Pedagogy of cultural co-presence in Ifeoma Chinwuba's *Fearless* (2004).

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Résumé

Cet article met en lumière une autre dimension du discours postcolonial qui pourrait aider la culture africaine à sortir de son endogénéité et ainsi contribuer au développement du continent. Nous avons l'illustration de cette nouvelle trajectoire dans Fearless (2004) de Ifeoma Chinwuba qui, sous l'aspect d'une fiction, promeut la coprésence et la collaboration des cultures Africaines et non-Africaines. Son roman expose une trame fondée sur le milieu Igbo en période coloniale avec la coexistence et le partage entre le patrimoine ésotérique Igbo et la connaissance occidentale. Notons qu'au lieu de s'engouffrer dans un discours contre la prétendue universalité des normes occidentales, cette écrivaine nigériane contemporaine essaie plutôt de transcender l'opposition binaire et proposer une alternative. Ainsi, à la lumière de la théorie postcoloniale, cette analyse met en exergue la dimension pédagogique du syncrétisme culturel proposé par Ifeoma et les avantages qu'une ouverture culturelle pourrait constituer pour le continent.

Mots-clés : coprésence, culture, endogénéité, pédagogie, postcolonial, syncrétisme

Abstract

This article sheds light on another dimension of postcolonial discourse, which can help African cultures grow out of its endogeneity and contribute to the development of the continent. Ifeoma Chinwuba's Fearless (2004) is an example of this new trajectory, as it fictionalizes the promotion of cultural co-presence and cooperation between Africans and non-Africans. In her novel, the reader discovers a plot set on a colonial setting where esoteric Igbo patrimony and western school coexist and share. Instead of trying to engulf in the discourse against the so-called universality of western norms, this contemporary Nigerian writer attempts to transcend the binary ideological opposition and propose an alternative. Then, in the light of postcolonial theory, this analysis points out the pedagogic dimension of cultural syncretism displayed by Ifeoma and the benefits of the cultural openness and sharing for the continent.

Introduction

With the advent of communication and information technologies, the world has ever become a place of cultural copresence. Yet, in Africa, various Afrocentric movements and passionate debates along the abundant postcolonial literature continue to claim the necessity to get back to the endogenous African multisecular cultures. Nevertheless, the problem is that, this endogenous African cultural patrimony remains impenetrable for most non-Africans and even some Africans. This apparent murkiness is the point on which the colonial discourse browses to underrate African cultures. The undervaluing of African knowledge, in turn, gives rise to postcolonialism as a cultural resistance discourse on the part of some outstanding African writers like Chinua Achebe (1958), Wole Soyinka (1963) and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1965) among others. According to A. Oyenkachi, those writers "used their literary works to prove that Africa had a culture of great depth, value, beauty and originality" (Oyenkachi, 2018, p.34). Along the same process, Ifeoma Chinwuba, who is from the latest generation, promotes the worth and originality of the African cultural heritage. Using a pedagogical stand in her novel entitled Fearless (2004), this Nigerian writer fictionalizes a colonial setting where the endogeneity of Igbo culture is displayed and disclosed.

The didactic standpoint of Ifeoma Chinwuba operates through various sequences enacting some teaching-learning interactions between the African initiators and native boys, as well as native boys and their western counterpart living among them. Thus, instead of engulfing in some paradigms of nostalgia or protest, the novel advocates the growing of native cultures out of the ethos of endogeneity. By presenting the endogenous Igbo heritage mainly through the voices of African children, Ifeoma seems to be negotiating a new form of postcolonialism concerning cultural matters. It can be perceived that she encourages the appropriation of the African cultural patrimony by its youth. One can also notice her vows for the openness of the endogenous cultural knowledge and its adaptability in order to transcend the challenges of an ever-globalizing world. Indeed, with regard to the plot and characterization provided in *Fearless*, the reader can note that the postcolonial standpoint from which Ifeoma builds her discourse is that of: (1) adaptability to the context of cultural copresence; (2) the openness of African cultural patrimony in order to make it a rich legacy for current challenges.

1. Cultural Co-presence and Sharing

The plot of *Fearless* deals with the cohabitation of Western and African cultures on behalf of the Wilson family among an Igbo tribe in a village of western Nigeria. The opening chapters of the novel display the didactic aspect of Ifeoma's approach on some Western and the African social features. As such, we realize that Ifeoma Chinwuba distinctly sets the two cultural environments that are going to cohabit through the white and black characters of the novel. Particularly, she juxtaposes the Western individualistic lifestyle and the African communal standard of living on behalf of the psychological and physical state of the Wilson family in England, and an Igbo tribe in the African setting of the novel in order to unveil the different perceptions of each culture.

1.1. Different Perceptions of the Other

In a first place, the Nigerian writer raises the different perceptions that each culture projects, and then introduces some inferences on her pedagogical approach to this cultural co-presence. The reader can notice those perceptions through the characterization and the plotting of the story. Indeed, there is the western image held by the white characters, namely Matt and Ralph Wilson, and the African image projected by the characters from the native Igbo people of Umudo. As far as the plot is concerned, one can observe on the western side that, there is an isolated and unhappy family with a sick mother and a boy suffering from juvenile loneliness (Ifeoma, 2004, p.3). Reversely, on the African side, there is a festive mood and communion among various age-groups (Ifeoma, 2004, p.5). These observations should be accredited to the narrator of the novel as an appreciation of the two cultural milieus, with a positive presentation of the African side.

In addition, Ifeoma's novel mentions the western viewpoint on the appreciation of the cultural differences. The European discourse is integrated in the story of *Fearless* through the a priori of the white characters on the African space they are about to discover. Firstly, in the mind of Ralph the white boy, the Igbo village is represented as the land of Tarzan and Mowgli, where people live on trees (Ifeoma, 2004, Pp.14-15). As revealed by the narrator, for the British boy, Africa is simply a jungle where he has chance to find friends with whom he could support the Roma Football Club or spar at karate. Moreover, his father Matt Wilson the British Missionary is convinced to go to a place of primitive people that need to be civilized. Even the western education schools in colonial territories were belittled by European people of that period. That kind of deprecation is expressed through the placement of Ralph in the primary school of Umudo. Indeed, without any placement test, Matt Wilson decides: "My son, Ralph, will join your class for the time being. I feel he is too big for it but we'll see how it goes" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.29). Pretending that the white boy is too big for the level of primary six of his African age-mates- is part of the European clichéd about Africans. Here the European voice clearly pretends that the capacities and intelligence of African child are inferior to those of white children.

This form of reflection constitutes the counterfeit image of Africa designed by Missionaries and explorers, and contributes to the justification of colonial abuses under the guise of mission of civilization. By projecting an imagery of Africans as some people delayed in intellectual development, as it happens in their literature, the Europeans distinguish the others, particularly the Africans, as some uncivilized people. The objective of those prejudices is certainly to depict Africa and other non-western settings as some lands deprived of people with normal thinking capacity and unable to produce knowledge and culture. On that account, Pramad K. Nayar opines that "the native is *constructed* as primitive, depraved, pagan, criminal, immoral, vulnerable and effeminate in colonial discourse" (Pramad, 2010, p.2). Here, the notion of *constructed* refers much more to the fact that the image of the other as formulated by Europeans is not supported by fact or experiment. It is rather a deductive reasoning based on some fallacies invented for the purpose of colonization or exploitation.

Thereafter, Ifeoma puts forwards some appropriate responses, but not in the like of what Eli Sorensen qualifies as the "radical critiques of discourses of power" (Sorensen, 2010, p.3) that one can detect in most postcolonial discourses. Indeed, instead of trying to engulf into a radical Afrocentric discourse or a violent contestation of the so-called universality of western norms, Ifeoma attempts to carve a third voice. It is a soft and intelligent response to both European discourse of power and Afrocentric discourses. Through the narrative of Fearless, Ifeoma efforts to go beyond the permanent binary opposition between the Western and African race and culture. In the plot of the novel, the response to the discourse of power is ironically conveyed through the mouthpiece of the Europeans themselves. Indeed, the novel opens with a British doctor indicating that Ralph is always sick because of his environment (in London) and that "the tropics would be the best" for him (Ifeoma, 2004, p.2). The tropics refers to the sunny aspect of the African land, which procures warm. This warm can be extended to people's openness in traditional African settings, which can help the boy escape the juvenile loneliness that adds to his illness. Then, Africans' communal life and it related interactions among individuals and groups is acknowledged as an important resource for the individual's well-being.

Also, as if she is moved by an invisible force, Ralph's mother who has been in a deep and prolonged state of unconsciousness can utter clearly that Africa also is a land of valuable knowledge that Europe may not have discovered yet. Indeed, she informs her child, "There are many great medicine-men in Africa. They may have the herb already for this disease without our knowing it [....] find it and save your mother's life" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.19). The doctor in London and Ralph's mother are convinced that the tropical or African climate will do good and great medicine men may have already cure for the disease of the white woman. This implies that that not all the western people consider Africans as primitive people with a limited thinking capacity. Some white people are also persuaded that knowledge and culture of value exist in Africa. This conviction is particularly shared by some authors of postcolonialism who think that the cultural binary opposition between Eurocentric and Afrocentric discourses should be replaced by a third alternative. For Robert Young for example, the binary opposition should be "dissolved in a more generous system of cultural respect and a tolerance for differences" (Young, 2003, p.4). What is mediated here is to understand and accept that, there is rather an urgent need to open, share, and learn from each other. That is necessary, for both cultures to integrate a larger dimension, which can be assumed as their capacity embrace the realities and dynamics of the globalized world of today.

1.2. Cooperation and sharing without complex

In the narrative of Fearless, Ifeoma displays a setting where traditional initiation rites and western school cohabit. The teacher of the village school is also a master of traditional initiation. He prepares his pupils for the fulfilment of their degree of primary school and for the initiation that will prepare them for their passage from youth to adult life. For Homi Bhabha, "it is in the emergence of the interstices - the overlap and displacement of domains of difference - that the intersubjective and collective experiences of community interest or cultural value are negotiated." (Bhabha, 1994, p.2). Out of this, it can be observed that Ifeoma's novel is plotted in such a way that it mediates the idea of being with other instead of isolation. Indeed, the traditional African society has generally been a self-enclosed one. This is comprehensible through the esoteric nature of their ways and cultures. To propose the breaking of this isolationist attitude among Africans, we can read in Fearless that boys from various tribes or clans gather in the village of Umudo as a single group to have their initiation done. This is an important step in the process of openness. When the small units (clan, tribes) can get together and share, it becomes easier for the biggest ones to interact and harmonize some of their ways. The result of this kind of internal process is the creation of large-scale interaction amidst the Africans and that can be exemplified by the international and regional or sub-regional groupings such as UA, CAMES, ECOWAS, and so on.

Teaching the necessity to avoid being self-enclosed is also presented through another dimension. This is about breaking the barriers between African knowledge and western culture. Various sequences of the novel accentuate this vow of the Nigerian writer. First, we have the stipulation to conciliate the traditional training and the western schooling. On this account, the external narrator of the novel reveals "A compromise had been reached. Udego would attend the Mission School. And in the evenings and non-school days, would tap from his father's vast knowledge of native medicine" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.104). The African child attends western school and they are eager to learn and do well to fulfil their degree. Here then we face an invitation to the syncretism of knowledge acquisition.

This approach is also perceivable through the characterization in the novel, particularly the representation of the young boys interacting along the storyline of the novel. Indeed, there is a relationship between Udego and Ralph. For us, the two boys represent the symbolical figures of, respectively, the African and the Western cultural backgrounds. The British boy is immersed into the traditional African knowledge on behalf of his Igbo counterpart as exemplified in the novel. Actually, the two chief characters of the novel become friends and exchange a lot about their cultures, and life in general. Udego and the other Igbo schoolchildren are disposed to exchange with the British boy on life in his home country. Reversely, Ralph finds no problem learning from his African friends. Ralph is very open to the teaching of his African school friends on some knowledge he would not get access to in his European setting. Through his quest for an African medicine to cure his mother, he learns the way Africans interact with fauna, flora and other natural elements. In the same way, his African counterpart learns some manners and specificities of western culture through the discussions with the white boy. This is an effective demonstration of syncretism and sharing between different cultures. Out of this form of characterization, Ifeoma clearly refuses to sustain what Edward Said (1978) identifies as ideologically distorted mode of representing cultural otherness in the western institutions of aesthetic and literary texts.

2. Openness of the Cultural Patrimony

Given that endogeneity means the specificity or the unique status of something, the African endogenous culture will be referred to as the uniqueness of some practices and knowledge that are generally unknown to the non-natives. For B. S. Brar and S. Singh "the search for cultural identity is one of the fundamental concerns in the majority of significant works of African fiction and hence occupies a central place in the writers' quest for exposing the authentic African personality" (Brar & Singh, 2011, p.469). Basing on this dimension of creative writing by Africans, one can understand, along the narrative of *Fearless*, the invitation to disclose the visible patrimony and display the esoteric African Knowledge to all Africans as well as non-Africans.

2.1. Disclosing the Visible Patrimony (Divulging)

In Ifeoma's *Fearless*, the endogeneity or impenetrable ways of an Igbo tribe are made vivid along the plot and the characterization. The story in the novel is that of Matt Wilson, a British employee of the Education Service of the Missionary Society and his son Ralph during their stay in Umudo, in the colonial territory of Nigeria. Once a stranger gets in touch with this clan, as it happens with the Wilsons, the visible aspect that they notice is the social organization. This aspect, although visible, asks for explanation in order to be understood by non-natives, and even some natives of the current era. That is certainly, why the narrative of *Fearless* puts stress on the notion of togetherness or commonality during the first contact and the following interactions between the white folks and the inhabitants of Umudo.

The narrative voice of the novel makes read that *collectivism*⁵ is given a paramount consideration in the social philosophy of the traditional Igbo setting. Indeed, the novel contains various sequences that permit to understand the singularity of the African cultural patrimony. For instance, in the first part of the novel the narrator recounts how the different age-groups of the village come together and organize the welcoming ceremony of Matt and Ralph Wilson. Through this, the reader can notice a particular social behavior towards some strangers. Instead of isolated actions, we can observe the manifestation of group solidarity, which also shows the degree of unity among this tribe. In effect, along this sequence of narrative, it can be read:

Yang lads of similar height [...] danced towards the new boy. They were welcoming him to their age grade [...]. One of the lads held out his hands and engaged with the white boy in a one-to-one

⁵ A worldview in which social behavior is guided largely by goals that are shared by a collective such as family, tribe...interdependence and group solidarity are valued. (Barbara N. & Philip N, 2020).

jig. [...] Ralth put his pen and book in his pocket, and danced with his age-mates (Ifeoma, 2004, p.12).

This quotation convincingly informs that the Igbo philosophy of collectiveness implicates the idea of acceptation of the other. The foreign lad is invited, by his native counterparts in such a way that he does not hesitate to join them. Dancing then operates as an important icebreaker that will open the receptiveness of the British boy to his new schoolmates and the unknown environment. This way of transmitting the African culture to the British boy can be assimilated to a direct and communicative approach that puts the boy in real African traditional life situation from which he acquires new practices. It is an acquisition-oriented practice given that the boy is actively interacting with a given environment that allows him to build up knowledge about the functioning of the traditional African society. Indeed, the context is set in such a way that acquisition takes place without any formal teaching about African tradition and practices. It is organized in such a collaborative way that interaction between the white boy and his Igbo classmates leads to his acceptance of the others.

As the narrative unfolds, we realize that the acceptance of others is also materialized by the action of sharing. Amandi who is one of the native lads surprises Ralph Wilson when he tells him: "Food must be ready. We shall all eat, then you may leave" (Ifeoma, 2004, This way of sharing food systematically with others is an p.53). endogenous aspect of the cultural ways of Africans in general. In the novel of Ifeoma, it appears as lesson to the "civilized" British missionary who thinks it normal to send his son's friends home to dine (Ifeoma, 2004, p.87). It can be stretched that this is also a teaching to Africans of the current generation who have not been raised with this endogenous value. In the light of the representation of collectiveness and acceptance of others, it can be ushered that in the Igbo endogenous ways, the self is linked to the whole community. The individual is determined by the group; that is why there are age-groups which permit a constant communion and solidarity among the members of the tribe.

Further, in the narrative one can observe that, although they belong to distinct clans, the young boys form a unique group to practice a uniform rite of passage (Ifeoma, 2004, p.188). This can

bring cohesion and team spirit among the tribes for their development. Also, bringing together lads from different clans can be assimilated to the constitution of a mix-ability class, which presents various advantages for learning. This social dimension of learning implies a reconciliation between different tribes for an effective consideration of a multifaceted traditional society that gives sense to the concept of *communicability*⁶ between the lads of different socio-cultural groups and their discourses. In other words, this approach allows the different communities to interact effectively for an integrated and contextual knowledge to be passed on. This procedure imbedded in the African culture goes along with the postcolonial posture of Homi Bhabha when he opines that people should "entertain difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha, 1994, p.5).

Along with, these elements of the African endogenous ways are exposed and explained to the stranger in a way that enhances the pedagogical esthetic that is credited to Ifeoma's *Fearless* in the current analysis. Indeed, recurrent scenes present the white lad asking questions in order to understand the ways and practices that he observes among the Igbo tribe of Umudo. Consequently, the native young folks provide answers with due explanations and justifications about those enquiries. An illustration of this aspect is provided through an exchange on the issue of polygamy through the lines "Five wives ! Screamed the white boy [...]. Do you realize that you are an endangered species ? (Ifeoma, 2004, Pp.55-56). Through this exchange, one can see that the young natives can expose the rationale behind the practice of polygamy.

By assigning this role to young characters, Ifeoma certainly wants to encourage their training on important aspects of their culture. The disclosing and teaching of the endogenous knowledge is necessary for the current generation of Africans who are growing in huge urban areas. If the native young folks can answer questions about cultural ways, it means that they have been taught beforehand. Then this waves the idea that it is important to teach children their own culture, which can be inferred through the characterization of Mr.

⁶This concept indicates the possibility for people of different cultural background to interact directly by charring or transmitting elements of knowledge.

Mazi Jeremiah. This Teacher of the primary school of Umudo is also a master of the traditional initiation of the lads.

For African endogenous cultures to be profitable and valued, Ifeoma's narrative understates that the traditional knowledge should be documented and divulgated, so that it can be expanded to a large scale. This subtle proposal can be inferred through a sequence that runs as follow :

There was a lot to unpack ; crates of books, books, books. They should be their companions here. There were tones of *Encyclopaedia Britanica, The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* and other classics. There were books on educational administration and Moral Theology. (Ifeoma, 2004, p.21).

Out of this passage, we understand, unlike African practices, various forms of knowledge are available for everyone and they are at hand reach. Knowledge that can help people for a better social life or medical purposes should be documented. When that knowledge is transcribed, it becomes easy for the maximum people to learn their principles and functioning, and practice them in the current society. This is a better way for Africans to keep their cultural patrimony alive and useful in the ongoing context of the world. Then we concur with Mr. Mazi Jeremiah when he puts that "the world is changing...we must equip ourselves for it" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.74). This view could be shared on the ground that things are not fix, they are in constant movement, and so shall be the endogenous knowledge. In a world where no culture can stand alone, the documentation of endogenous African ways and knowledge can contribute to make them visible on a worthier side and adapt easily to the contemporary realities. Justifiably, it is admitted that the content of a document can reach a large audience, and among this audience criticism and other forms of contributions could emerge and enhance the given knowledge. This could also be extended to the less visible African patrimony that is generally qualified as the esoteric.

2.2. Displaying the Esoteric (presenting)

Another dimension of the authenticity or endogeneity of African culture is perceived through the esoteric knowledge. The

philosophy and rituals associated to that impenetrable knowledge are from the domain of the sacred. As such, they are generally hidden to the non-initiated, hence giving way to inappropriate interpretations and judgment on the part of westerners as well as African people raised and educated in a cultural environment shaped by colonial legacy. Most African traditional societies have a specific relationship with the natural forces around them. In Ifeoma's *Fearless* the reader can notice that the Forest, Animals (snakes) and Water (river) are connected to some divinities. These natural forces constitute the basis of the superstitions behind the religious belief and the meta-physic considerations of these people. Access to these forms of knowledge is limited to some specific members of society. In the narrative of Fearless, some characters are capable to disappear and re-appear in another spot. This knowledge for teleportation is acquired through a special initiation and it necessitates some special gifts. Some specific families detain other forms of knowledge such as traditional body and mental cures. Only members of the tributary families can exercise these peculiar medical practices.

That is certainly the reason why Ifeoma's narrative touches on the possibility to make the African esoteric visible as a full heritage for all African and non-African people. On this account, we realize that the Nigerian writer invites the foreign lads to the esoteric initiation on behalf of Ralph the British boy character of her novel. However, this latter is hesitating because "he did not know if the initiation was god or bad, not knowing what it entailed", the narrator voices (Ifeoma, 2004, p.53). Here then, there is a real reason to divulge the esoteric knowledge and practices instead of hiding. People have "the fear for the unknown" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.61) as Udego acknowledges. So, clarifying things about the initiation matters can help understand it functioning and function in the endogenous African culture. The experience is made particularly didactical as the reader can notice that the plot revolves around the interactions between the British boy and his counterparts from Umudo. Ifeoma attempts this clarification along the friendship of Udego who introduces Ralph the initiation and some metaphysical knowledge of their tribe. This exchange between Ralf and Udego on what the initiation is can attest:

> When is this initiation thing? (...)What happens then? (...)

'Many things. We learn more dances, wrestling, hunting, music, and the history of our land. Finally is the circumcision. And the tribal mark. (Ifeoma, 2004, p.60)

This conversation makes it clear that the esoteric initiation is just the same thing as the schooling, or a specific phase of a schooling system. It is a series of sessions of trainings and learnings of important subjects, which are necessary for life in society. As the narrative unrolls, the chapter 35 of the novel unveils the teaching method during the initiation. Indeed, we read that there is a sequence entitled the "Night of a Thousand Questions" (Ifeoma, 2004, p.210). Through this important learning-session, the question-and-answer model is emphasized. It is an opportunity for learners to discover the rationale behind the practices and norms of their society. This highlights the interaction aspect of teaching that creates a collaborative atmosphere facilitating the acquisition of knowledge by learners.

It is worth noting that the arrival of the Wilson in Africa is much more dictated by an irony of sort that presents specific African environment and knowledge as the resources for solutions to their peculiar health problems. Thus presented, we realize that the narrative enacts a context where, the British agent Matt Wilson and his son Ralph are in Africa for a quest that necessarily makes them in touch with the inner cultural realities of an Igbo tribe in Nigeria. This appears an important clue of the pedagogical dimension of the narrative of *Fearless* concerning the management of the African cultural esoteric knowledge. Indeed, they happen to be some strangers among the tribe of Umudo, a situation that makes them some persons at the margins. The two western people are in a position to see for the first time or discover some ways and norms that are exclusively known by the initiated members of the Igbo tribe they are living in.

By divulging the secrets or once hidden knowledge of traditional Igbo society, Ifeoma plays the role that is expected from the artists and intellectuals. Her creativity constitutes an added value to the heritage, because she transforms it into a legacy that is necessary for both Africans and non-Africans in the ever growing context of cultural copresence or multiculturalism. That can help African cultures grow out of the ethos of endogeneity and contribute to the development of the continent.

Conclusion

In the end of the day, one can see that Ifeoma Chinwuba does not want to register in any of the binary ideology about culture. She rather seems to be mediating an opening of the endogenous aspects of African cultures in order to make it comprehensible by African themselves and non-Africans. It is worth noting that the composition style of the text in *Fearless* emphasizes boys as the main voice describing the endogenous cultural knowledge. This can be inferred as a way of negotiating and encouraging the appropriation of the African cultural patrimony by its youth.

One can also notice the Nigerian writer's vows for the openness of the endogenous cultural knowledge and its adaptability in order to transcend the challenges of an ever-globalizing world. It is also vital to share knowledge because, as indicated in Ayi Kwei Armah's KMT: in the house of life (2002), knowledge unshared may start as mystery and ends by dying out. Therefore, the cultural syncretism, which can be triggered by the contacts between people from different continents, is crucial for the survival and development of the African cultural patrimony to be passed on to the future generations.

Moreover, as we are living in a multicultural world, with technologies that have made it a global community, no place or people can escape the phenomenon of cultural syncretism -even the former hidden tribes of the Amazon Forest are interacting with other cultures. So it becomes urgent to go beyond the two conflicting paradigms and adopt the concept of cultural hybridity that is mediated in Homi K. Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994). Definitely, a third voice should enter the stage, which is the voice of cooperation between African cultures and others, in order to bring some positive input to the universal world of culture.

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