent which means a change of one element can affect other various elements. In his studies Lemkin mentioned attack on culture to show the offensive part against the totality of group existence and he deduced that physical and cultural destruction of a group are both interdependent and interrelated elements of genocide (qtd. in Short, 2016, p.29). Most indigenous people face various types of physical destruction during the process of colonisation and at the end of this process cultural destruction becomes the result of the physical one. In this situation, physical destruction can be realised indirectly by damaging the life conditions of the victim group. This type of destruction could be attained by environmental damage and dispossession. In addition, forbidding some cultural traditions which people practice their own values and beliefs and suppressing the religion, language and law systems of the group are alternative ways of achieving the destruction of that society (Short, 2016, p.30). Consequently, all the physical or cultural attempts, which lead to destroy one group intentionally, are the results of genocidal process.

On the other hand, cultural or social genocide and assimilation differ from each other and cannot be considered as the same terms. Cultural change is a process in which influences from outside occur, the people of that culture adapt to new situations gradually and assimilating some features of a foreign culture. Lemkin thought that cultural change was induced by exogenous influences, as weaker societies adopt the institutions of more efficient ones or become absorbed by them because they better fulfill basic needs (qtd. in Moses, 2008, p.11). However, cultural genocide is not a process that indigenous people accept the mandatory system in time but are forced to admit it. As he was working on the genocide concept, Lemkin focused on the colonial rule of Germany in Africa which resulted with genocide between 1904 and 1907. He stated that German colonial system did not respect the traditions of the indigenous people, German officials chose the authority that is only used for helping forced labor and in case of any opposition they were imprisoned and flogged. In that respect,

cultural genocide is not the same concept with cultural change when each perspective is considered. Furthermore, cultural genocide consists of violence and force rather than adaptation voluntarily like in cultural change. Originally the term genocide was created by Lemkin from the concepts 'barbarity' and 'vandalism'. By using these linked concepts, he formed 'genocide'. From 'barbarity' concept Lemkin defined 'physical genocide', which is killing a nation's or ethnic group's individuals. On the other hand, he defined 'social genocide' by deriving vandalism. So, social genocide earned the meaning undermining a nation's or ethnic group's way of life. A genocide as successful as the holocaust achieves the aim of social death both for victims who do not survive, and to a degree and for a time, for many survivors as well (Card, 2003, p.76). Lemkin describes genocide in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*:

> Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization by the oppressor's own nationals. (1944, p.79)

Erstwhile, denationalisation was the term to describe the destruction of a nation. However, 'denationalisation' does not connote annihilation of a group entirely. Since when the destruction of a nation or group is mentioned, it can be physical which cannot be explained by denationalisation. In addition to that, this term is used as deprivation of citizenship. Briefly, genocide is the right and adequate term to define the actions of colonisers on the colonised people. When Raphael Lemkin coined the word 'genocide', he also analysed the techniques of it in his work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. He classified these techniques under the title of "Techniques of Genocide in Various Fields." In an order, the types of genocide are political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical and religious. The aim of benefiting from the raw materials and labour of Europe turned into colonisation in first place, which then became a genocide action in Africa. Instead of the fact that the term 'genocide' includes the feature of being social, this study mainly focuses on the social side rather than other types of it. Therefore, it is more adequate to call the action in Africa at this stage as 'social

genocide'. Claudia Card states in her article "Genocide and Social Death" that loss of social vitality is loss of identity, and thereby, of meaning for one's meaning. Raphael Lemkin stated how cultural values are important as one's physical being:

> So-called derived needs, are just as necessary to their existence as the basic physiological needs… These needs find expression in social institutions or, to use an anthropological term, the culture ethos. If the culture of a group is violently undermined, the group itself disintegrates and its members must either become absorbed in other cultures which is a wasteful and painful process or succumb to personal disorganization and, perhaps, physical destruction… (Thus) the destruction of cultural symbols is genocide… (It) menaces the existence of the social group which exists by virtue of its common culture. (Short, 2016, p.19)

As it is implied from the quotation according to Raphael Lemkin loss of culture is as significant as the loss of living. Indeed, in Lemkin's formulation, culture is the unit of collective memory, whereby the legacies of the dead can be kept alive and each cultural group has its own unique distinctive genius deserving of protection (Short, 2016, p.19). Thus, losing one's social identity is genocide just like killing someone physically. Losing self-identity and being exposed to social genocide are caused mostly by colonisation. Therefore, genocide is a sociological concept with a rich intellectual history that connects the idea to colonisation processes and their socially destructive effects (Short, 2016, p.35). Culture integrated society and enabled the fulfilment of individual basic needs because it constituted the systematic totality of a variety of interrelated institutions, practices, and beliefs. Culture ensured an internal equilibrium and stability (Moses, 2010, p.25). This role of culture makes it the keystone of a society. Therefore, the destruction of a society's culture means destroying that society which leads to social genocide. In other words, colonisation in Africa was one of the major samples of the loss of society. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o mentions the impact on the society by colonial effects in his work *Decolonising the Mind:*

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own (1986, p.3)

Under the name of civilisation, the procedures that brought into Africa caused a major alternation in the society. The foregoing words by Thiong'o sums up the hidden reasons behind the alternation which was called as civilisation in the first place. The impact on the society proceeded during the post-colonial time. These changes created a new path in the literature for African authors. Writers such as; V. S. Naipaul and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o devoted their works to become a sound of the society to let all the world hear what happened to their nations and lands. Franz Fanon (2004) argued that the aim of colonised people let their voice heard and taking back their identity. Thus, the first aim was to take back their identity and past and then the second aim was to efface the idea of their own society was lower than the Europeans'. Characteristically, postcolonial writers evoke or create a precolonial version of their own nation, rejecting the modern and the contemporary, which is tainted with the colonial status of their countries (Barry, 2002, p.193). This is the reason behind African authors' work why they try to imply the serenity of their past in their works. They demonstrate the destroyed part of the nation and draw a path to reminiscing about the society's pre-colonial times.

In the matter of this topic, Jean-Paul Sartre (1991) underlines the importance of analysing the colonial times from the perspective of an indigenous person in the preface of Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and The Colonized*: "The rest of us, who live in the mother country, do not have his experience, so we are to view the burning land of Africa through his eyes, which will just show us the smoke."

To comprehend the situation in Africa entirely, it is necessary to analyse African author's works. As it is mentioned previously, *A Bend in the River* by V. S. Naipaul and *A Grain of Wheat* by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o will be analysed with the term 'social genocide' in this dissertation. In the introduction chapter, the terms like colonialism, imperialism and genocide have been defined, analysed and exemplified; the impact of these terms in the society and literature of Africa have been explained, and the terms that colonisation brought about are defined. In Chapter one, the effects of colonisation on the characters, how social genocide is seen in the narrated incidents in *The Bend in the River* and the perspective of V. S. Naipaul will be examined. The variety of the characters in the novel is an efficient way to analyse the social genocide from different angles. The going-on events in the book are the samples of both colonisation and post-colonisation period and create a way to perceive these eras properly. In Chapter two, the oppression of the colonised, identity confusion within the society and the discrimination between the indigenous people because of social genocide in *A Grain of Wheat* by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o will be examined.

2 ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL GENOCIDE AND COLONISATION IN *A BEND IN THE RIVER* BY V. S. NAIPAUL

2.1 About the Author

It is mentioned earlier that, with the aim of bringing civilisation, the coloniser causes a major change in the African society. These changes do not remain limited physically or economically; however they lead to social genocide. To clarify what 'genocide' term refers basically, several authors and researchers' definitions of 'genocide' are discussed in the introduction part. Genocide is far more than a label or an international crime. It is a sociological concept with a rich intellectual history that connects the idea to colonisation processes and their socially destructive effects (Short, 2016, p.35). The colonial ruling system aims to make indigenous people abandon their own traditions, values, culture and language. In this chapter *A Bend in the River* by V. S. Naipaul is examined in these terms and analysed how the colonisation affects indigenous people, how they are exposed to social genocide based on colonial representations and narratives of the novel.

Vidiadhar Surajprasad Naipaul was born as a child of Hindu Indian family from Trinidad in 1932. His parents were proletarians who came to Trinidad from India. His father Seepersad Napiaul, who became a journalist later in Port of Spain, spent his years with the hardship of fighting for his own independence. Later, Seepersad Naipaul's life became an inspiration source for V. S. Naipaul to write *A House for Mr Biswas*, which was his fourth novel. When V. S. Naipaul was born, Trinidad was an agricultural colony of British Empire and the population consisted of mostly Africans. Naipaul was academically capable and from an early age saw the possibility this provided of escaping from the limited society of Trinidad to the "real" world abroad (Dooley 2006, p. 2). He got his degree from Oxford University, the department of English. After his graduation, he moved to London permanently. He started writing his first book *Miguel Street* when he was working in BBC as a presenter. Naipaul travelled India and

Africa during the decolonisation period and the knowledge he gained from these travels made way for writing his novels. The Nobel Prize laureate author has reflected on the themes of slavery, the oppressed and the conditions of colonial areas within his works; therefore, his novels became the voice of the post-colonial world. One sample of these novels is *A Bend in the River*.

2.2   Summary of the Novel

A Bend in the River is a Booker Prize novel of Naipaul written in 1979. It is a first-person narrator novel, which is located first in the East and then in the heart of Africa. The protagonist Salim is a member of Indian family who lives in Africa. He is concerned about his future and sets up business and moves to a town at 'a bend in the river' in the heart of Africa. The town, which all the Europeans left, is like a ghost town after colonial times and the people who live there remain all the marks of those times. Former tribal districts gain importance again. In his store, Salim trades anything the villagers need such as pans, pencils and other household utensils. After Salim moves and sets a business in the town, Metty, one of the Salim's family slaves, moves to his house and becomes his assistant. One of Salim's customers, Zabeth, asks Salim to help her son Ferdinand for his education. With the agreement of Salim, Ferdinand starts living in the town and attends the local school there.

The life in the town develops in time. However, Salim finds out that a local rebellion occurs in his hometown and this leads him to feel insecure in the town he lives. After some time, European mercenaries come to the town and take over the ruling system. The town remains its development and becomes one of the trade centers as it used to be. The development in town leads local people to set business as well. One of the villagers, Mahesh, opens up a franchise burger restaurant and becomes successful. A new president "the Big Man" comes to the ruling system and displays hiw power each part of the town. He builds a new district in town and it is called "the New Domain", which demonstrates the perspective of the president for the new Africa. However, this new districts does not remain in a way that the president hopes and it is converted to an academical area. With "the New Domain", a new part of Salim's life begins. One of his childhood friends from the East coast, Indar visits him and takes

Salim to a party in the Domain. Salim meets the President's advisor Raymond and his wife Yvette in the party. Despite his loyalty to the President, Raymond loses his importance for the capital and he is busy with this situation. Meanwhile, Yvette and Salim have an affair, but it does not last for a long time because of their different personalities.

A young group from local people is not happy with the ruling system and the perspective of the President and they form a new group with the name "Liberation Army". Because he is concerned about his future, Salim tries to find a way out and goes to London. There he meets with Nazruddin, who sold the business to Salim in Africa. Salim gets engaged with Nazruddin's daughter and returns to the town in Africa. After his return, he finds out that his business was expropriated because of the new system of the President. He becomes the manager in the store once he used to own. He loses his hope with this incident and tries to find out his ivory that he hid before his departure. However, Metty takes that when Salim is away and he is sentenced to prison. Salim meets Ferdinand, who is the commissioner now, and Ferdinand tells him that the town is not safe and there is no hope. He lets Salim leave before the President comes to the town for an execution. Salim takes the last steamer at night, but the rebels attack to the ship. Although they are repelled, the barge departs from the ship and moves away from it.

Throughout the novel, the opening line of Naipaul: "The world is what it is; men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it", is narrated and seen within all the incidents and characters. It is a novel that demonstrates the post-colonial period and the effects of colonisation on the indigenous people of Africa.

2.3   Analysis of the Novel in terms of Social Genocide and Colonisation

A Bend in the River is considered as a post-colonial Africa novel; but it does not just express the conditions of the country, but also the psychology of the society. The society in the novel cannot be thought only as African people, in fact the society is the combination of people from different nations. Besides giving information about the postcolonial time, Naipaul treats the theme of finding out the real identity, the aim of life and freedom in his work. The novel

is about recent history, but also about itself and the process of making history. Karl Marx asserts this subject, making the history, in his essay The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon;

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language. (2005, p.1)

Karl Marx expresses the role of an individual in the history with these words, and Salim is one of these individuals that create the continuum. During this process, everything and everybody represents a point of change and development. The novel starts with the departure of Salim from the east of Africa with the apprehension of any possible hazard to another side of Africa. As a part of this society, Salim is a member of Indian community in Africa. Besides already having the impression and the feeling of not being an African, he goes through a process of creating an identity. The life of Salim is not just a lifetime; but also, the progress of Africa after colonialism. Naipaul reflects his own life into this character in a way. In his book *V. S. Naipaul,* Bruce King, who is an American author, remarks:

> His fiction often has subtexts: the novels can be understood as autobiographical in the sense that they are projections of his own life and anxieties of homelessness, of living in more than one culture, of needing to find a narrative order for experience, of needing to achieve, of having to build a monument to his own existence through his writing. (2003, p.6)

All the features that King mentions are the features and steps in Salim's life. The seeking of his own personality makes him go through diverse cultures. Firstly, the environment that he is surrounded is one of the effects of colonialism for him. The place he moves to in the new town belonged to a Belgian lady previously. Marks of the lady remain their presence in the house and create an atmosphere for Salim which is like a reminder keeps telling him that he is a 'stranger'. Salim describes the place: "To her "studio" atmosphere I had added a genuine untidiness--it was like something beyond my control" (1979, p.46). The description of him displays the alienage with the concrete samples.

Despite the departure of his hometown, Salim leaves a part of him there. The most effective factor of recalling his old days and hometown is Metty, who is a young man from Salim's servant houses. He chooses to come and live with Salim to escape from hometown. From the first minute he arrives, he becomes the reminder of the town Salim escaped. As a part of the family, he takes Salim's family wherever he goes, both physically and mentally. The relationship of them is like a bridge between the new life Salim is trying to manage and the old life he is trying to leave behind.

In addition to being a reminder of two different towns, Metty hosts two identities within himself. Bruce King refers Metty as a half-breed, a product of the mixing of races because of imperialism (107). Metty's original name is Ali but as Salim describes: "He preferred to be called Metty, which was what the local people called him. It was some time before I understood that it wasn't a real name, that it was just the French word 'metis', someone of mixed race" (1979, p.38). The lost identity is seen in all parts of Metty: the origin, attitudes and even name of him. In fact, the homogenous combination of his identity creates discrimination unconsciously. Consequently, as a product of imperialism, Metty plays a significant role not only in his own lost identity, but also in the loss of Salim's identity with his presence.

With a new chapter in the book, a new part of Salim's life begins and it brings Yvette to his life. Yvette is a Belgian woman and a wife of an academician; she lives in 'The New Domain' with her husband Raymond. After getting over the rebellion inside and out, Salim starts a new chapter in his life. During this

process, he gets lost with the atmosphere of colonisation. Even if it is the period after colonialism, it remains its effect in the new domain. The area which is called 'The New Domain' is a place the ruler Big Man creates to display his supremacy. This act is also a part of colonialism.

The fact is this domain consists of two colonisations; one is African and the other is European. Yvette is the European side of it and takes Salim into it. First, they meet at a dinner party which is given by Yvette. Right from the start Salim gets the feeling of a colonised and considers himself small and vulnerable (131). However, after entering the domain atmosphere he does not feel like oppressed as he expresses this: "I felt myself above it all, considering it from this new angle of the powerful" (132). This unreal feeling is the first reflection of being colonised. As Europeans did to Africans, first they pretended like they brought the civilisation. This is the same sense that Salim adopts and the first sight at Yvette brings European effect with itself.

With all aspects, Yvette is the concrete status of Europe. Firstly, European colonisation comes into existence as a woman which is what Salim needs and lacks. She wakes up some manly instincts and teaches the meaning of being man to Salim. Here Salim is the colonised side and represents all the colonised people. Secondly, Yvette takes Salim's origin and from time to time complicated identity to another perspective and creates totally new identity. At first Salim feels "blessed and remade" (182). Over time he finds out that he turns into a different person and Yvette is the reason for this desperation. Suat Cakova states that when Salim finds out that Yvette is as desperate as himself, his elated mood sinks very quickly, revealing that he is still the "victim" of post-colonial "displacement" and "isolation" (131). So, the affair between Salim and Yvette is an incarnation of colonial times.

Yvette dulls Salim's perspective about the negative modulation around him. Just like Europeans did to Africa, first they found out the shortcomings of Africa such as bringing the civilisation and hiring them for new jobs; later on they created a totally new living style for indigenous people and made them indigenise that way of living. After all, this new way of living created hardship for Africans because of diversified lifestyle from the local one which brings the situation to social genocide. This is why Yvette is the concrete version of

European colonialism in the novel, as the one who knows the weaknesses of Salim—Africa—.

Not only the incidents happen around Salim but also the people that he is surrounded are the main factors on this interval. In this respect, Salim is not the only character that has the challenge of ambiguous identity. Even though they have certain nationality in the beginning, Shoba and Mahesh, who are spouses, scramble for living. They are migrants from the East and also refugees from their nation. They are a couple that cares about their appearance and this fact makes them different from other people in the town.

However, Shoba and Mahesh have lived apart from their nation for a long time. Salim describes his friends Shoba and Mahesh as "Like many isolated people, these were wrapped up in themselves and not too interested in the world outside" (Naipaul, 1979, p.34). In spite of different perspective of ambiguity, this couple has their own identity confusion. Effort to maintain their own identity withholds them from adapting to the area they live. Bruce King states that "Mahesh, for all his obsession with his relation to his wife, foresees the nationalisation" (132). On the other hand, even though Shoba and Mahesh try to sustain their original personalities, just because they have lived in Africa for a long time, they are stuck between two nationalities. This fact causes the annihilation of their real identity and colonialism is one of the effects in this case. They moved away from their own country because of the relationship they have and colonisation has made their life harder. They are migrants and have different cultures and this discrepancy makes the adaptation process for them harder; yet colonisation brings a diverse culture to Africa and the situation gets more complicated for Shoba and Mahesh.

The situation they have is an example of social genocide. Because of colonisation, they cannot adapt themselves to Africa and struggle with another system and layout. Disorder that caused by colonial order creates an ambiguity for them. Consequently, they have neither their original identity nor any other identity. Shoba implies the fact to Salim: "I've wasted my life, Salim. You don't know how I've wasted my life. You don't know how I live in fear in this place" (78). They are affected by post-colonialism factors in a different way too. When Mahesh launches a franchise restaurant 'BigBurger', this place createsof the

household, including the houseboy Ildephonse. The restaurant brings the colonial atmosphere with itself and surrounds the environment. Salim states that "Mahesh had been full of jokes about the project; but as soon as the stuff arrived he became deadly serious--he had become Bigburger" (Naipaul, p.105).

The alteration of behaviours is seen on Ildephenso too. Here the acts of Ildephonse represent the post-colonial behaviours of African people. Salim describes the changes of Ildephonse's acts:

> Yet as soon as he was left alone he became a different person. He went vacant. Not rude, just vacant.I noticed this alteration in the African staff in other places as well. It made you feel that while they did their jobs in their various glossy settings, they were only acting for the people who employed them; that the job itself was meaningless to them; and that they had the gift—when they were left alone, and had no one to act for—of separating themselves in spirit from their setting, their job, their uniform. (106)

Ildephenso represents the post-colonial indigenous people of Africa. The way that he acts is the way he has been treated during the colonial period and this situation creates a path to alternation of African people and makes them lose their natural identity which constitutes social genocide, once again.

Another identity confusion that social genocide created is Ferdinand. He is a fifteen-year-old son of Zabeth, who is a so-called magician and a trader. Ferdinand already has his hybrid identity before colonial effects; this fact causes complicated situation for him to suit one stable identity. His father is from a Southern tribe different from his mother and he has spent his last years with his father away from Zabeth. This creates the difference between him and the land that he comes to live with his mother. Kerry McSweeney remarks about Ferdinand in his work *Four Contemporary Novelists* (1983), "A representative figure whose birth and early years in the bush, schooling at the *lycee,* indoctrination at the Domain, and membership in the president's regime recapitulate the brief history of his nation" (192). Ferdinand is the rebellious side of the personality; at some point, he drowns inside the complexity of the identity; yet, at another point, he owns a full identity. But mostly he is the man

created by colonialism; "the new man of Africa". "In his lycée blazer, Ferdinand saw himself as evolved and important, as in the colonial days. At the same time, he saw himself as "a new man of Africa", and important for that reason" (Naipaul, 53). But without the secure community life of the bush, and because of his tribally mixed parentage, Ferdinand is at the mercy of the new political order as well as being confused by notions of authenticity no longer valid for himself (King, 122). Education he has and the people he spends time with make him lose his identity. In this case, the situation should not be seen as an African effect. In fact, the indigenous people there are the results of colonialism and they do not carry their original identities within themselves. The situation he is in makes the condition more complicated for Ferdinand and at one point he gives up:

> They feel they're loosing the place they can run back to. I began to feel the same thing when I was cadet in the capital. I felt I had been used. I felt I had given myself an education for nothing. I felt I had been fooled. Everything that was given to me was given to me to destroy me. I began to think I wanted to be a child again, to forget books and everything connected with books. The bush runs itself. But there is nowhere to go. I've been on tour in the villages. It's a nightmare. All these airfields the man has built, the foreign companies have built –- nowhere is safe now. (Naipaul, 1979, p.281-282)

With these words Ferdinand expresses the real side of 'civilisation' and colonialism. He lost his own identity and he had dropped all his characters, all his poses (Naipaul, 1979, p.164). He is one of the most effective results of social genocide. In each chapter of the novel he changes his attitudes, his clothes and the language that he uses. This alteration is more than a concrete change, in fact this is the way of presenting the confusion and not finding right identity for himself. The identity his father gave, a mother from different tribe and the post-colonial effects such as education, make him lose his own self and cause the social genocide.

Claudia Card mentions:

> Centering social death accommodates the position, controversial among genocide scholars, that genocidal acts are not always or

necessarily homicidal. Forcibly sterilizing women or men of a targeted group or forcibly separating their children from them for re-education for assimilation into another group can also be genocidal in aim or effect. (2003)

Social genocide does not only come from the results of people affected by colonialism. In fact, in the first place, it comes to indigenous people and lives with them throughout the life. Nazruddin is a character that symbolises the colonial period with all his attitudes and also with his appearance. Even if the perod that is mentioned in the novel is post-colonial, his Europeanized behaviour is obvious because of the interiorised perspectives of the colonial times. In the beginning of the novel as a first character Nazruddin is described and the reason is the time that is mentioned (Naipaul, 1979, p.1). At first, the post-colonial time maintains, and according to the this condition, the European effects are still visible in the country with an ancillary function, the rebellion. Nazruddin is a character that can be named as 'walking colonialism'. Wherever he goes or whatever he does, he carries all the samples of colonialism. In addition, Nazrudding carries the terms "ambivalance" and "worldliness" because he is originally an African but acts like an European person. This situation shows that he is in paradox between two identites, but does not belong to any of them.

Nazruddin is described as a man of Salim's father's age, but looks much younger and altogether more a man of the world. He plays tennis, drinks wine, speaks French, wears dark glasses and suits. He is famous for his European manners, which he gets not from Europe, but from a town in the centre of Africa (Naipaul, 1979, p. 26). As Salim states him "He was known among us (and slightly mocked behind his back) for his European manners, which he had picked up not from Europe (he had never been there), but from a town in the centre of Africa where he lived and had his business"(Naipaul, 1979, p.26). The footnote Salim makes is the evidence of social genocide. Although Nazruddin has never been in Europe, even once, he sustains Europe in Africa. He is known as an exotic man who tells stories to others and those people admire them. Even if Salim says that people mock behind his back the truth is there is an admiration for his life, which is European colonialism. Moreover, admiration

for this lifestyle is the reason and encouragement that makes Salim decide to move another town. Colonialism is like a domino effect. It starts with one fact which disempowers a person, then this person overpowers the others and in the sequel this order maintains even after its own time. This is how Salim makes his decision and believes in having another chance:

> "He had meant that even there, in the centre of Africa, the wine had come from the shippers on our east coast, and not from the people on the other side. But in my imagination I allowed the words to stand for pure bliss. I had never been to a real European restaurant or tasted wine--forbidden to us--with any pleasure; and I knew that the life Nazruddin had described had come to an end. But I drove through Africa to Nazruddin's town as to a place where this life might be re-created for me." (30)

The only thing Salim is not aware is moving to somewhere else does not change the situation that he is in. The ambiguous identity which is caused by social genocide is the new one and moves anywhere with the character. In fact, before analyzing Salim's identity crisis, Nazruddin is the one that demonstrates all the marks of this incident. When he tells his stories, he displays that he is affected deeply by colonialism; so no matter where he goes he cannot change and get rid of that identity. Nazruddin says: "It wasn't the Africans who made me nervous. It was the Europeans and the others" (28). The truth is that he explains the situation but no one is able to see the veracity because of the admiration for European style and trying to escape from any possible attack. Eventually, Nazruddin is a character who has completely lost his own identity and turned into a part of colonisation as a result of social genocide.

As it is mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, social genocide is not limited with the characters. Places they live in and the incidents they are surrounded with are the actual factors, and these determinants create the chapters in the novel and the names of the chapters refer to specific facts. These chapters are in an order as an order of colonial effects on people. The chapters of the novel are the main steps of the characters' personality change; in other words, they are the main steps of 'social genocide'. The titles of the chapters are the basics of genocide. The first chapter, 'The Second Rebellion', is a process of finding out

the real identity. The time is post-colonial period and people try to survive after rebellion against colonisation. This time their own rebellion starts and the enemy is colonisation, the area which is affected by colonisation and themselves. The first colonisers, who are Europeans, changed the identity of local people. After their departure while indigenous people were trying to deal with the ambiguity, other colonisers arrived. This time the colonisers are Africans who have a total colonised mind. This situation is a loop which is caused by social genocide because of colonisation. Just because their point of view, and the origin changed and they lost their own identity, these Africans act with a new colonised mind.

Firstly, Salim starts this rebellion by making his first attempt and leaving his own town. His escape from the East to the heart of Africa is a sample of this fact. The fear of any possible attack and not feeling like himself makes him search for a new area and his own. This rebellion should not be seen just as physical but also mental. Breaking down the traditions and moving to somewhere he has never been before and trying to survive there is a rebellious act. That is why he admits Nazruddin's offer of buying his shop. He says: "I had accepted his offer because I wanted to break away" (30). So, that is the 'rebellion' of Salim against the present system. Besides a personal rebellion, a real second rebellion occurs in the town but just like other events, this rebellion creates an ambiguous environment for characters and leads to an internal rebellion within them.

'The New Domain', which is the second chapter, is an abstract place where Salim finds the new domain inside. All the transition forms of 'The New Domain' are the symbols of the identity crisis that Salim faces by representing the process that he goes through. Thanks to the arrival of Indar, who is a friend from his hometown, Salim gets opportunity to figure out a new perspective of life. He upgrades from an ordinary citizen to a higher class person. He describes himself as, "We were simple men with civilisations but without other homes. Whenever we were allowed to, we did the complicated things we had to do, like the ants" (Naipaul, 1979, p.94).

The new domain is a place where Salim meets the culture of the coloniser. In this case, Yvette acts as the coloniser and the way that Salim stares at her and

how he is affected by her is the description of the way in which Africans see 'the Western civilisation'. The new things the president brings to the town are appreciated and well-liked innovations at first such as; the new domain. During "the New Domain" process, the town is better and gives the feeling of novelty to people. In this point Salim says that:

> We felt the new ruling intelligence — and energy — from the capital; there was a lot of copper money around; and these two things — order and money— were enough to give us confidence. A little of that went a long way with us. It released our energy; and energy, rather than quickness or great capital, was what we possessed. (Naipaul, 1979, p.94)

As the time passes, these novelties create paradox and cause different perspectives from the beginning of it. As the voice of all the characters and incidents, Salim expresses this situation: "I had done nothing of the sort; when the peace came I had simply stopped looking about me. And now I felt that the mystery and the magic of the place had gone" (Naipaul, 1979, p.103). While being impressed by the novelties by colonisation, he misses the chance of appreciating the ones he owns. The condition he's in causes him to feel depressed and makes him someone different from himself. So, the facts in the new domain are also the results of the social genocide with the feature of changing the culture and values people have. As Salim states: "I was aware, in the Domain, that I belonged to the other world" (Naipaul, 1979, 125).

The chapter 'The Big Man' is the chapter which shows that colonisation maintains even though Europeans are not there. All the novelties Big Man brings and the way he recreates the town is not something different from Europeans did to the town in colonisation time. Here the argument is not blaming Africans; in fact the aim is to show how Africans are affected by the colonisation and social genocide. From this perspective, the path Big Man follows is the way which was followed by Europeans before him. About this situation Cakova states that:

> The study of the effect of the advancement of "Western civilization" in Africa is also interesting because it shows that

now the "colonizer" does not have to be there physically to exploit the resources of a "post-colonial" country. The culture and civilization of the former colonizer is now brought into the region by the new ruler of the once colonized country.(2007)

All the rebellions come after a war brings another war to that territory, which is the same situation that happens within all the characters both psychologically and physically. After their own internal rebellion, all the characters in the novel bring themselves to the 'Battle'; the fact is the enemy that these characters fight is themselves. In the last chapter of the novel the 'Battle' is more likely between the lost identity and the one which is ambiguous and changes all the time. As a protagonist Salim is the represener of the other characters in this fact. Because of Big Man's new policy, he loses his property and he perceives that he does not belong to that town either. Salim states: "There could be no going back; there was nothing to go back to. We had become what the world outside had made us; we had to live in the world as it existed" (Naipaul, 1979, p.252). The statement he makes is espousing of social genocide. This acceptance is the submission to colonisation.

Within the chapters, the process of social death is gradually shown; however, the fact is that process is not an oncoming but a cyclical one. In other way, in the first chapter Salim describes everything that is going to happen in these sentences: "The country, like others in Africa, had had its troubles after independence. The town in the interior, at the bend in the river, had almost ceased to exist; and Nazruddin said I would have to start from the beginning" (9). So in the end, again Salim leaves for a new beginning while he is leaving the town with the steamer. Indeed, these four chapters or four steps of human life are the result of social genocide.

The characters are the ones who have lost their identities and they are mostly refugees or migrants. The fact is indigenous people of Africa are the ones that have been exposed to social genocide. The characters like Salim, Mahesh or people of Europe comprehend Africans as strangers. The word of 'strangers' does not refer to people that they do not know; but the people who have different acts and attitudes. The fact is indigenous people are called as 'malins'. This word is never translated to English in the novel but its translation could be

as 'malignant'. Yet, characters cannot give any specific definition of it, but can exemplify that in various ways:

> Shortly after I had arrived Mahesh had said to me of the local Africans: 'You must never forget, Salim, that they are *malins*.' He had used the French word, because the English words he might have used —'wicked', 'mischievous', 'bad-minded'— were not right. The people here were *malins* the way a dog chasing a lizard was *malin*, or a cat chasing a bird. The people were *malins* because they lived with the knowledge of men as prey. (Naipaul, 1979, p.60)

The description of Mahesh is a definition and explanation for the actions of indigenous people. According to Suat Cakova (2007), with 'malin' Mahesh means 'savage'. He states that the "ambivalent aspect" of this passage, however, is that the "savage nature" of the African is mentioned in this passage not to humiliate them, but to emphasise that this is the native African's way of life, and that he has to be accepted as that. With the simile, the attitudes of Africans, which are strange to other people, can be seen as the nature of them; and if there is an adverse reaction against them, these 'malin' attitudes are seen normal. So, the natural attitudes of the local people are exposed to change and the reason of this alteration is the 'civilisation' that Europe brought to Africa. Salim describes this in the beginning:

> But the Europeans could do one thing and say something quite different; and they could act in this way because they had an idea of what they owed to their civilization. It was their great advantage over us. The Europeans wanted gold and slaves, like everybody else; but at the same time they wanted statues put up to themselves as people who had done good things for the slaves. Being an intelligent and energetic people, and at the peak of their powers, they could express both sides of their civilization; and they got both the slaves and the statues. (Naipaul, 1979, p. 23)

These can be seen to exemplify "social genocide" in the African scene. As Salim mentions, there were no lies before colonisation because they were living

in a way that they were born. However, after that period they start lying and this twitch is the beginning of nonstop process of lying about themselves. These people stop being who they are and forced to be someone else. The political effects on a society form each step for the individuals. This condition creates a complication and it is caused by not having full freedom to choose the next step for their own lives. Living in the East side, in the middle of the country or in another continent does not change the mind that is shaped by the socio-political environment.

Consequently, besides characterising the term social genocide in *A Bend in the River*, V. S. Naipaul narrates the atmosphere of colonial and postcolonial lands. The first narrated place is a postcolonial one that protagonist Salim moves. The house belonged to a Belgian woman and remains the marks of her lifestyle. The description of the house gives clues about how the coloniser came into the indigenous people's lives because Salim describes the feeling that the house gives him as 'stranger'. Moreover, the area which is called as 'The New Domain' is a symbol of neocolonialism. With the ruling system of their president Big Man and the discrimination of people —only wealthy people and Europeans — live there The New Domain presents the coloniser affected system of Africa. Another place that represents the colonialism is the restaurant Mahesh owns. The restaurant Bigburger is the sample which shows how the colonial and imperialist system affected the social and working life of indigenous people. The new system causes the change in each part of the society with its impacts. With Bigburger, even Mahesh's houseboy Ildephonse undergoes a change in his personality and demonstrates colonial attitudes while he is working in the restaurant but not outside of it. With these samples it is clear that the coloniser does not need to occupy physically in the land; with the changes, culture and ruling system they bring to the colonised, it is easy to remain their coloniser system afterwards.

V. S. Naipaul implied the process of social genocide with four chapters in the novel. Each chapter represents the alternation that the society faced. The first chapter 'The Second Rebellion' is the process which shows the damages the coloniser brought to the society and how they try to survive after colonial time even though their coloniser affected system causes some problems. The process

is narrated mostly by the survival attempts of protagonist Salim and his descriptions of the postcolonial area. Second chapter 'The New Domain' consists of the narratives of how some part of the society is affected by the colonial forces. The changes in the indigenous people's identities are represented by Salim's relationship with European woman Yvette who lives in the new domain. The relationship he has, brings a new lifestyle to Salim and this circumstance causes an ambiguity and alienation for him. Thirdly, the chapter 'The Big Man' narrates the effects of neocolonialism in Africa. In this chapter, the situation of the country shows that the coloniser does not need to remain its presence in the land to maintain its aims. New ruling system brings the regime of the coloniser into the region. The last chapter 'Battle' is the composition and summary of all the incidents that go through in first three chapters. This chapter narrates the battle which comes after colonisation and it is more psychological than a physical one. Losing their own identity and suffocating in ambiguity cause search of a new identity for indigenous people and results with a battle. This psychological statement is mostly narrated by protagonist Salim and ends with his departure from his lands.

In addition to places and chapters, 'social genocide' term remains its presence in each character in *A Bend in the River*. However, as a protagonist Salim is the character that demonstrates genocided identity more than the others. Searching for his own identity makes Salim move from his own land and go into strange atmospheres which are results of colonisation and neocolonialism. The postcolonial environment and people cause him to feel alienated but Metty, who comes from his hometown and servant's house, links him up to his old life.

Afterwards, Salim meets with colonisation in the postcolonial time with his attention to Yvette. Meeting European people and getting involved to that atmosphere causes alternation in Salim's identity. By seeing the changes of neocolonialism in the New Domain, Salim is exposed to the change that the coloniser wants to bring to the society in the first place. Salim describes those times as "We felt the new ruling — and energy — from the capital; there was a lot of copper money around; and these two things — order and money — were enough to give us confidence" (Naipaul, 1967, p.94). While the effects of colonisation during neocolonialism period, Salim does not feel the sense of

belonging to anywhere because of his genocided identity. He states the circumstance as: "I was aware, in the Domain, that I belonged to the other world" (Naipaul, 1967, p.125). Even though Salim feels like he belongs to another world, he cannot find any word that he belongs to. The changes that colonialism and neocolonialism bring to the lands cause this situation and crates an ambiguity for all the individuals live there.

Just like Salim, the other characters in *A Bend in the River* are the symbols of social genocide from different perspectives. Before colonisation indigenous people live in their own way however, with the coloniser's thought of bringing civilisation, they are exposed to change and live a different life psychologically, physically, socially, politically, and economically. The character Nazruddin shows these alternations explicitly in each way of his life. The descriptions of his characteristic features summarises the social genocide he sustains. Another character Ferdinand represents the whole change in the nation. In each chapter he shows a change in his attitudes, the use of language and his clothes due to the condition of the country. On the other hand, Shoba and Mahesh maintain their own traditions instead of the change within the land. Being migrants excludes them from being changed by the colonisation until some point. Besides being a bridge between the new life and old life for Salim, Metty is the symbol of colonialism with his name. Even though his real name is Ali, because of being half-breed, local people call him Metty, which comes from French word 'metis'. In this case, choosing a name for him from a European language shows the effects of colonialism. From different perspectives, each place, character and situation depict social genocide as a result of colonialism.

The characters in the novel are the representers of social genocide. They are the symbols of colonial times and its repercussion mentally, psychologically and apparently. Like the river in the town, each diversified shape of it flows but it is impossible for characters to catch one and suit themselves in it. However, the impacts of social genocide are embodied within Salim. The political effects on a society form each step for the individuals. This condition creates a complication, which is caused by lack of freedom to choose the next step for their lives. Living in the East side, in the middle of the country or in another continent does not change the mind that is shaped by the socio-political

environment. Salim is like a victim; coming and going between each side of the life while trying to find the suitable identity for himself like all the other characters in the novel.

A Bend in the River is about a homeless man as well as a lost personality. As Salim describes: "The World is what it is; men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it" (Naipaul, 9). The last part of the novel is a self-explanatory part, which has symbols like passengers and insects; the society and the political forces. Salim demonstrates the hopelessness of the situation he takes place and there is no escape from this conflict. He states, "The searchlight lit up the barge passengers who, behind bars and wire-guards, as yet scarcely seemed to understand that they were adrift. Then there were gunshots. The searchlight was turned off; the barge was no longer to be seen" (Naipaul, 1979, p.287).

As a result of social genocide, each character, each place and incident is on the move. As King states: "Stories are taken up and dropped, characters die early or disappear, homes and businesses change hands, motivation is not fully developed or explained, everything is in movement" (2003, p.120). All the characters and incidents with all their characteristics are samples of social genocide. As it is mentioned in the introduction part, genocide is a term, which is used not only for physical but also social acts. As Lemkin states what genocide really is:

> Generally speaking, genocide does not mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. (1944, p.79)

In other words, genocide is killing an ethnicity and this description is seen in all the incidents and the characters' identities. It should be mentioned that in the novel, the acts of indigenous people are the results of European colonialism. None of the characters feel like they belong to any ethnic group and they are in an endless search

of their faded identity. The ambiguity they are dealing with is the concrete result of social genocide.

In conclusion, V. S. Naipaul reflects social genocide in *A Bend in the River* by narrating the change of cultural values and the alternation in the personalities of the indigienous people. Since each character loses his/her original personality, and holds onto an identity that the coloniser creates, the novel can be considered as the sample of social genocide term based on the analysis.

3 ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL GENOCIDE AND COLONISATION IN *A GRAIN OF WHEAT* BY NGUGI WA THIONG'O

3.1 About the Author

Colonisation came to the African lands for political and economical benefits under the name of bringing civilisation. Besides its political profits, colonisation comprises of thoughts of the coloniser; and in this case, the coloniser is the superior one whereas the colonised is the inferior one. According to John McLeod (2000) colonialism is related to mental construction; and this action is carried out with the superior role of the coloniser. As a result, the colonised becomes inferior compared to the coloniser. These roles of the binary are represented in literature not only by characters but also incidents. In this chapter *A Grain of Wheat* by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o will be examined in terms of the representations of colonialism and social genocide.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is considered as one of the most influential writers of Africa for his works. Criticism of cultural issues like language and identity, nation and narration, empire and postcolonialism. Dramatist and novelist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was born in 1935 in Kenya. He was educated in Kenya until his college years. Thiong'o's family was captured in Mau Mau War, which was a military conflict in Kenya between 1952 and 1960. Also Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's half-brother was active in Kenya Land and Freedom Army, which was a guerrilla force and took a stand against the British administration and rules in Kenya. Thiong'o studied his bachelor degree in Uganda and in his college years he produced his first play *The Black Hermit* in 1962. In 1967, he wrote his book *A Grain of Wheat* which has the traces of Fanonist Marxism. In the same year Thiong'o renounced his first name James Ngugi, the language English and Christianity and he took the name Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and using his native language Gikuyu and Swahili. In 1986, Thiong'o published *Decolonising The Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*, which is a collection of essay about the role of language in literature, culture and history. As Apollo

Obonyo Amoko states: "As a novelist, dramatist, theorist, and academic whose works span the early 1960s to the present, Ngũgĩ has been a central figure in the establishment of modern African literature" (2010, p.1). With his works, prizes and effort Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o has been considered as one of the major roles in African literature. With his novel *A Grain of Wheat*, he has influenced the African literature.

3.2   Summary of the Novel

A Grain of Wheat is a novel of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o which was written in 1967. It narrates the situations and the incidents during Kenya's independence. The novel purports to display both social genocide and the challenges against the people who do not want to be exposed to social genocide. It is claimed that Thiong'o was in the process of writing this novel when he encountered Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth,* and it was in this book that he simultaneously discovered the politics of socialism and a grammar for representing colonialism and what has now come to be known as arrested decolonization (Gikandi, 2009, p.98). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o reflects these struggles through his works. He implies the hardships African people faced during the process of gaining independence. Chidi Amuta states:

> The central experience which informs his historical consciousness is the Mau Mau armed struggle which Kenyan peasants and nationalists had to wage against British colonialism. The period of national emergency revealed not only the physical violence with which colonialism sought to entrench itself but also the cultural violence which it inflicted on the consciousness of the colonized. It was against this background that Ngugi may have derived the prominence which he has continued to give to the cultural aspects of the Mau Mau struggle. (Amuta, as cited in Ashcroft, 2003, p.162)

In other words, Thiong'o states the challenges of indigenous people that they are exposed to during colonial period, and he indicates how colonialism affected them in his works. *A Grain of Wheat* is one of these works in which Thiong'o narrated the stuggles of local people.

A Grain of Wheat narrates the process of the Independence Day of Kenya and also the background of Mau Mau Rebellion. With the settlement of British colonisers, the lifestyle and the ruling system changes in Kenya. The indigenous people obey the new system in the country eventually. However, some of the locals unite underground to get their indipendence back and they call this "the Movement" and their rebellion is known as "Mau Mau".

There is a switch between the characters in the novel and it relates the events in different angles. For instance, Mugo is the one who demonstrates the situation of African people during that time and Gikonyo is the one who exposes the maltretmant of the people in detention. With the switch between narrators, it is aimed to show each side of the hardships and the process of independence in Kenya. However, most of the events occur around the character Mugo and his secret, which is about Kihika.

Kihika, who is accepted as the hero of the movement by the local people, dissapers into the forest with the other people from the Movement. After some time, they carry out a raid and this makes coloniser angry so that it causes a state of emergency. Kihika is caught with the help of a betrayer from the local people and he is hanged. During the state of emergency, the coloniser imprisons the men of Thabai, including Gikonyo and Mugo. When Gikonyo is arrested, his wife Mumbi faces difficulties such as losing her house because of the fire the coloniser starts. Even though she waits for her husband to come back from the detention camp for some time, Mumbi has an affair with Karanja who accepts the system of the coloniser and works for them. This event makes Karanja feel stronger because he believes that by having relationship with his wife and being on the coloniser's side, he is able to beat Gikonyo.

On the other side, after the detention camp, Mugo feels guilty for the death of Kihika. While he struggles with his guilt, as the indipendence approaches, some people from the society ask him to make a speech at the local celebration, because after Kihika's death, the local people see Mugo as their new hero due to his brave behaviors in the camp. Following this situation, the other events in the novel take place in four days before the independence and the social change of the indigenous people is narrated from different angles with the switch between the characters.

3.3   The Author and the Views of Literary Critics

As a writer who witnessed the events during Mau Mau Rebellion, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o creates a work that shows the background of the facts. He states in his work *Writers in Politics*: "A central fact of Kenyan life today is the fierce struggle between the cultural forces representing foreign interests and those representing patriotic national interests" (1981, p.42). While transferring his ideas, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o used English until some point. His book *Decolonising the Mind* was his farewell to English language. He expressed the problem of Kikuyu people through the novel; but, while using his Kikuyu language, he does not prefer to use English language, because he thinks the name and the language is a part of colonialism. He changed his Christian name. However, Thiong'o does not aim to limit reaching all over the world. He states: "I hope that through the age old medium of transition I shall be able to continue dialogue with all" (1986, p.xiii). As Edward Said states, Ngugi wa Thiong'o is an intellectual who carries his thought and practice publicly and courageously in Kenya and demonstrates his experiences in his works (1993, p.18). Thiong'o aims to reach everyone who fights for independence both physically and mentally and the people who have declared loud and clear that they do not sleep to dream, `but dream to change the world'(Thiong'o, 1986, p.3). This concern of Thiong'o evokes the concept of Pan-Africanism. This concept represents the association of all African people. The basis of this concept is that the union is crucial for all the values of Africa, for its economy and politics. Pan-Africanism is a language of liberation; this idea holds a shared unity exists among Africans and peoples of African descent worldwide, and that this shared unity stems from a common oppression, whether it is slavery, imperialism, colonialism, or the like (Falola & Essien 2014). Even though Pan-Africanism was on the front burner after the Second World War, its origin goes older than that time. Imanuel Geiss, who was a German historian, mentions about roots of Pan-Africanism:

> If the actual beginning of Pan-Africanism in its strictest sense is
> taken as 1958, with the first two conferences ever held on African
> soil (although they continued the tradition of their forerunners), it
> has both a narrower and a wider pre-history; the former dating
> back to the first Pan-African Conference, held in London in July

I900, while the origins of the latter can be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century. (1969, p.187)

After Pan-African Conference, Pan-Africanism got strengthened with the political issues among African people and led to be mentioned in literature. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o maintains this philosophy within his works. While carrying out this aim, he emphasises the importance of language in this subject and explains the role of it in colonisation and social genocide. The choice of language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, in relation to the entire universe (Thiong'o, 1986, p.4). As a result, language is in the centre of opposing social forces within the 20th century Africa. Thiong'o implies that the effect of language started in the Berlin Conference, in which Africa was divided into colonial parts by the European countries in 1884. Therefore, European countries had a chance to spread their own culture and language over the colonial parts they own. In *Decolonising the Mind* Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o refers to this subject:

> Berlin in 1884 saw, the division of Africa into the different languages of the European powers. African countries, as colonies and even today as neo-colonies, came to be defined and to define themselves in terms of the languages of Europe: English-speaking, French-speaking or Portuguese-speaking African countries. (1986, p.5)

Thiong'o sees the language as a factor which carries the values of the society with itself. This is one of the reasons why he emphasises the effect of language in the alternation of society. Simon During mentions Thiong'o's language factor in his article:

> When a post-colonial nationalist like the Kenyan novelist Ngugi, living under multinational capitalism, looks at the soil, he sees it as a means of production, and means of production do not articulate identities; indeed, where they can be owned, they are often owned by foreigners. This leaves him language and, within language, culture. (2002, p.126)

About the language subject, Chinua Achebe, in a speech entitled `The African Writer and the English Language' said: "Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me there is no other choice. I have been given the language and I intend to use it" (Achebe, as cited inAshcroft, 2003, p.285). There is a paradox in the words of Achebe as Thiong'o states that usage of mother tongue causes levity with the phrase 'a dreadful betrayal'. On the other hand, foreign languages cause positive perception and Achebe describes this situation as "fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English in our literature" (Thiong'o, 1986, p.7). Therefore, instead of abstaining from adapting to foreign language, Achebe indicates that in a way it becomes something unavoidable and creates a place for itself within the culture and literature of Africa. The concern of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is if it is sufficient and effective to use English while transferring African experiences. Since the language is the tool of interchanging culture and values of a society, using another language while transferring these values becomes an issue. Chinua Achebe mentions this subject as: "I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings" (1965, p.30). Thiong'o criticises the acceptance of using a foreign language instead of their mother tongue. Because he believes that in this way the usage of another language can lead to secession from their own culture and values. Thiong'o states that: "In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation" (1986, p.9).

In *Decolonising the Mind* Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o describes his own life and gives it as a sample to show the importance of language within their culture and also how their life has changed because of the alternation in language use. He says that after the declaration of state of emergency over Kenya in 1952 ruling of all the schools were taken by colonial regime and the language that is taught was changed to English. This change caused the changes in the perspectives of indigenous people. In Kenya, English became more than a language: it was the

language, and all the others had to bow before it in deference (Thiong'o, 1986, p.11). The use of mother tongue, which is Gikuyu, was banned and the ones who remained using their own language were punished. Thiong'o states: "The culprit was given, corporal punishment - three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks - or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as 'I AM STUPID' or 'I AM A DONKEY'" (1986, p.11). The way to catch the mother tongue users was giving the catching duty to some students. Therefore, children became hunters and they were taught to be lucrative, which is the value of being a traitor to their own society. However, the attitude toward English was different: being successful in writing or speaking English was rewarded with prizes and applause. Thus, English became the dimension of aptitude and intelligence in all the fields. Moreover, the ones who failed in English subject could not pass other courses no matter how well they did in them. Consequently, the use of language and the way of behaviour it brought with itself has caused the change of indigenous people's perspectives about their own culture and values. This circumstance brings social genocide to the society and results with the loss of identity. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o explains the role of language in social genocide with these words: "Language as culture is thus mediating between me and my own self; between my own self and other selves; between me and nature. Language is thus mediating in my very being" (1986, p.15).

Ngũgĩ's assumption is that language is a 'people's collective memory-bank' of historical experience and that it is a space in which all the living and ancestral voices of a community are articulated (Brendon Nicholls, p. 193). Therefore, Thiong'o emphasised European languages as a part of colonialism and it causes the cultural loss eventually. Pretty et al. mentioned four components to describe the cultural loss in their article "The Intersections of Biological Diversity and Cultural Diversity: Towards Integration"; (i) beliefs, meanings and worldwide, (ii) livelihoods, practices and resource management systems, (iii) knowledge bases and languages, (iv) institutions, norms and regulations (2009, p.100). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o described all these components in his works. In *Decolonising the Mind* Thiong'o stated the situations he faced in Kenya. He mentioned that during State of Emergency all the pupils had to use English

language and the ones who do not use it were detected by other pupils and punished (1986, p.11). This circumstance constitutes all the components of Pretty et al.'s description of cultural loss. Forcing students to use another language and giving them the fallacy of doing something wrong by using their mother tongue lead to change in their beliefs about all their lives and the environment they live in. In addition, livelihood and the way indigenous people live changed. In *A Grain of Wheat* Thiong'o wrote how indigenous people's life changed with the descriptions of character Mumbi. She describes how their houses were burnt hardly and they could not do anything. Besides, they were forced to work all day almost for nothing (1967, p.140). Consequently, after all three components are carried out, the forth one becomes inevitable. Because to apply those three forces, institutions, norms and regulations had to be changed by the coloniser.

Indeed the matter of social genocide comes along with imperialism. Imperialism is the rule of consolidated finance capital and since 1884 this monopolistic parasitic capital has affected and continues to affect the lives even of the peasants in the remotest corners of our countries (Thiong'o, 1986, p.2). Imperialism, which is caused by first industrial revolution and then colonisation, is the factor that has made alternations in each part of the society. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o makes a statement: "Imperialism is total: it has economic, political, military, cultural and psychological consequences for the people of the world today. It could even lead to holocaust" (1986, p.2). As it is stated in the introduction part, holocaust and genocide, which was coined by Raphael Lemkin after the Holocaust in 1944, are the results of imperialism and colonisation. Social genocide is brought to Africa mostly by the culture of coloniser under the name of civilisation. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o indicates:

> The oppressed and the exploited of the earth maintain their
> defiance: liberty from theft. But the biggest weapon wielded and
> actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective
> defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to
> annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in
> their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in
> their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see

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their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them
want to distance themselves from that wasteland. (1986, p.3)

As Thiong'o mentions that colonisation is the factor of the change in the society
and caused social genocide. As he implies this topic in his other works, *A Grain
of Wheat* expresses every detail and the background of the challenge of gaining
independence and how the indigenous people face social genocide. Genocide is
seen from each perspective in *A Grain of Wheat.* Raphael Lemkin's all methods
and techniques of genocide are the parts in this novel:

physical — massacre and mutilation, deprivation of livelihood
(starvation, exposure etc. often by deportation), slavery —
exposure to death; biological — separation of families,
sterilization, destruction of foetus; cultural — desecration and
destruction of cultural symbols (books, objects of art, loot,
religious relics, etc.) , destruction of cultural leadership,
destruction of cultural centres (cities, churches, monasteries,
schools, libraries), prohibition of cultural activities or codes of
behaviour, forceful conversion, demoralization. (Lemkin, as cited
in McDonnell & Moses 2005)

From this perspective, the destruction of a nation could occur when any
structural element was destroyed (Short, 2016, p.20). Almost all of these
elements are destroyed in *A Grain of Wheat* and the destruction of these causes
genocide, especially social genocide in that society.

3.4   Analysis of the novel in terms of Social Genocide and Colonisation

A Grain of Wheat dramatises the many salient and ironic moments when
decolonisation is revealed as an "empty shell". The novel is structured by an
acute opposition between the expectations raised by nationalism and realities of
compromised decolonisation (Gikandi, 2009, p.98). The novel tells the story of
the hardships and challenges the indiegnous people face against colonialism.
The plot sets out in a specific area but the content is related to all African
people who struggle with the same issues. Simon Gikandi implies that this story
is told from the vantage point of subjects and narrators troubled by the prospects

of arrested decolonisation and haunted by the ghosts of colonialism past (2009, p.99).

In *A Grain of Wheat* not only colonialism but also neocolonialism is narrated. In the novel Gikonyo wants to purchase a farm and tries all the ways to have it. No matter how much he tries the unfair agreements in the background that the Member of Parliament causes him to lose the farm (Thiong'o, 1967, p.169). This incident is one of the examples of colonialism. After the British left Kenya, some rulers used their power just like colonisers. In the post-colonialism period, the point to be considered was African powers and Lieutenant Koina states this situation in the novel as: "The Party must never betray the Movement. The Party must never betray Uhuru. It must never sell Kenya back to the Enemy! Tomorrow we shall ask: where is the land? Where is the food? Where are the schools?" (Thiong'o, 1967, p.221). In another example, after coloniser left the African lands, the African government acted in a way that coloniser did. They took all the control and ruled the land in a way that is good for their own benefit. In the novel, this subject is seen with the samples. A crowd waits outside the office of Member of Parliament for their problems. The fact is he is rarely in the office and keeps promises. This circumstance leads people to get used to this situation. One woman says: "It is like trying to meet God." They ask each other why they are there. One says that: "Last Saturday, they came and arrested my man because he has not paid taxes. But how does he pay poll tax? He has no job. Our two children have had to leave school because no money…" (Thiong'o, 1967, p.61). So, *A Grain of Wheat* consists of the combination of political issues such as colonialism, colonialism and the civil political issues like Mau Mau. Therefore, to get a better point of *A Grain of Wheat* the history of Kenya and Mau Mau Rebellion should be stated primarily.

Mau Mau Rebellion, which is also called as the Mau Mau Movement or Uprising, started in 1947. The aim of this rebellion was to get back the independence of the country from Britain. The Movement first started with the acts against 'loyalist' who were Africans but worked for British people. In time, the uprising against the British rule expanded and this resulted with the emergency call of Britain in Kenya. During the State of Emergency, British people captured some Kenyans and took them into custody in places called

detention camps. Rebellion of Kenyans caused hardships for the indigenous people.Ruling became much stricter and local people were forced to leave their houses. The British blamed the Kenyan leaders for promoting rebels. Internal security of the land was provided by British and local soldiers. Local officers, who supported the British, were announced as traitors among Kenyans. The Movement finalised with the release of Jomo Kenyatta in 1962, which has been celebrated as Independence Day of Kenya since then.

All the struggles which took place during the process of Mau Mau Rebellion are the main points in *A Grain of Wheat*. Not only the physical effects of colonisation, but also the social perspective of the effects are narrated in the novel. A great deal of the historical events surrounding the state of emergency in Kenya is also narrated through the documentary method (Gikandi, 2009, p.122). Thiong'o states the situation occurred during Mau Mau Rebellion in the first chapter of the novel: "One day people in Thabai and Rung'ei woke up to find themselves ringed round with black and white soldiers carrying guns, and tanks" (1967, p.4). Illustrations start in the beginning of the novel, with the title of it. The title of the novel is an explanation of the people who fell into hardships but never give up. A grain of wheat is a symbol, which represents all the individuals who struggle for the independence of their own country. They need to sacrifice themselves to create something new and free. This simile is like a grain of wheat; one grain needs to dry, becomes a seed and then it can become a new plant. In the novel each character, who fights for his/her country's independence is a symbol; 'a grain of wheat.' For instance, Waiyaki, a warrior-leader who fought the British, is one of those people. It is stated that he was buried alive with his head facing into the centre of the earth. He is the symbol as the first seed that grows into the independence movement. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o states: "Waiyaki's blood contained within it a seed, a grain, which gave birth to a movement whose strength thereafter sprang from a bond with the soil" (1967, p.12). This is the focal and the initial point of indigenous people's actions against ruling of the white.

A Grain of Wheat consists of stories which are formed by series of flashbacks of other stories. This way of narration leads all the incidents to be evaluated repeatedly. Moreover, the switch between narrative voices creates a flexibility

of time and place and makes the novel multiple character one. In *A Grain of Wheat* all the main characters are of almost equal importance, and the people — the village people— in their motion in history, are the real hero of the novel (Thiong'o, 1986, p.77). Multiple narrative voices facilitates analysing the social genocide from different perspectives. In the first chapter of the novel, for example, Mugo is represented to us as the archetypal subject defined by moral crisis. His relationship to his environment, community, and temporality is one of alienation (Gikandi, 2009, p.108). The first chapter of the novel starts with the description of ongoing atmosphere of the town. Hence, each character's life story is carefully woven into the broader narrative of Kenyan history (Nicholls, 2010, p.85).

The places that are narrated in the novel are significant because of their symbols. The forest is one of the important symbols with its role. Forest is a large area covered with trees and it is untouched by human beings. In *A Grain of Wheat*, *forest* is the only place that indigenous people can be themselves and try to be defensive against the colonisers. It is a symbol of their fight for freedom and the only remaining place which is untouched by the coloniser. This act of indigenous people shows the escape of them from being genocided socially. Furthermore, forest is a place where local dances are held and it represents the happiness of indigenous people. They, especially young people, pass the forest and run to catch the train and dance in that area. While they are dancing, they also try to find a match for themselves. They remain their own traditions away from the coloniser people. Therefore, hiding in the forest and maintaining traditions and values are the evidences of their desire to possess and stay with their own identities.

Another place that symbolises the social genocide is the train station. As a western technology, railway makes Kenyan people doubtful about it. For Kenyan people the train was like an "iron snake". It symbolises the arrival of the British and of the effect they had on Kenya. In addition, the city that is mentioned in the novel is a symbol of fight for independence. Thabai, the central locality in the novel, is a creation of the emergency; its sense of order is a reflection of the imperial power that created it in order to contain insurgency against colonial rule (Gikandi, 2009, p.108). Thus, all the elements in *A Grain*

of Wheat are the symbols of the circumstances that indigenous people struggle with.

In *A Grain of Wheat*, social genocide term can be seen in the changes of characters' social lives. Colonisation makes indigenous people feel alienated from their original lifestyle. It also imposes a new ruling system upon the local people so that their political beliefs and values change. Furthermore, the new system, that the coloniser brings to the country, causes problems between the people in the society. Some of them follow the new ruling system while the others resist it. With all these alternations, the indigenous people lose their hope that they may take their independence back, and this fact leads to a fear in the society. These situations can be considered as the results of social genocide, and they are all seen in the characters in the novel.

Although there is no specific protagonist in *A Grain of Wheat*, Mugo is the one who is in the centre of most of the incidents. Mugo is the omniscient narrator of all the events but especially the feeling and atmosphere of African society. As Simon Gikandi states: "When Mugo's story is told from the perspective of the heterodiegetic narrator, for example, we have a story that is liberated from his neurosis and twisted desires; it is from this perspective that the reader is often clued in on his momentary delusions of grandeur (2009, p.122)." With 'heterodiegetic narrator' Gikandi describes Mugo as a narrator that describes the events happen in the story but the narrator does not take part in these experiences. Mugo is represented to us as the archetypal subject defined by moral crisis. His relationship to his environment, community, and temporality is one of alienation (Gikandi, 2009, p.108). He is a man who grew up in a village and lived there with his aunt Waitherero. Apart from being Mugo's aunt, Waitherero refers to a political issue in Africa with her name. In the beginning of 1900s, modern-day Namibia was under control of German colonial rule. In 1904, the indigenous people, the Herero people, rebelled against the colonial system, however Germans defeated the Herero people and relegated them into desert which became the reason of their death due to dehydration. Between 1904-1907 thousands of Herero people died and this incident became the first genocide of the 20th century. Thus, with Waitherero character Thiong'o also implies another genocide and cruel actions against indigenous people in Africa.

On the other hand, Waitherero is a woman who is cruel and abusive and the attitude of her even makes Mugo have the desire to kill her. However, when she dies one day unexpectedly, he feels lonely. Then strangely, Mugo missed her aunt. Whom could he now call a relation? He wanted somebody, anybody, who would use the claims of kinship to do him ill or good (Thiong'o, 1967, p.8). The feeling of loneliness is strong for him not only because he loses the last family member but also the situation the society in is complicated and creates challenges for people. Unhappy childhood of Mugo results being antisocial and staying away from the community. At a time when people are supposed to be beginning life anew, Mugo is haunted by what will later be revealed as a complex and opaque past. It is through the prism of this past that the present and future enter his troubled consciousness (Gikandi, 2009, p.108).

One of the effects of social genocide is losing hope for life. With all the physical forces and social and psychological pressure by the coloniser, the colonised people lose their will and hope for their living. Mugo is one of the characters who is exposed to social genocide by this perspective. He thinks that Kenyans have no chance of opposing against the coloniser so that he never participates in any events of the independence movement.

Nevertheless, Mugo is included into the events of Movement. All the events go around him make him feel uncomfortable and there is a reason for this feeling that only Mugo knows. He has a secret. Although all the people in the town see him as a hero, he is not the person they think about. The real hero who fought for struggle is Kihika. He is a character who dedicated himself for the independence:

> Unknown to those around him, Kihika's heart hardened towards "these people," long before he had even encountered a white face. Soldiers came back from the war and told stories of what they had seen in Burma, Egypt, Palestine and India; wasn't Mahatma Gandhi, the saint, leading the Indian people against British rule? Kihika fed on these stories: his imagination and daily observation told him the rest; from early on, he had visions of himself, a saint, leading Kenyan people to freedom and power. (Thiong'o,1967, p.83)

As a nationalist, Kihika fought for his country's independence. However, someone in the village betrays him to the British and this causes him to be hanged. By means of changing narrator, it is known that Mugo is the traitor. Nevertheless, Mugo's exposure as a false prophet takes place — indeed becomes possible — only because independence has initiated a radical reversal of the colonial relationship (Gikandi, 2009, p.101). The situation, that indigenous people in, creates an atmosphere in which there is a need of believing and looking for a way out of that condition. The fighters for independence become the resistance of the society against hardships they face. When they lose the important one of them, they want to replace it with the new one. This is why they say that: "Mugo's name was whispered... Independence Day without him would be stale; he is Kihika born again" (Thiong'o, 1967, p. 180). The reason that Mugo is seen as a hero is that he is arrested for protecting a woman from being beaten by home guard:

> In terror, Mugo pushed forward and held the whip before the homeguard could hit the woman a fifth time. More homeguards and two or three soldiers ran to the scene. Other people temporarily stopped digging and watched the struggle and the whips that now descended on Mugo's body. 'He's mad,' some people later said, after Mugo had been taken away a police van… He only saw behind the table the inscrutable face of the white man, whose cold eyes examined Mugo from head to foot. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.173)

The attitude towards indigenous people by the coloniser is the attempt of social genocide even though a physical forces is used in this incident. Making them work with force and treating them in a bad way both mentally and physically is a tendency to change the society. Thiong'o states the feeling in this event as: "Most people continued digging, pretending not to hear the woman's screams, and fearing to meet a similar fate" (1967, p.173). The situations local people are exposed to and the fear that is given to them bring about the feeling of being away from their own lands. Thus, this incident causes social genocide by changing the values in a society.

Furthermore, one of the real evidences of social genocide is detention camps. These camps were the places where local people taken mostly because they fought for their independence or sometimes for no reason. Detention camps were also the places where the political detainees and prisoners were encouraged to produce slavishly pro-colonial and anti-eau Mau propaganda plays (Thiong'o, 1986, p.38). In *A Grain of Wheat* detention camp is narrated by Mugo. He makes a speech about the hard times when he was in a detention camp with the following statements:

> They took us to the roads and to the quarries even those who had never done anything. They called us criminals. But not because we had stolen anything or killed anyone. We had only asked for the thing that belonged to us from the time of Agu and Agu. Day and night, they made us dig. We were stricken ill, we often slept with empty stomachs, and our clothes were just rags and tatters so the rain and the wind and the sun knew our nakedness. (Thiong'o,1967, p.65)

With these statements, Mugo expresses how people are treated in detention camps, how their independence is taken from them and how they are forced to change. The treatments indigenous people are exposed to in the camps have all the types of genocide Raphael Lemkin describes: political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical and religious. The force that is applied to people causes the loss of all the values and this fact leads to genocide in each area.

Based on the analysis with all the events include Mugo, it is seen that he is a betrayer against his own society. Apart from being in a colonial period, he is an antisocial character who has no family. However, even if his character triggers his latter acts, the person he turns out to be is the outcome of colonisation. When the coloniser takes him to the detention camp, he never complains about anything. Thiong' states: "Beyond despair, there was no moaning; the feeling that he deserved all this numbed Mugo to the pain" (1967, p.134). Since there is no good life for the indigenous people because of colonisation, Mugo does not see any good side of living. Furthermore, the fear, which the coloniser causes, makes him stay away from all the people around him. This is why he gets insane when Kihika wants his help for the movement. He does not see any point of

jeopardising his life against a ruling system he cannot change so that Mugo rejects to join Kihika. In addition, this situation causes him to lose his mind, because he is afraid of being killed by the coloniser. He believes that even if the coloniser does not kill him, he will die because of fighting against them and in this fact it is impossible to win the battle according to Mugo (Thiong'o, 1967, p.195). Thus, with the fear he possesses, Mugo decides to inform on Kihika to the District Officer, which he believes that is the only way to get over this situation (Thiong'o, 1967, p.198). The underlying reason why Mugo informs on Kihika to the coloniser is the fear that the coloniser creates on the society. As they show that they are stronger than the indigenous people, most of the society choose to obey the system. Therefore, the original identities of them are exposed to change and it results in social genocide.

Gikonyo is another character that is forced to live under the circumstances that the coloniser sprovided. He is also the character that symbolises and narrates the process of alternation within society. Beside switch between narrators, there is a switch between narratives of the same person. Therefore, there is a connection between past and present.

Gikonyo expresses different perspectives of the struggle with this switch while expressing the moments. The most concrete samples of social genocide by Gikonyo's perspective are the times when he is in detention camp. Even though he is sent to the camp, he and the other people try not to lose their hope for their independence, because that is the only thing left for them, all the other things; feelings or belongings, abstract or concrete, are taken by the coloniser. The men drew out plans for action after detention (Thiong'o, 1967, p.107). Gikonyo talks about another man in the camp, whose name is Gatu, and the things he tells about Gatu are the motivation to bear and survive in the camp. However, the motivation and hope they have, are the last things the coloniser wants from indigenous people. Because, in this way, the society keeps the unity against the coloniser. This is why Gatu becomes the one in sight for danger: "The camp commandant warned him, 'We shall get you!' Gatu had become the symbol of their collective resistance" (Thiong'o, 1967, p.109). The search for motivation and the symbol of independence is defeated by the coloniser with their attempts. People in detention camps are forced to work in bad conditions: "They went to

break stones in a quarry five miles from Yala. The stones were for buildings houses for new officers and warders… More detainees arrived, the only contact with the outside world" (Thiong'o, 1967, 109). The working conditions indigenous people are forced to in detention camps are the steps of social genocide. By forcing and taking all the past and possible future of people, the coloniser causes the loss of belief and devotion for indigenous people. Therefore after four years, Gikonyo cannot bear losing his past and being away from home and confesses to take the Mau Mau oath. Thereby, he is seen as a traitor by his society in the camp.

These treatments, which are applied to the local people, are not a situation in which they are elected or guilty. They are just exposed to them just because they are a part of that society. Patrick Wolfe states: "Whatever settlers may say— and they generally have a lot to say—the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilisation, etc.) but access to territory. Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element (2006, p.388).

Even though Gikonyo mostly has a lost personality in the novel because of being genocided, in the beginning of the novel, love is the atmosphere and the theme of Gikonyo's songs. His love and passion for Mumbi creates an atmosphere with that positive feeling. However, as the time passes and their independence is taken from them, the theme of the songs he sings changes:

> Soon, however, Wangari and Mumbi, like the other women in Thabai, noticed a change in the man. He now sang with defiance, carelessly flinging an open challenge to those beyond Thabai, to the whiteman in Nairobi and any other places where Gikuyu ancestors used to dwell. Karanja, Kihika and others joined Gikonyo and they sang sad songs of hope. They laughed and told stories, but their laughter was no longer the same; it carried mocking and expectation at the corners of their mouths. They went less to the train, the dance sessions in the forest turned into meetings where plans for the day of reckoned were drawn.…The hearts of the women fluttered; they caught the sadness at the edge

of the sad songs and feared for their children. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.99)

With the example of Gikonyo's songs, it is clear that the colonialists affected local people with their culture. The feelings of indigenous people replace with negative ones; love turns into fight. Even though they have hope for their situation, the change in their acts reveals social genocide and in time, the indigenous people turn into different individuals. Thus, they are exposed to change by the power of colonisation.

Furthermore, like the other characters in the novel, Gikonyo is exposed to social genocide by the fear that the cloniser creates. In detention camps the officers tell the indigenous people there, they might not see their families again unless they confess their oaths. Therefore, after a long time with the fear of not seeing his wife Mumbi again, Gikonyo decides to confess his oath. While in detention, Gikonyo's dreams of freedom are focused upon his desire to return to Mumbi. His fantasy of the movement's defeat of the British becomes intertwined with his being reunited with Mumbi (McLeod, 2000, p.98). Thus, the fear he has turns him into another character, who can give up the independence of his society.

Another character that is the symbol of social genocide is Karanja. As a character, he is the significant evidence of social genocide. Karanja is a man who is from indigenous people but later on turns into someone that betrays both his society and his friends. During the Mau Mau movement, some local soldiers helped British officers in the state of emergency. In that state, British soldiers aimed to capture anyone who got involved in Mau Mau movement. Karanja is one of the soldiers who helped British soldiers in the state of emergency. While most of the society fight for their independence against colonial powers, Karanja is affected by the coloniser and serves for them. The way that he behaves is a sample of social genocide. As he accepts the ruling system that the coloniser brings to the country, Karanja obeys all the rules they put and acts in that way. In the novel it is stated how Karanja respects the coloniser: "Karanja said in a thin voice, standing, as he always did before a white person, feet slightly parted, hands linked at the back, all in obsequious attention" (Thiong'o, 1967, p. 35). With this narration, Thiong'o indicates how colonisation creates a

destruction for the unity in the society. In addition, this destruction causes some local people to accept the coloniser as the superior, and it is one of the aims of the coloniser. As being one of those local people, Karanja shows this change in his beliefs towards his own society:

> Today as he rode his creaking bicycle he was once again full of plans: he would ceartinly complain to John Thompson about these trivial errands. No, Karanja resented most was not the missions or their triviality, but the way they affected his standing among the other African workers. But on the whole Karanja would rather endure the humiliation than lose the good name he had built up for himself among the white people. He lived on that name and the power it brought him. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.35)

The quotation reflects the change that Karanja is exposed to by the coloniser. The ambivalence he possesses shows how much he is affected by the colonial system. As he believes the power of the coloniser, he thinks that he gains strength against his own society: "Even now he had no courage to lean back and be comfortable. At the same time, he desperately wished one of the workers was present to see him entertained to coffee by a white woman, the wife of the Administrative Secretary (Thiong'o, 1967, p. 37). With this way of thinking, Karanja indicates social genocide that he is exposed to because of his willing to be superior against his own soicety. Moreover, as he loses his original identity, he becomes an opponent to his own society, and he turns out to be the stereotype the coloniser wants to create.

However, Karanja is not the colonised stereotype in the beginning of the novel, he acts like his people in the society. There is a conflict between Gikonyo and him for the love of Mumbi although they are good friends. However, the feeling of being in this constant race within him and the desire to get ahead in some way is driving Karanja to betray his own society. In fact it starts with the attempt of proving the strength to Mumbi duing a race. Karanja tries to show that he can run faster so that he can beat Gikonyo, and be with Mumbi. However, while Karanja tries to show his power, Mumbi and Gikonyo stop running and spend time together instead of catching the train. With the ambition

of beating, Karanja only defeats himself (Thiong'o, 1967, p.90). Being defeated results with anger for Karanja:

> Jealousy crept into him, a surprise because he had always refused to consider Gikonyo a serious rival: how could the carpenter, without wit or any suavity, even dare? But now he knew that Gikonyo and Mumbi were together, alone, somewhere. He was angry at the knowledge. How could Mumbi make him pant and sweat in the sun, all for nothing? How could she make him trot ahead, like a child, so that she might remain behind with Gikonyo? He thought of rushing back, seek her out, humiliate her, force her to her knees in public, till she cried to him to save her.
>
> (Thiong'o, 1967, p.92)

By taking these words into consideration, this situation can be stated as the starting point of changing sides of Karanja. Even though it seems like he loses Mumbi, the actual thing he loses is his identity because he is overwhelmed by his own ambition. By seeing the position and the force of the coloniser, Karanja wants the same power on his own society.

Privileges, that the British give to people like Karanja, provoked the feeling of willing to be ahead and this situation causes them to change completely against their own people. This situation, which is the result of colonisation, causes people to be completely away from their own values. Being in that situation comes with an adaptation to the new culture of coloniser and throughout the process that local person, such as Karanja, comes over to the other side by leaving all his previous beliefs, values and culture. Raphael Lemkin mentions this adaptation as:

> Gradual changes occur[ing] by means of the continuous and slow adaptation of the culture to new situations. The new situations arise from physical changes, creative energies within the culture and the impact of outside influences. Without them the culture becomes static; if they appear but are not met with adaptation of the whole culture pattern, the culture becomes less integrated. In either case, it becomes weaker and may disintegrate entirely when

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exposed to strong outside influences. The rise and fall of civilizations have been explained on this general basis. (Moses, 2010, p.27)

Lemkin's explanation of adaptation to another culture can be stated as the simplified and summarised version of Karanja's situation.

The assimilation to the culture that is forced by the coloniser, creates a paradox between an individual's original personality and the adapted one. Karanja is the concrete sample of this perspective of social genocide. By betraying his society, he becomes a chief in the town and works for the British. With the job, he has Karanja acts and treats his people like the coloniser. This situation seems like the reflection of indigenous people's submittal in a way. After spending six years in the detention camp, Gikonyo, who is an old friend of Karanja, needs to report his arrival to the Chief. However, when he goes to see the Chief, he sees Karanja and finds out he is the Chief in the village. This moment is described as the change of Karanja's personality:

> He saw Karanja, his old friend, was watching his every reaction, Karanja, who now talked to Gikonyo coldly as he did not know him, as is Gikonyo was a criminal. 'Let me see,' Karanja was saying, pulling out a printed sheet of paper hanging from the Wall. 'You are – eh – Gikonyo, son of – eh – Waruhiu'.

> (Thiong'o, 1967, p.119)

With these words, Karanja shows how the colonisation affects his personality. Furthermore, when he wants to scare Gikonyo, Karanja uses his weapon just like the coloniser does to the colonised (Thiong'o, 1967, p.119). Although Gikonyo and Karanja are good friends in the beginning, with the acceptance of the colonisation and the fake power he gains from it changes Karanja's original personality and he is exposed to social genocide. Albert Memmi explains this situation when he describes the colonisation: "Such is the history of the pyramid of petty tyrants: each one being socially oppressed by one more powerful than he, always finds a less powerful one on whom to lean, and becomes a tyrant in his turn" (1991, p.61).

In addition, in the chapter called 'Karanja', Thiong'o states the events from Karanja's perspective. In this chapter, it can be seen that the underlying reason why Karanja chooses to join to the coloniser side is the fear created by the coloniser. When he goes to see his former friends Kihika's body, he comprehends the fear:

> He had gone to see Kihika hang from a tree. He had searched his heart for one has pity or sorrow for a lost friend. Instead, he found only disgust; the body was hideous; the dry lips over which a few flies played, were ugly. What is freedom? Karanja had asked himself. Was death like that freedom? Was going to detention freedom? Was any separation from Mumbi freedom? Soon after this, he confessed the oath and joined the homeguards to save his own life.   (Thiong'o, 1967, p. 230)

Within this quotation, Karanja feels fear more than any other feelings; love, sorrow or freedom. He questions himself because he wants to figure out what is the real power. As Karanja sees even Kihika, who is the hero of the society, is killed by the coloniser, he believes that there is no hope and freedom for his society. Therefore, with the fear he is exposed to Karanja decides to change his side so that he can continue to live.

In addition to his strange behaviours, Karanja is blamed for killing the local people's hero Kihika and this fact makes him more guilty in the eyes of society. With this accusation, he is seen as the coloniser and becomes the real enemy for indigenous people: "That Karanja should die on Independence Day seemed just: that he should be humiliated in front of a huge crowd, if he gave himself up, or else be made uncomfortable was only a necessary preparation for the ritual" (p.155). This circumstance that has risen in the society against their own people is one of the results of social genocide. Losing the awareness of unity causes the interior problems and paves the way for social ambiguity. This is why Pan-Africanism has gained importance in Africa. Aim of taking back the origins of the identity is the situation that can only be caused by social genocide.

Pan-Africanism philosophy is seen in another character but with the aim of taking back independence. Even though he is a dead character in the novel, with

the narratives of past Kihika remains his soul throughout the events. Sacrificing himself while fighting for independence makes him the real hero for the society: "Kihika and his men broke in and released the prisoners. He was then known as the "terror of the whiteman" (Thiong'o, 1967, p.16). Kihika is the keystone in *A Grain of Wheat*, especially with his stories and narratives about the situations going on. While some people see him as a crazy man, each time he tries to warn the local people and sees himself responsible for that. His warnings and fight illuminate the incidents about social genocide. He explains what the British do in their local areas and the importance of unity:

> It's a question of Unity… The example of India is there before our noses. The British were there for hundreds and hundreds of years. They ate India's wealth. They drank India's blood. They never listened to the political talk-talk of a few man. What happened? There came this man Gandhi. Mark you, Gandhi knows his whitemen well. He goes round and organizes the Indian masses into a weapon stronger than the bomb. They say with one voice: we want back our freedom. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.88)

With his words, Kihika warns his people and makes an effort to make them realize the importance of unity. This way of thinking leads to Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism aims the solidarity between African people; and for this aim, it encourages people with awareness. Kihika is a character that aims to spread this thought through indigenous people with his talks during meetings. He fights in the forest for independence. However, he was captured and killed due to someone's delation but this act resulted in the development of the Movement and even although he dies, he becomes the hero and the symbol of independence for indigenous people. Thus, even after his death, the aim of unity remains its presence and strengthens.

As a character, Mumbi is another perspective of social genocide that demonstrates the events mostly from woman side of the society. From her perspective, it is understood how colonisation affects the each part of society; family, inhabiting and social connections. The times she spends with her husband Gikonyo's mother expresses and narrates the struggles the British caused. Before the state of emergency, she is a young woman who is naive and

does not think about the state of the country as much as the others do. When her brother Kihika tells the stories from the history, that he knows, to encourage people for the unity, Mumbi cannot imagine the war scenes and she states that she may faint at the sight of the blood (Thiong'o, 1967, p. 89).

However, in time as the colonial system shows its presence more and more, Mumbi experiences the change in her original identity, and she is exposed to social genocide. To exemplify, the destructions of the areas they dwell is one of the factors that leads to a big change in her life. This destructive act may not be considered as genocide instead of its physical feature. However, the feelings and inferences it brings make inroads into social genocide.

> Even now, at night, in bed, I remember the red flames. There were two huts… *They* told us to remove our bedding and clothes and utensils. They splashed some petrol on the grass-thatch of my mother's hut. The leader of the homeguards struck a match and threw it at the roof. It did not light, and the others laughed at him… It became a game between them… *They* went to my hut. I could not bear to see the game repeated, so I shut my eyes. I wanted to scream, but I must have lost my voice because no sound left my throat. I suddenly remembered my mother beside me, and I wanted to take her from the scene, to prevent her from seeing it all to the end… She pushed my hands away and she shook her head slightly… The roof were cracking. I remember the pain as the cracking noise repeated in my heart. Something gave way in my heart, something in me cracked when I saw our home fall. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.140)

Mumbi's narrative states the annihilation of one society. It is not only a physical destruction, but also it destroys an individual's lifetime. It erases all the memories, feelings and experiences with a match and this incident leaves only fear and sadness behind it. Thus, nothing is left from the past of that person. One of the effects of the coloniser on the society is fear. Speading fear to the soicety brings the power to the coloniser side. Mumbi is one of those people that lives with the fear of losing her beloved one:

> One day the arm of the white man touched Mumbi's door. She had
> fearfully waited for the day, indeed had armed herself against its
> deadlines. But when the time came, she found herself powerless to
> save her man. She collected all her will and strength into a cry
> that went to the hearts of many present: Come back to me
> Gikonyo. (Thiong'o, 1967, p.103)

Within these words, it is seen that the fear causes the change on people and their lifestyles. As waiting for the bad thing to happen, the indigenous people live a different life which is trying to protect themselves all the time. This situation causes a different and bad life for the society which is unwillingly, and it can be stated as social genocide.

With this character, all the stages of social genocide are narrated. In addition, social genocide is seen from both colonial side and anti-colonial side with the expressions of Mumbi. She is the intersection between colonial and anti-colonial sides in the emergency areas which are the detention camps and the village. Even Mugo perceives Mumbi as an intersection: "(Mumbi) had sat there, and talked to him and given him a glimpse of a new earth... That night, he hardly closed his eyes. The picture of Mumbi merged with that of the village and the detention camps. He would look at Mumbi and she would immediately change into his aunt or the old woman" (Thiong'o, p.203). As Mugo describes Mumbi, she becomes the link and the representative of political and sexual conflicts between Karanja and Gikonyo. Mumbi's merging with the village and the detention camps contaminates the discrete spaces of private confession (of the oath in the torture chamber) and public confession (of Kihika's betrayal in the cathartic scene that begets the solidarity of the post-Independence community) (Nicholls, 2010).

Mumbi also represents the struggle between colonial and anti-colonial forces. With her femininity and womb, which is the symbol of unborn new Kenya, she is the real fight between two forces. Each side wants her and in the novel these sides are represented by Gikonyo and Karanja represent these sides. The race between Karanja and Gikonyo is the competition between the British and indigenous people. Each side aims to get Mumbi for himself, and this is the same situation for colonial and anti-colonial sides. One side wants Kenya to

create a new one in its own way and with its own rules; on the other hand anti-colonial side wants Kenya back to create a new and independent place to live in. Throughout this time, the stages Mumbi takes place and the changes she faces are the ones Kenya has. Instead of her love for Gikonyo, when he is in detention camp, she has an intercourse with Karanja, gets pregnant and has a child from him. Having a child not from her husband but Karanja can be a symbol of colonialism. Even though Mumbi is still one of the indigenous people, colonial forces due to the conditions around her defeat her and she changes in some way. Although Mumbi's womb represents the new Kenya, colonial forces create this child, which is Karanja as a character. Therefore, besides being an evidence of social genocide, Mumbi is also a character that symbolises the new Kenya with the mother role. At the conclusion of this novel, Gikonyo envisages a pregnant Mumbi. In Gikuyu mythology, Mumbi is the mother of the Gikuyu community, and Mumbi's (the character's) pregnancy presages the birth of a new Kenya. Thus, Mumbi is situated on either side of the present − as part of a mythical past and an uncertain future − and is therefore excluded from history (Nicholls, p.57).

All the illustrations Mumbi acts are the steps through social genocide. Destruction of the habitat disrupted social connections and caused unhappy family relations because of colonisation. With the narratives of Mumbi, it is seen that genocide is not a physical act, but a mental and cultural attempt towards a society. With all the steps the culture of that society change in one way or another, especially with the loss of their past.

In addition to the places and characters as samples of social genocide, the moment indigenous people regain their independence is another evidence that shows its impact. After the society loses their home, family, friends, values and memories, they possess an identity which is in an ambiguity. Nevertheless, when they take back their independence, that moment expresses the impact of social genocide:

> Kenya regained her Uhuru from British on 12 December 1963. A
> minute before midnight, lights were put out at the Nairobi stadium
> so that people from all over the country and the world who had
> gathered there for the midnight ceremony were swallowed by the

darkness. In the dark, the Union Jack wad quickly lowered. When next the lights came on the new Kenya flag was flying and fluttering, and waving, in the air. The Police band played the new National Anthem and the crowd cheered continuously when they saw the flag was black, and red and green. The cheering sounded like one intense cracking of many trees, falling on the thick mud in the stadium. (1967, p.203)

This illustration is the moment when the strange identity that is given by the coloniser leaves the original and real identity of African people. This moment can be called as a relief of the identity. Even though all the indigenous people are exposed to social genocide in a way, regaining their independence is a step to go back to their origins. When Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o images the independence moment, he describes it as an intense feeling like all the walls surrounded them fall apart or the mud that local people are covered leaves them when the British flag is lowered. Therefore, this moment is the one that lost identity remembers its origins.

In conclusion, in each part of the society social genocide term remains in its effect. In *A Grain of Wheat* Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o expresses the role of the coloniser on indigenous people with the narratives of places, characters and moments. Stating all the evidences of social genocide with the switch between narrators and the time eases analysing the impacts of social genocide. Conquering the land local people live can be the first step of the process of genocide. As Thiong'o indicates: "Its origins can, so the people say, be traced to the day the whiteman came to the country, clutching the book of God in both hands" (1967, p.10). Pulling down their houses and burning the places, in which an individual experiences, shares and lives, and taking their lands causes the loss of that individual psychologically. Land is life—or, at least, land is necessary for life. Thus contests for land can be — indeed, often are — contests for life (Wolfe, 2006, p.387). On the other hand, changing the language local people use to another one and demonstrating people as the guilty ones who use their mother tongue in public places such as school is one of the essential attempts on the purpose of social genocide. In this manner, some parts of the society begin to see others in a different way, which causes the elimination

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between local people and assimilation to the culture and rules of the coloniser. Thiong'o expresses this situation in *Decolonising the Mind*: "Thus language and literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds" (1986, p.12). As the language is the keystone of a culture, the change leads to the change of values in a culture as well. Raphael Lemkin states the role of culture in genocide as: "If the culture of a group is violently undermined, the group itself disintegrates and its members must either become absorbed in other cultures which is a wasteful and painful process or succumb to personal disorganisation and, perhaps, physical destruction" (Moses, 2010, p.25). The explanation of Lemkin is a clear statement that how indigenous people are exposed to social genocide because of all the forces they face. Thiong'o summarises the hardships of indigenous people against colonialism with a few sentences:

> "Many had been in, the forests and the mountains, many in the colonial detention camps and prisons; while some had of course collaborated with the British enemy. Many had seen their houses burnt; their daughters raped by the British; their lands taken away; their relatives killed." (1986, p.45)

As an author who has seen the real struggles with his family during colonial times and later on, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o reflects all the life experiences through the characters in *A Grain of Wheat*. With all the evidences, it is improbable not to see the events in the novel because of social genocide. In addition to that, these samples of genocide show that genocide term does not only refer to physical destruction of a society but also mentally, psychologically and sociologically. Once an individual's values, lifestyle, language, living conditions, memories and experiences are exposed to change obtrusively, this incident only causes the loss of that identity. Claudia Card emphasises how social vitality is constituted via contemporary and intergenerational relationships that form an identity which gives meaning to a life. It follows, then that a major loss of social vitality is a loss of identity and consequently a serious loss of meaning for one's existence (Short, 2016, p.34).

In conclusion, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o narrates the struggles of the indigenous people agains the colonial system. Besides the physical harm that the society

faces, social genocide term is narrated within each character. Futhermore, in *A Grain of Wheat* the ambivalence of the characters is caused by the fear that the coloniser creates. Each character in the novel demonstrates a different perspective of social genocide. However, the keystone of the social genocide is fear. As a result, in this novel instead of being stereotypes, the characters become ambivalent people and lose their original identity because of social genocide.

4   CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in these two books, *A Bend in the River* by V. S. Naipaul and *A Grain of Wheat* by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, colonialism and social genocide are covered. In these works, social genocide is analysed and accordingly, samples and evidences of social genocide and the effects of colonisation are handled. Firstly, with the given information, colonisation is discussed as the starting point. Colonialism has remained its impacts for a long time and conveyed political and social issues to the colonised side, and it caused several alternations in Africa. In other words, it defines and establishes concrete situations which close in on the colonised, weigh on him —the colonised— until they bend his conduct and leave their marks on his face (Memmi, 1991, p.90).

Although the plots of the two novels are different from each other, they focus on the same topic, which is the effects of colonisation on indigenous people. Both V. S. Naipaul and Ngugi wa Thiong'o narrate the inevitable change in the society as the result of colonisation. Within the narration, the authors indicate social genocide with the terms such as colonised mind, stereotypes, mimicry and hybridity.

According to the analysis, in *A Bend in the River* V. S. Naipaul focuses on one character more than the others. With the protagonist Salim's narrations, the other characters' features and the effect of social genocide on them can be observed. On the other hand, Ngugi wa Thiong'o narrates the effect of colonisation and social genocide with each character in the novel. The switch between the characters enables the analysis of social genocide from different angles. Nevertheless, the characters in both novels reflect the results of social genocide since colonisation started a new era for indigenous people and culture and values of them were affected dramatically. Considering these situations, V. S. Naipaul and Ngugi wa Thiong'o reflect the social genocide within post colonial period in the selected works.

In addition, while Naipaul narrates the events in different periods, the latter indicates acts in a period, which is mostly the four days before the independence of the country as well as the recalls of the colonial times. Even though only postcolonial period is narrated in *A Bend in the River*, it presents a better understanding of social genocide when it is compared to *A Grain of Wheat*.

Based on the analysis, it can be argued that in *A Bend in the River* the locations in each chapter helps to analyse social genocide term in the novel. Social genocide is demonstrated by showing the effects of these locations on the indigenous people. The change of protagonist Salim's character when he enters the life in "the New Domain" can be the example for this situation. Ngugi wa Thiong'o narrates social genocide with the locations in the novel as well. However in contrast to V. S. Naipaul, Thiong'o indicates social genocide in the change of the local areas, which happens during the colonisation period, and how the change of these places affects the indigenous people. However, Naipaul narrates the postcolonial period so that the locations, that are described, approach social genocide from different angle.

Futhermore, it can be stated that both of the novels reflect some parts of V. S. Naipaul's and Ngugi wa Thiong'o's lives. For instance, Naipaul was born in Trinidad, which is a colony of British Empire. In addition to Naipaul, the latter was born in a colonised country as well. He experienced the struggles of indigenous people during colonisation period. Moreover, his family was captured during the conflicts in the country. Therefore, when the experiences of both writers are considered, the narrations in the novels resemble the lives of the authors. It can be claimed that both of the novels reflect the real hardship of local people during colonial period.

In this study, the effects of colonisation and how the indigenous people are exposed to social genocide are reflected by the analysis of the two literary works by V. S. Naipaul and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. Besides the hardships the coloniser brings about to the society, the genocide term is discussed in terms of social perspective. Although some researches claim the genocide as physical act, the examples in the two analysed works demonstrate that genocide is not only a phyical act, but also social. In conclusion, with the analysis of social genocide term and the two literary works it can be stated that genocide is not

only destruction of a society physically, but also destruction of a society or an ethnic group sociologically and culturally.

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