

TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Resistance to Colonial Hangover in Thiong'o's *Matigari*: A Foucauldian Reading

A Thesis Submitted to the Central Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English

by

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## **Abstract**

The present research on Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Matigari* tries to explore the inherent and underlying paradoxes of postcolonial sense of freedom from the perspective of Foucauldian concept of power and discourse. This research gives a general introduction to disordered, instable and anarchic experience of Kenyan people during the time of postcolonial era and also tries to unveil the maladies inherent in Kenyan postcolonial political system which has been masked with strong cocoon of postcolonial freedom. It further deals with the condition of marginalized and downtrodden people who have been sabotaged to the bottom rungs of social ladder. It studies the passivity and submissiveness of powerless people as well as their emerging rebellious and dominant role to assert their identity but eventually fall prey in the vertical axis of power dynamics.

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## **I. Power of Discourse**

This research concentrates on Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Matigari*, a novel set in a newly independent African country. Matigari, the protagonist of the novel, returns from the forest after the armed struggle for independence, having defeated the colonial Settler Williams and his African accomplice, John Boy. Matigari seeks his family and home but finds a land in the grip of fear, and extremes of wealth and poverty, owned by multinationals and governed by a corrupt, western - oriented elite. The house Matigari comes to reclaim, has been usurped by John Boy Jr., the son of Settler Williams' servant. Then he goes in search of Truth and Justice leading the marginalized people. Matigari as a representative of dominated group, incorporates all the marginalized and socially excluded group from every social strata and leads the peaceful revolution against the neo-colonizers. But his attempt to free Africa from the cultural and social domination of postcolonial agents and feudal domestic reactionaries, has been failed because of the power politics of post colonial agents. His all attempts have been proved failure because as a powerless man, he is victimized and dominated from every governmental capitalistic forces and loses his life by jumping into the river. Ngugi wa Thiong'o portrays his central character Matigari as a rebellious and heroic figure who fights against Settler Williams and John Boy. The protagonist returns home, burying his AK - 47 and sword and girds himself with a 'belt of peace'. But he is disappointed by the bitter fact that he himself has not yet been freed from the yoke of oppression. He tries to claim Settlers William's house, built, in part, by his labour, but cannot and ultimately goes in search for Truth and Justice. He is even put in jail and then in a mental institution. However, he never goes beyond his spirit of his commitment and determination

but finally ends his life. Thiong'o portrays the protagonist as rebellious character to show the subaltern's resistance as well as quest for the proper space in a newly independent country Kenya. As a leader of insurgents, Matigari revolts against the postcolonial authority but at last he fails to fulfill his dream to be free from the shackles of chronological linear time in front of the game of power politics.

The primary objective of the study is to bring the Foucauldian concept of power discourse of resistance to find out the writer's valorization of postcolonial resistance of marginalized groups to throw the colonial hangover. Moreover, the study has aimed at showing that the word of truth and justice only is not enough to find out the proper space for powerless people in a newly independent country. Although this study makes significant use of concepts developed in postcolonial scholarship, it does not offer a comprehensive analysis of all of them. Rather, an analysis of power and discourse as conceptualized by Michel Foucault, remains the primary tool of analysis. Furthermore, this study makes significant contribution mainly in two areas of concern. First, this study brings the concept of power and discourse to analyze the novel set in postcolonial scenario and shows the writers valorization of postcolonial resistance of dominated group rather than the words of truth and justice.

The novel has been a bone of contention in the critical and philosophical atmosphere from the beginning of its publication. Some critics claim that it is the manifesto of traumatic history of Kenya and some other are of the opinion that this novel concentrates much on nationalist consciousness.

In this connection, a prominent postmodern historicist and critic James Ogude in his book *Ngugi's Novels and African History* says:

. . . the theme of violence in Kenya's history is best dramatized in *Matigari*. According to the hero, Matigari, the oppressor cannot be rooted out without violence . . . Ngugi seems to be saying that the history of the postcolonial state in Kenya is one in which peasants and workers grow poorer, where women are exploited, where the national cultures of the people are trampled upon by a powerless.

(32)

What is clear up to now is that Ngugi valorizes violence for liberation from oppressors and traces the history of postcolonial state in Kenya demanding the mass mobilization to struggle against oppressors.

In another line of argument a renowned postcolonial critic Katherine Williams in “Decolonizing the World: Language, Culture, and Self in the Works of Ngugiwa Thiong’o and Gabriel Okara” opines:

In *Matigari*, Ngugi circumscribes the power of language. Words can serve as political tools, as they do in the song that celebrates Matigari and exaggerates his prowess. But they cannot replace revolutionary action in the battle against neo-colonial oppression.

The prototypical revolutionary hero, Matigari, must ultimately abandon his attempts to challenge the current system peacefully:

"It dawned on him that one could not defeat the enemy with arms alone, but one could also not defeat the enemy with words alone.

One had to have the right words; but these words had to be

strengthened by the force of arms" . . . language works both

prophetically and dialectically, mediating between revolutionaries

and their deeds. (60)

What Williams focuses on here is the power of language with ‘force of arm’ for effective political change. He has valorized the linguistic significance during the process of insurgency.

Quite contrarily, David Maughan Brown in “*Matigari* and the Rehabilitation of Religion” comes up with the view that *Matigari* is a typical example of mythological references. He says:

It is my contention that, in *Matigari*, Ngugi is doing much more than simply utilizing the imagery of Christianity as an access-point for his readers. Matigari's status as hero depends on his Christ-like stature and requires some measure of acceptance of Christian mythology. Moreover, this Christ-figure is in no way undercut in the way Kihika was in *A Grain of Wheat* . . . Matigari's mythical stature clearly depends in part on the people's propensity for myth-making. Thus, many of the phrases which are attributed to Matigari and which echo Christ's words in the Gospels (e.g., ‘let the children come to me’ and ‘you will see me again only after three days’) are hearsay, reported by anonymous voices that might well projecting Christ's words into Matigari. (125)

This critic has analyzed this novel by linking with Christianity. He defines Matigari as a Christ figure. Christ as a god of salvation has redeemed so many people from the sin and adultery, the way Christ frees the disciple from the sin is the way Matigari also tries to free marginalized people from the claptrap of domination. So this view is directed towards the religious perspective.

One prominent postmodern critic Anders Breidlid in his article "Ngugi's *Matigari*, a Non-Materialist Discourse and Post-Modernim" opines that this

novel clearly develops the notion that 'truth in flux' thus, representing multiple realities. He says:

Matigari's authoritative role as a prophet and truth sayer stands in clear contrast to the decentered and problematized voice of post-modern writing. By employing the image of the prophet as the main representational figure, the text has already crushed any notion of multiple representations as equally authentic or true. As Ngugi himself recognizes, the prophet is linked to concepts like truth and authority, concepts which are not apotheosised in post-modern criticism, but which are urgent in Ngugi's political and, it must added, aesthetic struggle. (126)

This view of Breidlid is somehow similar with Brown because he has also denied this novel from the vector of religion because time and again he has mentioned about the prophecy. He analyzes Matigari as a seeker of truth and justice and also picks up the issue of political struggle of the writer.

With the references of these critical responses and book reviews we are on the conclusion that all these critics have been claiming their own space, and I am not an exception in this research. My concerned line in this research is to justify the postcolonial domination of colonialists and domestic elites in the African territory in general and victimization of powerless people on the basis of power dynamics of Foucauldian concept of discourse theory in particular.

This novel *Matigari* was written in the postcolonial scenario in African country Kenya. The period of post colonial history of Kenya began after it attained its independence in 1963 which established it as a republic. Kenya had performed remarkably in its attempt to gain freedom from British domination

and it is very hard earned independence with a high degree of courage and endurance. Kenya has perhaps the longest history while earning the independence from the colonial claptrap of British. After its independence too, there was still a colonial hangover though Kenyan people were politically free from colonial authority however they were not free culturally, psychologically and mentally. In this connection, Maya Jaggi in “*Matigari* as Myth and History: An Interview” writes the voice of Ngugi wa Thiong’o as “I address a particular theme in my all works: the liberation of the people economically, culturally and psychologically” (246).

The Kenyan people have been facing different sorts of crisis though they have been free from colonial claptrap. In this situation, the marginalized and downtrodden people are forced to bear the discrimination from the elitist people who have joined their neck with colonial agents. In the support of the domestic reactionaries, the colonial agents are exercising their power over the powerless people who have oppressed them through the arms and words though they claim themselves as the follower of democracy. In this way, in the cocoon of democracy, domestic reactionaries and postcolonial custodians have been imposing their authority over the powerless people who are seeking their right of liberty, equality and freedom. Matigari as a leader of insurgent, tries to incorporate all the patriots who are at the bottom space of social ladder so as to assert their true identity in the newly independent African territory. He says:

It is the men, women and children - the entire family. I must rise up now and go to all the public places, blowing the horn of patriotic service and the trumpet of patriotic victory, and call up my people – my parents, my wives, my children. We shall all

gather go home together, light the fire together and build our home together. Those who eat alone, die alone. Could I have forgotten so soon the song we used to sing? (6)

These utterances show the resisting mode of dominated group. For the quest of space, Matigari has appealed all the marginalized people to be united for the freedom of their own and the motherland. But he loses the game of power politics.

The novel *Matigari* unveils the falsehoods and hypocrisies of European model of democracy. Though Europe is known as the blooming flower of democracy and civilization but in reality, this model of democracy has not granted its promise to the people who are living in cold and hardened poverty all around the world rather European nations looted the freedom in the name of educating them. In the name of liberating people from ignorance and darkness, British people invaded the territory of different countries in the colonial mission, the main motto of colonizers is to free people from the darkness and ignorance but indirectly they wanted to dominate powerless people by applying the theory of power and discourse. In the phase of post colonialism too, they left colonial hangover so as to play with the innocent sentiment of the colonized people.

Adopted in 1982 by Stephen Greenblatt in a special issue of genre to describe a new kind of historically based criticism, New Historicism highlights the 'historical' nature of literary texts and at the same time the textual 'nature' of 'histories'. Instead of reading a text as 'self-sufficient entity' and 'autonomous body' and viewing it in isolation from its socio-cultural historical contexts as formalists and new critics did, New Historicists primarily emphasize the historical and cultural conditions of its production and also its later critical

interpretations and evaluations. New Historicism has turned towards history, culture, society, politics, institutions, class and gender conditions, the social context, and so on in interpreting any given text. Being above the practice of interdisciplinary approach and ultimately emphasizing the 'transdisciplinary' approach, it seeks to blur the generic boundary between different disciplines. Therefore, for New Historicists literary texts and non-literary texts bear equal importance. They read them on equal footing, not making any hierarchy of 'high' and 'low', 'good' and 'bad,' and 'interesting' and 'boring,'. It challenges the canonicity of the texts and writers. Even within the literary field, some texts were paid much attention and placed at the top of the ranking, whereas others were less valued and placed at the bottom of the ranking by traditional critics. New Historicism boldly challenges such practice of vertical reading/ranking and advocates for horizontal reading/ranking. Indeed, this one of the most important paradigm shifts—vertical to horizontal reading—from the traditional critical practices.

More importantly, New Historicists do not believe in single, authentic and unified history as Louis Montrose in his famous article "New Historicism" argues, "[T]he various modes of what could be called poststructuralist historical criticism- - including New Historicism or cultural poetics, as well as modes of revisionist can be characterized by such a shift from History to histories (*Redrawing the Boundaries*, 411). Old or traditional historians focused on monolithic history, which has single narrative line that is taken for granted. For them facts or historical realities could successfully be known through textual form and also could be handed down to next generation. Besides, they took it for granted that there is single and unified history. In contrast, New Historicists

challenge such so called 'authentic' and 'unified' narrative and put forward the idea of 'histories,' not 'History.'

Unlike most traditional historians, who believe that history is a series of events that have linear, casual relationship and we are perfectly capable of uncovering the facts about the particular historical events through objectives analysis, New Historicists argue:

Instead of a body of indisputable, retrievable facts, history becomes textualized; that is, it becomes a group of linguistic traces that can be recalled, but which are always mediated through the historian/interpreter. Objective history is therefore impossibility; every account is just that - another text, and like any novel, play or poem, it is open to same kind of critical interpretive scrutiny ... History itself is a large amorphous text consisting of various and often disparate accounts. (Childers and Hentzi 207)

Therefore, New Historicists posit the view that history is neither linear nor progressive, neither factual nor authentic. Instead, like any piece of literature, it is a constructed body to fit some ideological purposes, embedded in complex web of socio-political networks.

History itself is a text, an interpretation, and that there is no single history. Lois Tyson in his book *Critical Theory Today* emphasizes the new historical notion that "history is a matter of interpretation, not facts, and that interpretations always occur within a framework of social conventions" (286). Emphasizing the same issue, in the essay "Histories and Textuality," Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh write:

For New Historicists, however, there can be no such seamless, overarching unity, but only the shifting and contradictory representations of numerous histories. History can only be a narrative construction involving a dialectical relationship of past and present concerns. Thus, the critic is neither a transcendent commentator nor an objective chronicler because s/he is always implicated in the discourses which help to construct the object of knowledge. (*Modern Literary Theory: A Reader* 252)

New Historicists also acknowledge that “our subjectivity, or selfhood, is shaped by and shapes the culture into which we were born” (Tyson 280). For the New Historicists, our individual identity is not merely a product of society. Neither is it merely product of our own individual will and desire. Instead, individual identity and its cultural milieu inhabit, reflect and define each other.

Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle further explicate the issue of the history in *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*:

What is new about new Historicism in particular is its recognition that history is the ‘history of present’ that history is in the making, that rather than being monumental and closed, history is radically open to transformation and rewriting . . . any knowledge of the past is necessarily mediated by texts to put it differently that history is in many respect textual. (112)

In this connection, New Historicists argue that ‘man’ is a construct of social and historical circumstances and not an autonomous agent of historical change. There is nothing essential about the actions of human beings; there is no such thing as “human nature”. Instead, individuals undergo a process of ‘subjectification,’

which, on the one hand, shapes them and on the other hand, places them in a social networks and cultural codes that exceed their comprehension or control.

Since each individual's way of thinking is shaped by this process, it follows that the historian is also a product of 'subjectification', Lois Tyson clarifies this idea as she writes:

Like all human beings, historians live in a particular time and space, and their views of both current and past events are influenced in innumerable conscious and unconscious ways by their own experience within their own culture. Historians may believe that they are being objective but their own views of what is right and wrong, what is civilized and uncivilized, what is important and unimportant and like, will strongly influence the ways in which they interpret events. (279)

Hence, historians themselves are biased even though they are to be unaware of it because they are controlled by certain discourses in a particular socio-political circumstance. Such circumstance from their viewpoint about the world and that is the vantage point from which they interpret the things.

Thus, New Historicism views historical accounts as narrative as stories that are inevitably biased according to the point of view, conscious or unconscious of those who write them. The more unaware historians are of their biases that are the more 'objective' they think they are the more those biases are able to control their narratives. The historians operate within the horizon of their own worldview a certain broad set of assumptions and beliefs. Therefore, it is impossible to overcome these beliefs to achieve objective history. Highlighting the same issue, Tyson further writes:

By and, large, we know history only in textual form, that is, in the form of documents, written statistics, legal codes, diaries, letters, speeches, tracks, news articles, and the like in which are recorded the attitudes, policies, procedures, and events that occurred in a given time and place. That is, even when historians base their findings on the kinds of “primary source” listed above, rather than on the interpretation of other historians (secondary sources), those primary sources are almost always in the form of some sort of writing. As such, they require the same kinds of analysis literary critics perform on literary texts. (283)

New Historicism has attempted to eradicate distinction between literature and history, arguing that each partakes of the other and that both participates in social networks and deploy cultural codes that cannot be fully articulated.

In this sense, New Historicism deconstructs the traditional opposition between history (traditionally thought of as factual) and literature (traditionally thought of as fictional). Because New Historicism considered history a text that can be interpreted the same way literary text, and conversely, it considers literary text as cultural artifacts that can tell us about the interplay of discourse, the web of social meanings, operating in the time and place in which those texts were written. Opposing the view that the categories of literature and history as inextricably separate disciplines, New Historicism argues that each partakes and influences each other.

The mutual relationship between history and literature is further highlighted by the off-quoted phrase “Historicity of text and Textuality of history” (Montrose 781). In his famous article “Introduction: Professing the

Renaissance: the Poetics and Politics of Culture,” he acknowledges New Historicism as “a reciprocal concern with the historicity of texts and Textuality of history” (*Literary Theory: An Anthology*, 781). M. H. Abrams further explains the phrase in his book *A Glossary of Literary Terms*:

That is, history is conceived not to be a set of fixed, objective facts but, like the literature with which it interacts, a text which itself needs to be interpreted. ‘Any text, on the hand, is conceived as a discourse which, although it may seem to present, or reflect, an external reality, in fact consists of what are called representations—that is, verbal formations which are the “ideological constructs or cultural constructs” of the historical conditions specific to an era. New Historicists often claim also that these cultural and ideological representations in texts serve mainly to reproduce, confirm, and propagate the power-structures of domination and subordination which characterize a given society.

(183-84)

Here, Abrams points out the close link between history and literary texts. Literary text exhibits historicity of the time and place in which it was written, whereas history also is constructed, it means it lacks objective truth. For New Historicists literary text is the cultural artifact or discourse. Thus, it is shaped by the particular ideology of the society.

## **II. Nexus between Power and Colonialism in Ngugi's *Matigari***

This research on Ngugi Wa Thiong'O novel *Matigari* aims to expose the inherent paradoxes of European sense of democracy with due critical analysis of lives of the characters and their conditions. The promise of rule of law and good governance that advocates of democratic regime in post colonial era have kept with the people with darkness, frustration and domination by creating the false notion of discourse to dominate downtrodden people in the golden cocoon of good governance. The motive with which this research is done, is not to rebuke the democracy and democratic governing system at all but to expose the reason of how the promise of good governance, equality, liberty and justice have turned into myth for the powerless Kenyan people in real sense in independent era too.

Thus, the aim of this research is to disclose the underlying governing system of powerful authority through the critical examination of maladies and incongruities documented in Ngugi Wa Thiong'O novel *Matigari*. Not only this, it also aims to explore the causing factors that have made the promise of self government, equality and liberty turn into a false notion of illusion in the network of power and discourse, and in such network of power, so many innocent people have been victimized. *Matigari* like people are far from the approach of equality and freedom even in post colonial era too.

In fact all of Ngugi's works indicate great deal of interest in political problems arising out of people's struggle to realize the promise of democracy. In this research, the researcher has taken the issue with analysis of *Matigari* who has been victim because of failure of establishing good governance in independent era and rising mode of post colonial domination. Plato, Aristotle and other classical thinkers tried to demonstrate how the shape of particular regimes

has decisive effects on the character of citizens. In many respects, this type of analysis may appear congruent with the modern approaches to literature advocated by New Historicists, but there is a significant difference. The classical political thinkers insisted that some people could free themselves from the prejudice of the political society around them and write consciously about both its good and bad features. But the primary aim of this research is to show how a particular type of democratic regime shapes certain human like Matigari, Muriuki, and other innocent people.

This novel *Matigari* was published in the post-colonial era in African territory Kenya in 1987, though in his introduction, Ngugi tells us that it was written in a flat in Islington in 1983. That daylight is more kind of miracle. Ngugi was once held without reason for a year in a Kenyan prison in the late 1970s after a performance of one of his plays with local peasants. He wrote a novel in prison, on toilet paper, which he smuggled out of the prison. *Matigari*, written during his residence in London, is very much engaged with Africa of the time, it is a world of corruption, where the rich live in luxury whilst the poor live in burned out cars, and scavenge for food in rubbish dumps. Into this melee strides Matigari, a man who once worked for Settler Williams and John Boy, building their home for them, believing that one day he would inhabit too. When he is rejected, he kills them both, after a hunt over the African landscape. He heads home, looking for his wife and children, and finds a country devastated by imperialist greed and ruled tyrannically. Police beat and rape women, children go hungry, and the national radio proclaims only propaganda. Matigari stops a police beating, and seems invincible, and soon the poor are celebrating him as a

hero, he is the Second Coming, he is old, he is young, he is man, he is woman. Matigari is a hero for these times.

Out of a simple premise: a man, walking the country looking for home, becomes a symbol for resistance, Ngugi weaves a compelling, politically engaged tale not afraid to use humor or satire to make his point, Matigari sings with Ngugi's delicious prose wonderfully translated into English by Wangui wa Goro. In this novel Ngugi has directed his eye to show the power dynamics between powerful and powerless people.

Matigari as a victim of oppressive power authority faces different sorts of crisis in his life, he is freedom fighter and sacrifices his whole life for liberty, equality and justice but as a man of having no power, fails to complete his mission. Though Kenya has been free from the colonial claptrap of British but the marginalized people are not getting any right to free themselves from the shackles of chronological linear time. They have been obliged to bear the different sorts of domination and exploitation. Low class people have no right to raise their voice against the state; if they do they are arrested by the state force. When oppressive people raise their voice against the state mechanism, "even you detain us, victory belongs to the people. Victory belongs to the people" (121). But their voice has been vanished when the state force "covered the mouth of the student" (121).

According to Foucault truth, morality and meaning are created through discourse. Everyone has a dominant group of discursive elements that people live in unconsciously. Within Foucault's world view "there is no absolute morality because any sort of morality is created through the exercise of power" (*Foucault Reader* 140). He further states that the pervasive and horizontal mode of power

is prevalent everywhere but those who create discourse through the true understanding of power can reach in the top rank. According to him, power creates discourse and through the representation of discourse, truth is created. The way Foucault defines is the way Matigari as a man of having marginalized position, has been victimized:

When he had finished building the house, Settler Williams had grabbed it. He had done the same with the factories. Matigari was the one who produced everything. But it was Settler Williams who collected the profits. Imagine: the tiller dying of starvation, the builder sleeping on the veranda; the tailor walking about without cloths and the driver having to go for miles on foot. (38)

These utterances are outcome of extreme exploitation of Settler William, a colonial agent. It further clarifies that in the post independent era too, colonial agents are imposing their oppressive authority upon the powerless people. This is also the message that the powerless people have been puppet in the hand of powerful people. The people having authoritative power are creating a discourse that powerful people are superior so, all sorts of things they impose should be followed by powerless people.

Post colonial era is known as the era of the democracy and it always advocates equality, freedom, liberty, truth and justice but such promises of post colonial ideals of equality and freedom, have been proved as false in the dominant discourse of good governance and democracy. In this connection, Michael Foucault in his book *History of Sexuality*, argues, “Discourse provides ways of talking about a particular topic with repeated motifs or clusters of ideas, practices or forms of knowledge” (108). The way Foucault defines is the way

Matigari has internalized the truth that he should follow the social order. He does not have right to protest against the powerful authority so, he accepts his fate that they are born to be blamed:

This world is upside down. . . . The robber calls the robbed robber. The murderer calls the murdered murderer and the wicked calls the righteous evil. The one uprooting evil is accused of planting evil. The seeker of truth and justice ends up in prisons and detention camps. Yes, those who sow good seeds are accused of sowing weeds. As for the sell-outs, they are too busy locking up our patriots in goals, or sending them into exile to let outsiders come and bask in the comfort wrought by others. (150)

The people having no powerful position are victimized through fake accusation. They are blamed unnecessarily because they have no space to take part in the ongoing social happening in the society. If they try to do something better they are trapped in the name of false crime, this is the true condition of the marginalize people. At this moment they remain silent because they accept the false discourse as if it is real.

The thinking perception of Matigari is outcome of power relation between powerful and powerless people in America. The powerful authority does not let powerless people to improve their life. On the basis of power, authority creates a sort of discourse which is internalized into the mind of Matigari like people who are sabotaged to the bottom rugs of social ladder. Thus, discourse is regulated maps of ideas through which practices or objects acquire meaning. For example, Foucault's madness and civilization includes "statements about madness which gives us concerning madness, the rules which prescribes what is 'sayable' or "

thinkable' about madness"(109). Here, Foucault concentrates on three disciplinary discourses. He argues that disciplinary discourses/ technology arose in a variety of site including schools, prisons, hospitals asylum, and streets. They produce what Foucault called “docile bodies of knowledge that can be subjected used, transformed or improved as per fabricator’s convenience” (189). Discipline involves the organization of the knowledge of subjects through dividing practices, trainings and standardization.

From the very beginning of the human civilization, there is the trend to dominate the lower class people by the upper class. Those who are less powerful and marginalized are exploited mentally and physically. As the Nepali proverb refers ‘the big fish always eats small fish’ in the same way have-nots are exploited by haves. Marginalized people lack freedom for living, speaking and walking. They feel fear in every step; Muriuki an orphan boy hesitates to go to his workplace and says:

If I go back there, the big boy will surely beat me and steal my things. He is such a big bulky. But even the others will punish me for showing you, a stranger, the way to our village, and for allowing you to go beyond the boundary line. I’ll have to keep hidden for two or three days until they forget what took place today. (19)

Such pathetic and poignant condition of powerless people provides the message that how the innocent and marginalized people were treated in the newly independent territory, Kenya. In the post colonial situation too, they are not guaranteed the right of liberty, equality and freedom because they have no power and hegemonized in front of the powerful authority

There is always a sort of nexus between power and colonialism in newly independent territories. As a newly independent country, Kenya would have performed equal treatment to all but equality, liberty, freedom, truth and justice have been mirage for the Kenyan people. The poor and immigrant people are obliged to live hell like life. They are limited within the narrow world. The oppressive so-called democratic authority has imposed its hegemonic power over them. The common people have no agency of their own to free themselves from the shackles of chronological, linear time. As the poor people in the Kenyan society, Muriuki's family also becomes unable to free itself from different circle of problems, it is pressed down by the oppressive authority. The pathetic and poignant condition of dominated people can be understood through the behavior of the elitist landlord upon this family:

The landlord, she used to rent a hut in the village but she could not afford to pay for it. The land lord told her to leave, but she asked him: where will I go if I leave this hut? You can't throw me out into the wilderness like a wild animal. Money is not more important than life! But the landlord answered: you have to go whether you like it or not. I will see to it myself that you leave.

(25)

These dialogues are sufficient to understand the suffering condition of the powerless people who do not get a little space in the elitist society. Elitist people do not have and human feeling towards downtrodden people, they behave them in a way they do upon animals on the basis of power dynamics.

When industrial post colonial movement occurred in Kenya, it brought vast gap between the upper class and lower class people. On the one hand this

revolution changed the life of certain people and on the other it also drowned the large number of population in the vicious circle of domination. The Kenyan so called democratic authority has exercised its power by basing on Foucault's concept of power, discourse and truth. By discourse he means a group of statements which provides a convincing language for talking about a particular subject at the particular historical moment. Discourse, for Michel Foucault, constructs a topic. It defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conducts of others. Similarly, the power is generated in society by producing the discourse, and by constructing the truths of subjects. Such power is creative to support not those weak and fragile but to those who possess all forms of domination and dominant. This power is accepted in society and the acceptance of this very power by powerless is the outcome of constructed discursive practice which is presented here. Parents create discourse about their children saying what they should or should not do. By generating power through discourse (knowledge / information) parents even beat their children if they disobey. Such kind of notion of Foucault has been implemented in the life of Matigari, Muriuki and others.

In 1960s post colonial world of Kenya, poor people were obliged to face the discriminating condition. The real native Kenyan people have not got their space in their own home because they have been play doll in the hand of capitalist colonial agents. The authoritative power always throws the veil of conspiracy upon lower class people. The mother of Muriuki as a woman of having no power is “burned to death when the house was set on fire” (25).

In this way, through the circulation of discourse work is divided on the basis of power. In this connection, Lois Tyson in *Critical Theory Today*

emphasizes the new historical notion and states “history is a matter of interpretation, not facts, and that interpretations always occur within a framework of social conventions” (286).

The judgment of everything in the society happens on the basis of power relation. One develops his/his perception of anything by basing on the then politico-cultural situation of the society. Habit of someone is formed through the social structure. In this concern, Tyson asserts, “out subjectivity, or selfhood, is shaped by and shapes the culture into which we are born” (280). Matigari as a man of having marginalized position learns the things as per the structure of the then social standard so, he is sabotaged in the corner of the society, neither he has agency to speak nor his voice is heard by the ear of elitist people so, his all action of questing the space becomes vain. This condition of Matigari mocks on post colonial ideal of democracy. The democratic principles like, equality, freedom, justice and rule of law have not been practiced in Kenyan people in independent era too. This condition is clearly shown in the life of Matigari:

You see, I built the house with my own hands. But Settler Williams slept in it and I would sleep outside veranda. I tended the estates that spread around the house for miles. But it was Settler Williams who took home the harvest. I worked all the machines and in all the industries, but it was Settler Williams who would take the profits to the bank and I would end up with all this. I produced everything on that farm with my own labour. (21)

Such utterances are sufficient to understand the true condition of marginalized people in the post independent era of Kenya. It is widely accepted matter that colonizers are the elitist and the colonized are the marginalized. Though Kenya

has been independent from the colonial palm of the British but its hangover is still prevalent there. The colonial agents have applied new strategy to dominate the marginalized people by joining their hand with domestic feudal.

In the post colonial era too, people began to be exploited in new form. Though they got freedom politically but other different sorts of exploitations were prevalent with the motif of controlling marginalized people in one or other way. While justifying the colonial hangover in post colonial era, Ngugi through his historical writing objectifies the reality of post-colonialism with an underlying aspiration by creating two poles of history; submissiveness and resistance. He has expressed his revolutionary spirit through the renowned novel *Matigari*. Matigari, the title character faces different sorts of crisis and existential threat in post independent era too. As an insurgent he succeeds to throw the colonial regime and buries his AK-47 under the tree in the forest and comes up with the belt of peace but his assumptions to be free from the domination have been turned into bitter reality because he was obliged to face the changed form of domination and exploitation.

Michel Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* argues, “it is through discourse (through knowledge) that we are created. Discourse joins power and knowledge and its power follows from our causal acceptance of the reality with which we are presented” (82). By discourse, Foucault meant a group of statements which provide a system for making about a particular interest at a particular historical moment, “discourse is about the production of knowledge” (84). Through the help of knowledge one dominates other. by internalizing the Foucault’s concept of knowledge and power, British settlers seized huge tracts of land from the indigenous people and set up plantations geared toward export

crops such as coffee. Africans were displaced from their land, forced into reservations or on to inferior lands. Resistance, such as that by the Nnandi people, was stifled by British soldiers wielding superior weaponry. The British favoured some tribes and this divide and rule strategy set the foundation for future jealousy and ethnic conflict. Such policy of divide and rule still exist in post colonial era. Neo colonialists have divided the Kenyan people into two poles so as to fulfill their vested interest. One group who support imperialist raises their voice in this way:

Everything that belongs to these slaves must burn!

Yes, everything that belongs to these slaves must burn!

Their coffee must burn!

Yes, their coffee must burn!

Their tea must burn! (167)

The rise of others who seek for their right of equality, liberty and freedom sing against the elitist and imperialist:

Their cars must be burn!

Yes, their cars must be burn!

Let all the other oppressor' cars burn!

Yes, let all the other oppressor' cars burn!

And those of the traitors too!

Yes, and those of the traitors too!

The property of robbing the masses must burn!

Yes, the property of robbing the masses must burn! (167-8)

Such internal conflict was outcome of dividing strategy of the post colonial agents for their long lasting rule over them. They want to expand their rule by

changing their form of domination. In one hand they present themselves as if they want freedom of the African people and on the other they throw the veil of constraints with the motif of long lasting encroachment.

In the vertical and horizontal axis of power domination, women are more victimized than the men because they have faced the condition of double marginalization. Guthera as a powerless woman, has been exploited physically, mentally, sexually and religiously. She is a Christian follower and daughter of Christian Methodist but her father has been taken to the detention camp with the charge of false crime. At that time, she goes to visit his father but police officer demands sexual service to free her father. He says, “give me your purity, and I will give your parent back to you. The young maiden remained silent. The superintendent explained further: you are carrying your father’s life between your legs” (35).

Powerless women are forced to bear jumble of frustration because they do not get any social respect in the elitist model of patriarchal society. So, they are forced to lead the hell like life. The state force unnecessarily arrests them in one or other pretence:

A crowd of people stood around Guthera, watching the policemen unleash terror on the woman. She was kneeling on the ground. The dog would leap towards her; but each time its muzzle came close to her eyes, the policeman who held the lead restrained it.

Guthera’s wrapper lay on the ground. Each time she stood up to retreat, the dog jumped at her barking and growling as though it smelled blood. Some people laughed, seeming to find the spectacle highly entertaining. (30)

These narrations of Matigari give visual image of the condition of marginalized people. After independence too, marginalized people including women are not getting any space in the society. They have been just play doll in the hands of imperialist. The imperialism was harsher upon female than male because they were facing the condition of double marginalization.

Foucault further argues that there are certain systems in society under which stakeholders possess some knowledge of something. By using such knowledge, they create discourse and they speak of the ideas they want. They produce speeches, write books, newspaper etc. this process is what Foucault says, discourse formation, and whatever is produced it is discourse. Discourse consists of representation, power and truth. Representation has various forms: written, audiovisual, oral etc. power is circulated through different forms of representation. This represented power creates certain truth, which ultimately becomes truth to everyone who is under the system. In this respect, Foucault's discourse is related to the production of any information that provides knowledge. This concept of Foucault is Applicable in the post colonial world of Kenya.

Through the critical survey of Ngugi's work, what comes to be an evident is that the Kenyan political history is discontinuous with ruptures and breaks in its process as Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* argues, "history is not an account of linear events but it is a series of discontinuity and the developments of different discourses don't proceed in linear 'episteme' running up to the present" (54). Thus, Kenyan political history is loaded with instability, disorder, anarchy and subjection in which power politics becomes prominent for all sorts of democratic vanguard. The way Foucault argues, in the same way

Kenyan people are facing different sorts of domination. In this situation too, they have hoped for the golden freedom of dawn. In this situation Matigari speaks:

He took the main road. There was still a hint of daylight, although the sun had set. He pressed harder on the accelerator, and the car leapt forward. Matigari wondered whether he should first go to the house if only to see the people who were gathered there. He resisted the temptation. Justice for the oppressed springs from the organized armed power of the people. Matigari had already laid down the belt of peace. He would now return to the forests and the mountains and wear his belt of arms for a second struggle. (160)

This sort of attitude of Matigari clarifies that how they are victimized in power dynamics and how they are ready to accept the domination as their fate. These all things are outcome of discursive practice done by the powerful people with the representation of knowledge. Matigari has faced lots of suffering and domination though he is inhabitant of free country, in this particular situation, he can't bear the further domination and picks the arm so as to assert his freedom in post colonial scenario but this attempt also becomes vain for him.

Power is circulated through discourse, the fake notion of liberty and equality are to institutionalize the discourse for hegemonizing the people in many respects. Foucault, however, seems to have some commonalities with Antonio Gramsci, who defines hegemony as willful consent to be ruled and does not examine power relationship in term of domination. People belonging to certain discourses according to Antonio Gramsci, may have that consent to be ruled with the help of the truth it establishes. According to Gramsci's opinion, marginalized people are subject to the hegemonic exploitation, the subaltern

classes have less access to the social and cultural institutions which are the important center of representation. Ashcroft and Griffiths in *Key Concept in Postcolonial Studies* quotes from Gramsci, powerless people are “those groups in society who are subject to the hegemony of the ruling classes” (215). Foucault’s ideas on 'subject', 'knowledge' and 'truth' make him at least a political philosopher. This is because his main interest lies not merely in power and its manifestation but also in techniques which produce truth so as to lead an individual to subjection. Power, according to him is a creative source for positive value, and is practiced hegemonically. The concept of Foucault and Gramsci is totally applicable in the life of Matigari who becomes victim in front of the powerful authority:

Settler Williams was coming to join John Boy against me, and without the gun I would be no match against the two of them. I drew up all my strength, broke free of John Boy’s hold and jumped out through the window. I ran into the tea plantation, through the maize fields, through banana plantations. I crossed rivers, climbed hills and disappeared into the mountains. Settler Williams followed me to see who would silence whom in order to clear any doubts as to who the real master was. (22)

These utterances of Matigari give clear hint that he was hegemonized with the powerful authority of Settler Williams and John Boy so, he is frightened with their power. This sort of power dynamics makes him oblige to face the condition of domination with his free will. In this way, powerful people impose their domination over marginalized people with the representation of knowledge which creates hegemony over lower class people.

It is Marxist claim that the extreme exploitation and domination invites resistance and finally resisting pole gets victory over domination. But on the contrary of this claim, because of the representation of knowledge as a truth, resistance of marginalized people never gets victory over domination even though they sacrifice their whole life for the sake of equality, liberty and freedom. Moreover they also do not get space in the elitist history. The elitist history presents them derogatively as the traitor of the nation. Matigari as a leader of courageous insurgent devotes his whole life for the cultural, mental and psychological freedom of the marginalized people but he never succeeds and finally loses his life by jumping into the river, “Matigari and Guthera fell into the river. Drops of water splashed into the air, wetting the earth by the banks of the river” (174). This condition of native Kenyan people show that how powerless people have faced domination in the nexus of truth and power.

After independence, Matigari had hoped that there would be equality, liberty and freedom. Such hopes have been expressed in this way:

After all, the struggle was for the house or the open air . . . sharing what little we have . . . joy after all that suffering . . . cold . . . hunger . . . nakedness . . . sleepless night . . . and how often did we come close to death? Victory is born of struggle. There is no night so long that it does not end with dawn. (11)

Such hopes and aspirations of Matigari or the downtrodden people of Kenya have been shattered when there occurred new form of colonialism, such things have become mirage for them . The colonial agents of the past, changing their strategy, began to dominate Kenyan people by taking support of native elitists like John Boy and the Minister for Truth and Justice who joined their neck with

them so as to dominate the powerless people. With the influence of the Minister for Truth and Justice, “court has recommended Matigari to be taken to a mental hospital and be kept under a twenty-four-hour surveillance, because he is a very dangerous person, and has very dangerous intentions in his head” (124).

While defining such condition of powerless people, Gyanendra Pandey in his essay “The Prose of Otherness” (*SS VIII*) writes: “by the nationalist account it is the ‘background’ sections of the population, the lower, that till fall prey to primitive passions and occasions” (198). This argument of Pandey provides clear hint that the powerless people fail to internalize the sense of equality and freedom and they are doomed to be dominated by the nationalist elitists. The way Pandey defines is the way Matigari faces different sorts of crisis and finally ends his life without completing his mission and vision. After his death, he does not get funeral ceremony “the dogs hesitated at the river, their tongues dangling out of their mouths. Some licked the blood on their muzzles. A few others were growling as if announcing to the world: *sisi mbwa kali* (174).

Through this condition of the dominated people, we can generalize the postcolonial history of Kenya where innocent and marginalized people haven’t got any space in the day to day social happening and they are sabotaged in the corner of the society. In this connection Maya Jaggi in “*Matigari* as Myth and History: An Interview” writes:

In relation not just to Kenya, but to Africa as a whole, *Matigari* is saying that neo-colonialism must end because Africa cannot possibly develop or find its true liberation while neo-colonialism holds sway; and a very important aspect of neo-colonialism is, of course, democratic repression. This is so because without a real

commitment to social change-economically, politically cause,  
without a real commitment. (245)

This argument of Jaggi illustrates the post colonial history of Africa where the expectation of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of subaltern people is far from their approach because of evil intentions of the political leaders. The historical novel *Matigari* presents the post colonial history of Kenya vis a vis subaltern people. Though the country has been freed from the domination of the British Empire but the condition of marginalized people is same as it was in colonial period. The colonial hangover is still functioning there and powerless people are obliged to lead the insurgency against new form of domination. But they have been failed to fulfill their golden hope of equality and freedom in front of the oppressive authority formed on the basis of knowledge, power and truth.

For Foucault, power marks an individual and imposes law upon him, but it is knowledge that makes it possible. That is to say that power's attempts to subject an individual become successful with the help of knowledge. To subject an individual means to compel somebody else to be under control or dependent. The subject therefore is always placed in a net like organization of power, knowledge and representation. It becomes something around which power circulates and produces its effects. A subject cannot but be submissive to a discipline which being aided by an institution becomes the foundation of knowledge and truths. Because discipline is what Paul Bove quotes from W.V. Spannos's *The Apollonian Investment of Modern Humanist Education*, "an accumulative, co operative project for the production of knowledge, the exercise of power and the creations of careers" (52). A grave issue, now is if all social contracts and governments are 'fairy tales' designed to exercise power, why

cannot the subject resist that power? If knowledge is the part of social practice of subjecting individuals by mechanism of power that lay claim to truth, why cannot the subjects question the truth on its effects of power and power on its effects of truth? Foucault does say the 'governed' have no 'right'. He is of the opinion that subjects can possess a critical attitude of not being 'governed'.

Supporting such a revolt of subject, Foucault writes in his essay *Subject and Power*:

May be the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refute what we are. We have to imagine and build up what we could be to get rid of this kind of political 'double kind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structure. (336)

On this basis, however we can't say that Foucault talks about the liberation of 'embodied' individuals. So, Minister of Truth and justice's rhetoric "truth and justice to be found in people's action (87) cannot liberate the commoners from aged old subjection and hegemony where real justice of liberation for them has been a myth in the complex web of power and discourse, all of which real justice of liberation for them has been a myth in the complex web of power and discourse, all of which produce and revolve around the subjects.

Therefore, post colonial towering ideals such as liberty, equality and inauguration of lawful ruling system etc. all have become mythic vision under the system of power politics by showing inherent contradictions of underlying governing system of post colonial sense of democracy. In such ground reality, the novel *Matigari* was written. So, it aims to show the hidden contradiction of the Kenyan people where some people want domination and rest of others who

are powerless want equality, liberty and freedom. But powerless people have been unable to establish justice and truth because their voice has been disappeared as the voice of lamb vanishes in the mouth of tiger. When they begin to raise their voice, they should be arrested by the state force with the charge of treacherous:

The officer in charge of the Parliamentary Shooting Unit warned them. Whoever dared to cheer again would be shot down there and then. A solemn silence fell over them-a silence not so much as a result of the warning, but due more to the tension arising from excitement as they waited to see what the outcome would be. (165)

These utterances about the officer are threatening to the powerless people who are raising their voice against suppression, oppression, violence and domination. So they should be meek, docile, humble and submissive to the powerful authority. They do not have any right to protest against the domination because they are powerless.

The brutal legacy of European colonialism and neo-colonialism as forms of imperialism manifests itself in various ways in Africa. In the 19th century, British imperialism colonized more African territory than any other of its European counterparts. Many countries colonized by the British gained their formal independence in the early 1960s due to heroic anti-colonial national liberation struggles that spread throughout the African continent. Despite the formal declaration of independence for the colonized countries, British among other colonizing European countries, maintains deep economic, military and administrative ties to almost all its former colonies among them Kenya is one. Like so much of Africa, Kenya is rich in natural resources.

When independence was granted to colonized African states, many were happy because they thought the Colonial masters had packed their package and were gone for good. The euphoria of independence for Kenya, just like most African countries, lasted up to the early 1980s. New imperialists and the former colonial master have made a triumphant comeback in Kenyan territory in the form of neo-colonialism. Until recently, Neo-colonialism has been chiefly associated with political and economic matters. Today, it is also inextricably tangled with so many other things such as conflict resolution and peace-keeping in so many African countries. The comeback of the colonial masters to Kenya, just like any other African country, is keeping the country artificially poor. In this connection, Ras Tyehimba in "Of Land and Injustice: The Colonial Legacy in Kenya" writes:

The British entered the Kenyan region in the late 19th century wresting control from Omani Arab slave traders, who themselves had wrested control from the Portuguese invaders. The British were interested in controlling the rich resources of neighbouring Uganda and, to this end; Kenya was of particular strategic importance. They built a railway between Mombassa (on Kenya's east coast) and Kampala using labourers from India, many of whom remained and have become today's dominant merchant class. (28)

Like in many other countries in Africa, ownership of resources including prime land remained in the hands of European settler families even after the Independence. With the imperial might of the British Empire behind them, British settlers seized huge tracts of land from the indigenous people and set up

plantations geared toward export crops such as coffee. Africans were displaced from their land, forced into reservations or on to inferior lands. Resistance, such as that by the Nnandi people, was stifled by British soldiers wielding superior weaponry. The British favoured some tribes and this divide and rule strategy set the foundation for future jealousy and ethnic conflict. Such policy of divide and rule still exists in post colonial era with the underlying theory of Foucauldian concept of power and discourse.

Foucault regarded discourse as central human activity. For him, power circulates in all directions, to and from all social levels, at all times. The channel through which power circulates is discourse itself. Every culture produces discourses and the exchange of ideas occurs through these discourses. Defining discourse, Lois Tyson in his book *Critical Theory Today* further says, "A discourse is a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and space, it expresses a particular way of understanding human experiences. A word discourse draws attention to the role of language as the vehicle of ideology" (285). So, through the use of language, discourse embodies ideology.

In the post colonial era, there was an inherent clash between the native culture and the culture imposed on native by colonizers. Post colonial custodians always regarded their culture, language and religion superior without discerning the significance of the native culture in one or another way. In the context of colonialism and neo colonialism, it is relevant to bring Edward Said's view in terms of stereotypical image created by the whites:

Orientalism . . . [is] a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the orient . . . without examining

orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand [how] European culture was able to manage . . . its control over its colonies during the post enlighten period. European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the orient as a sort of surrogate . . . self. (3)

Said opines that colonizers create discourse for grasping power over the orient. Further, they also maintain it with the means of restructuring the culture of the colonized. Edward Said's idea on Orientalism is also related to the idea of the subaltern as it explains in which Orientalism produced the foundation and the justification for the domination of other through colonialism. As Said argues colonial agents create imaginative picture of the orient in order to dominate them. The idea of difference and strangeness is created through media and discourses which are based on binarism. Colonial agents always tend to present the orient as backward and irrational, and they think it is their responsibility to extend their domination over them. But colonizers could not impose their authority permanently because the dominated people resisted over their rule they also killed the colonizers and "spread the message: Settler William is dead. John Boy is dead. We must go home, light the fire and rebuild the home together" (24) after their victory over colonial domination. In such changeable scenario, colonial agents changed their form of domination in post colonial era.

In post-colonial era, colonial custodians joined their hand with domestic feudal and began to expand their authority over the marginalized people. After the extreme form of domination, powerless people began to resist against the post colonial rulers with the declaration of resistance but that became vain in front of discursive practice.

This present research on Ngugi Wa Thiong'O novel *Matigari* aims to disclose the paradoxes of postcolonial sense of democracy. Paradox, in this context, is a statement which seems self contradictory yet tries to make good sense. Post colonial promise of democracy and freedom has just been a dominant discourse to get willful consent for ruling over the people. The promises that the priests of democracy kept with the people have desperately turned into a mirage which common people never realize. The trinity of equality, liberty and justice, supposed as democratic dignity, has just become a conspiracy to keep people in illusion under which their hope for socio-economic and political transformation has remained as a myth in the network of power and discourse. Thus, democratic towering ideals such as equity, freedom of choice and equal justice have merely become mythic vision which Kenyan people never realized after independence from the claptrap of British domination.

### **III. Exploration of Injustice in the Network of Power**

The present research is an endeavor to unearth the marginalization of powerless people during the time of postcolonial era in Kenya particularly in Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *Matigari*. More specifically it shows how the postcolonial agents and bourgeois nationalists dominated Kenyan powerless people with the dynamism of authoritative power. Along with the domination, this research foregrounds the dominated status of Kenyan marginalized people in the unipolar power dynamics.

*Matigari* reflects the mirror reality of Kenya in postcolonial scenario where Kenyan people have been independent from the claptrap of British domination but they are again dominated by postcolonial agents and bourgeois nationalist. One form of domination has been ended but another form has begun. Though they are free politically but culturally, mentally and psychologically they are still under the grip of oppressive authority. Marginalized people have been puppet in the hand of state force. The agents of the state force, by joining their neck with postcolonial agents, have imposed their oppressive authority over downtrodden people.

In this situation, being unable to endure extreme domination, Matigari like victimized people are obliged to blow the horn of resistance against their powerful bonding though their attempt goes vain in front of the powerful authority. Matigari is the leader of revolution, who has sacrificed his whole life for the sake of equality, liberty and freedom. He has incorporated all the marginalized people from every nook and corner of the state that consists of workers, sex servants, orphans and others. Such combined force goes for resistance against the oppressive authority but is unable to reach to its destination because the insurgency is trapped in the vicious circle of elitist domination.

It is pervasive claim that the legacy of colonialism exists in postcolonial era and the colonial agents by changing their form of domination begin to dominate in postcolonial scenario too. This claim is applicable to the Kenyan people who have faced extreme domination in postcolonial condition; they have been just like inmates in iron shackles. The liberty, equality and freedom is beyond their access. Their voice of equality and freedom has been vanished as the voice of lamb vanishes in the mouth of tiger. Though they have revolted against the postcolonial domination but they have been unable to see the golden rays of freedom.

While fighting with the hope of freedom, the leader of insurgency loses his life with his colleague Guthera, “Matigari and Guthera fell into the river. Drops of water splashed into the air, wetting the dry earth by the banks of the river” (174) and his mission cannot succeed. It shows that marginalized people go for resistance by demanding their space but they are unable to seize their space in the pervasive power of elitist force, and are finally thrown into the bottom rungs of social ladder.

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