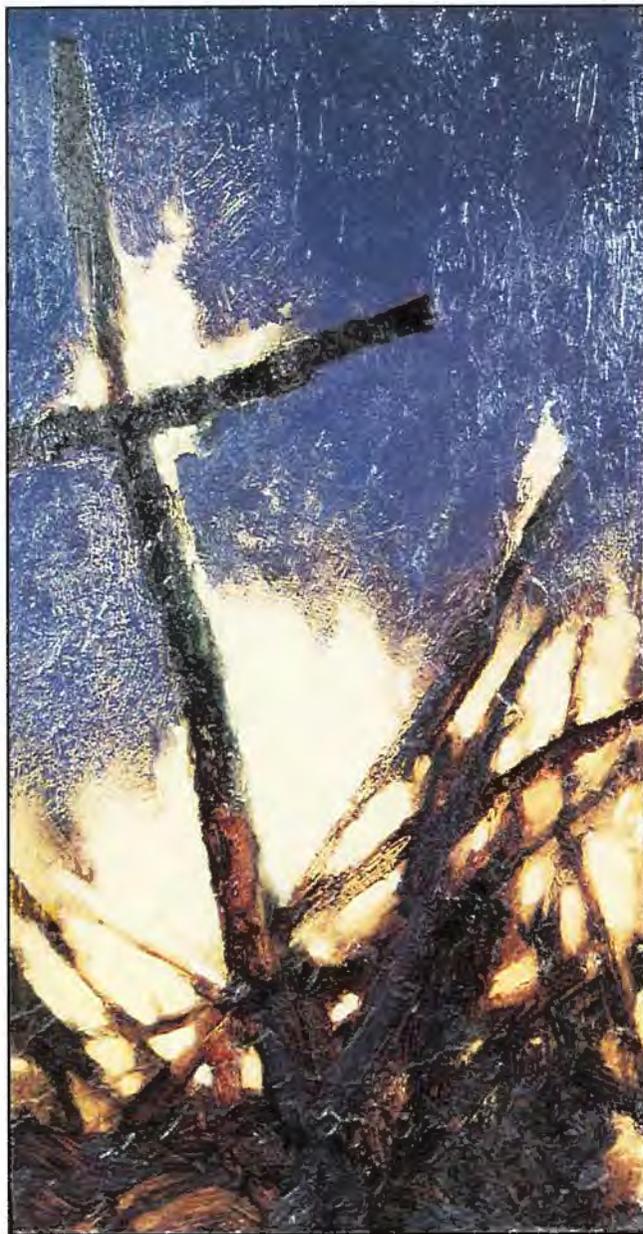


1965 - 7/18 - 11

# Callaloo



Volume 24, Number 1  
ISSN 0161-2492

Cross  
by Gary Logan

**FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE**  
**The Confederate Flag Controversy**

---

---

## THE "MISSIONARY POSITION" AND THE POSTCOLONIAL POLITY, OR, SEXUAL DIFFERENCE IN THE FIELD OF KENYAN COLONIAL KNOWLEDGE

by Apollo Amoko

Kenya, once the glory and the hope of post-colonial Africa, is a country in sad decline. It is fractured and uneasy, ruled by a corrupt government and an intolerant president, and has only a divided and mealy-mouthed opposition as an alternative. In the darkness, there was one faint glimmer on the political horizon as Kenyans went to vote yesterday. That is Charity Ngilu, the first prominent woman, untainted by old-style politics, to emerge on the Kenyan scene. . . . *Daniel arap Moi, now 74, and his KANU party have led Kenya on a 20 year downhill run from a civilized and prosperous British Colony to yet another African basket case of corruption, decay and poverty.* (O'Dwyer 6, my emphasis)

Within months, [Charity] Ngilu, a vicar's daughter and mother of three, has come from nowhere to become one of the most serious contenders to challenge [President Daniel arap] Moi, the last of Africa's old-style leaders after the deaths of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko and Hastings Banda of Malawi. *Although there are 14 candidates running for president in the general election, Ngilu is widely regarded as the candidate with the greatest chance of toppling Moi's corrupt regime.* (Orr "Mama," my emphasis)

Twice in the last four years (first between 1995 and 1996, then, in 1997), Western media accounts "darkened" the Kenyan polity, depicting it as a site of postcolonial backwardness, bad governance, mass suffering, endemic corruption, ethnic chauvinism, rampant sexism and an atavistic capacity for mass violence. In both instances, these accounts incarnated the figure of a saviour for Kenya, a figure whose symbolic efficiency as saviour was directly proportional to the "darkening" of the Kenyan polity. Kenya's saviour between 1995 and 1996 was the famed scientist turned political activist, Richard Leakey, a white man (as press accounts obsessively referred to him); Kenya's saviour in 1997 was Charity Ngilu, a black woman (as press accounts obsessively referred to her) who unsuccessfully ran for the Kenyan presidency. The transition from Leakey to Ngilu—from white maleness to black femaleness—reinforced the image of Kenya as a polity desperately in need of salvation from self-destructive excess. What factors might account for this development?

Although the central focus of this paper will be on the discursive apotheosis of Charity Ngilu, I will also briefly discuss the case of Agnes Siyiankoi Risa, a woman who attempted late in 1997 to seek redress in criminal court against her common law husband, Moita ole Risa, for domestic abuse. Risa's case was coterminous with Ngilu's bid for the presidency and, at least

as far as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was concerned, represented a paradigmatic feminist moment in Kenya. In a sense, the structure of my essay imitates the structure of the reporting of two events in the West. Ngilu's candidacy provoked a veritable discursive explosion—as if to indicate that her bid for the Kenyan presidency constituted a radical reconfiguration in feminist terms of the Kenyan political order. In contrast, Risa's court case was largely ignored by most major Western media outlets with the notable exception of the BBC, which accorded the latter story nearly as much prominence as the Ngilu story. Risa's story is important despite the fact that almost no other major media outlet picked it up. In addition to contributing to a gendered darkening of the Kenyan landscape, this story ought to be conceived as the emergence of a "failed saviour," a saviour-image whose imaginary-ideal failed to achieve full symbolic efficiency (perhaps as a result of the co-presence of Ngilu's more dominant imaginary-ideal). The irony is that both Leakey and Ngilu were, as I discuss below, ultimately failed saviours.

The concerns that animate this paper are relatively straightforward and quite normative: Apropos of Africa, why do the contemporary discourses of authoritative Western media continue to be overdetermined by the hoary discourses of colonial encounter? Why do the highly differentiated national histories that constitute "Africa" continue to emerge as objects of Western knowledge in discursive formations overlaid by images of failure, "fallen-ness" and backwardness? Why do stereotypic discursive formations based on the "colonial library" continue to enjoy such efficacy in a putatively postcolonial world? What accounts for the enduring authority of such stereotypic forms of knowledge? In Foucauldian terms, what are the rules that govern the kind of talk that comes to be taken seriously apropos of Africa in the Western media imagination? What are the limits and forms of the sayable, the limits and forms of conversation? My working hypothesis is that, to borrow the words of V. Y. Mudimbe, "an idea of Africa" pervades discussions about the continent across a range of academic and popular discourses. According to Mudimbe, the idea of Africa "is a product of the West and was conceived and conveyed through conflicting systems of knowledge" (Mudimbe xi). Reading the idea of Africa as constitutive of a colonial library, Mudimbe argues: "It represents a body of knowledge constructed with the explicit purpose of faithfully translating and deciphering the African object. Indeed, it fulfilled a political project in which, supposedly, the object unveils its being, its secrets, and its potential to a master who could, finally, domesticate it. *Certainly, the depth as well as the ambition of the colonial library disseminates the concept of deviation as the best symbol of the idea of Africa*" (xii, my emphasis). I consider the documents generated by Western newspapers during the Ngilu affair to be a belated addition to the Kenyan colonial library—and to the idea of Africa more generally.

All the recent discourses of the saviour simultaneously portray postcolonial Kenya as part of a generalized African backwardness and as a unique case of a spectacular and sudden degeneration. Kenyan backwardness is discursively embodied in the figure of its president, Daniel arap Moi, who as Bernard Levin memorably contended in 1995 "is almost the picture of the stock savage, who marks differences by sending out groups of thugs (of which he has an ample supply) to beat up any remaining dissident." Levin's depiction of Moi draws much of its discursive power from the casual familiarity with which he parenthetically suggests that President Moi had an ample supply of thugs. What begins as a potentially justifiable account of one man's presidential incapacity turns, within the space of the one sentence, into an account of atavistic violence as a general condition among a significant proportion of Kenyan people. How else would one explain the "ample supply" of thugs at President Moi's disposal in Levin's account of the Kenyan polity?

The image of Kenya as a country that has descended into the general backwardness of other African countries under the postcolonial leadership of Moi is neatly captured in the quotation

from Thomas O'Dwyer of *The Jerusalem Post* with which I opened this essay. O'Dwyer contends: "Daniel arap Moi, now 74, and his KANU party have led Kenya on a 20 year downhill run from a civilized and prosperous British Colony to yet another African basket case of corruption, decay and poverty" (6). In sharply polemical terms, he goes on to assert that "Graduate Kenyans outside the corruption and favoritism loops return to live and labor where the uneducated have always lived—in shanty towns that would make South Africa's black townships look like Wasp suburbs" (6). The colonialist nostalgia and thinly veiled racism (under which conditions for all blacks in apartheid South Africa are favourably compared with conditions in Kenya) are sobering. It is instructive to note the casual familiarity with which the 55 odd countries that comprise the African continent—many of which countries are now formally democratic in terms intelligible to the West—are condensed into the singular turn of phrase, "yet another African basket case." For O'Dwyer, the new development to add to this sorry saga is that Kenya has finally lost its exceptional "civilized and prosperous" status (the legacy of British colonialism) and taken its "anointed" place among the backward nations of this world, nations whose backwardness is congenitally African. Such is the power of the idea of Africa, an idea that, as Mudimbe has suggested, posits the concept of deviation as the best symbol for Africa.

The gap between representations of Kenya's reported backwardness as atavistic and representations of that backwardness as the radically contingent product of one man's failure enables the articulation of the discourse of saviour. In 1995/6 the discourse revolved around the figure of Richard Leakey, a white man; in 1997 the discourse revolved around Charity Ngilu, a black woman. Leakey's elevation to "the missionary position" (as Kenya's saviour), represented, as I argued in "The Missionary Gene in the Kenyan Polity," a "re-enactment of the primal scene of colonial encounter that pits the heroic, long-suffering, 'white missionary' against the evil 'witchdoctor' in a pitched battle for the African soul" (233).<sup>1</sup> In that essay, I went on to argue that the installation of Leakey as Kenya's white saviour in the wake of the launching of the Safina Party in 1995 harked back to the 19th-century missionary discourses in East Africa around the figure of David Livingstone. The transition from Livingstone as saviour to Leakey as saviour was made plausible by the enduring power of white supremacist discourses in the postcolony.

Revising my previous essay, I want to insert the specificity of discourses of gender to my arguments concerning the instrumentality of race in the production of colonial stereotypes. What does it mean that the two latest occupants of the missionary position in Kenya are black women, the one, an exceptional opposition politician turned unlikely but necessarily "successful" presidential aspirant, the other, a lowly tribal housewife turned unlikely but necessarily "successful" feminist activist? Under the gaze of British and American media, Ngilu quite literally replaced Leakey as the saviour of Kenya from the excesses of the Moi regime. Under the singular gaze of the BBC, Agnes Risa emerged as a different kind of saviour: an uneducated tribal housewife who would single-handedly undermine a sexist polity.

While my first essay emphasized the manner in which the logic of the colonial stereotype was undergirded by an essential white *presence*, I will be suggesting here that, on account of sexual difference, colonial stereotypes do not require such a presence. White presences in the postcolony—such as Leakey and Livingstone—are radically contingent metonymic images, that serve not as *standard bearers*, but rather, as *stand-ins* or *place holders* for the non-existent White Saviour.<sup>2</sup> Through a logic of partial substitution or metonymic dispersal various subject positions (including two black women) can be made to take over the missionary position as belated stand-ins or place holders for a failed white presence.

Having outlined the ways in which this essay revises my previous one, it would perhaps be prudent to outline briefly the portions of that first essay that are retained. I am retaining the

theoretical edifice I drew from Bhabha with regard to the nature and structure of colonial stereotypes. This means that, as was the case with my previous essay, I am not concerned in this paper with the reality of the Kenyan polity. Nor will I be offering a catalogue of the inaccuracies and misrepresentations that enabled Western media to anoint Ngilu as Kenya's latest saviour. As Bhabha asserts:

To judge the stereotype image on the basis of a prior political normativity is to dismiss it, not to displace it, which is only possible by engaging with its *effectivity*; with the repertoire of power and resistance, dominance and dependence that constructs the colonial identification subject (both colonizer and colonized) . . . In order to understand the productivity of colonial power it is crucial to construct its regime of truth, not to subject its representation to normalizing judgements. (Bhabha 67)

In accordance with Bhabha's argument, my interest is not to provide a truthful account of what Ngilu's run of the presidency actually amounted to. I am interested, instead, in the "symbolic mask mandate" that enabled her to supplant Leakey as Kenya's saviour in the eyes of the Western press.

Slovaž Žižek argues that any symbolic mask mandate depends, for its efficiency, on the logic of fetishistic disavowal. Fetishistic disavowal refers to a double movement in the logic of representation. In the Ngilu affair, for example, to the extent that her image as saviour acquired an existence autonomous from and out of all proportion to the "real Charity Ngilu," that image became a classic fetish object. However, many of the same news accounts that hailed Ngilu as a saviour also called that depiction into question (I will demonstrate this conflicted process of knowledge production presently). Ngilu's image relied, therefore, on a simultaneous logic of disavowal. Žižek contends that a symbolic mask mandate always depends on a structure of fetishistic disavowal:

"I know very well that things are the way I see them [that this person is a corrupt weakling] but nevertheless I treat him respectfully since he wears the insignia of a judge, so that when he speaks, it is the Law itself which speaks through him." So, in a way, I effectively believe his words, not my eyes, i.e. I believe in that Another Space (the domain of pure symbolic authority) which matters more than the reality of its spokesman. (*Ticklish*, 313)

Both in the case of Leakey in 1995/6 and Ngilu in 1997, the symbolic mask mandate under whose guise they each came to monopolize the missionary position in Kenya depended on the logic of fetish disavowal: "We know that this man/woman poses no actual threat to the Moi regime, but in Another Space s/he very well may."

Three years after the apotheosis of Leakey, Ngilu dramatically took over the missionary position in Kenya. During the five-month period between Ngilu's declaration of her candidacy in July 1997 and her defeat in the presidential elections held in Kenya in December of 1997, there were in excess of thirty articles about her in major newspapers in America and Britain. During the same period, there were virtually no articles on Leakey in sharp contrast to the discursive explosion that greeted his entrance into the political scene in Kenya in 1995. Each of the articles on Ngilu was based, in a structure that mimicked but also revised Leakey's prior apotheosis, on an antithetical evaluation of Ngilu's gendered presidential pedigree against Moi's tribalised

presidential excess. Ngilu's ascendancy to the missionary position also depended on a discrediting of the rest of the political opposition in Kenya as ineffectual, corrupt and ethnic. (This structure also mimicked the logic of Leakey's earlier apotheosis.) In the words of one commentator, "unlike the other 14 candidates in the presidential race, Ngilu is untainted by any previous connection to Moi" (Deane 6A). These were exactly the same singular terms in which Leakey was talked about in 1995-1996.

In this particular instance of symbolic exchange between Leakey and Ngilu, sexual difference served as the vanishing mediator. In other words, far from representing a feminist intervention by an empowered woman in a sexist polity that Western media constructed it as, Ngilu's emergence as saviour represented a gendered normalization of colonial discourses about Kenya. In a field of knowledge saturated by racialized colonial stereotypes, sexual difference was discursively deployed to normalize rather than critique colonial knowledge and power. In her now classic essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri Spivak traces the manner in which, with respect to "suttee" or "widow-sacrifice," articulations of sexual difference historically justified colonial intervention in India by normalizing a discourse of "white men rescuing brown women from brown men."<sup>4</sup> To paraphrase Spivak, my "Leakey essay" revolved around a discourse of a white man rescuing a black nation from its fallen state. My "Ngilu essay," by contrast, revolves around a discourse of a black woman rescuing a black nation from its fallen state. My claim is that the same racist and sexist symbolic order authorizes the two formulations.

Western media accounts reported that Ngilu's presidential campaign in 1997 marked an important and irreversible first in the constitution of Kenya's politics: the first serious presidential bid by a woman in "a deeply patriarchal culture." As a woman, Ngilu was said to offer a fresh face in a polity that had been governed and destroyed by men. Notwithstanding the failure of her bid, the mere fact of her candidacy, independent of any specifically feminist political beliefs and goals, was said to represent a decisive repudiation of the fundamental presumptions of a notoriously sexist national culture.<sup>5</sup> As one commentator puts it, "win or lose, her campaign has forced Kenyans to think about their paternalistic and sexist prejudices" (Wrong 2). At the same time, however, Ngilu's gender was also mobilized to explain, sometimes ahead of time, her eventual electoral defeat. David Orr, to cite one example, begins one article by reporting that Ngilu had been one of only five women elected to the parliament in Kenya in 1992. "Despite this victory," he goes on to argue, "analysts believe that Ngilu's gender could prove more of an obstacle in national elections in a country where men, who often control their wives, still find it difficult to vote for a woman" ("Can This Woman?"). Relying on the authority of unnamed (presumably local) "analysts," Orr quickly establishes the notoriously sexist nature of the Kenyan polity: Kenyan men, we are told in casually familiar terms, control their wives and it would therefore be difficult for these women to vote for Ngilu. This claim is somewhat contradicted by the fact that, as Orr reminds us, Ngilu was elected to parliament from rural Kenya. Orr does not so much establish Kenya's sexism in the course of a careful journalistic inquiry. He presents his observations more in the spirit of facts already known, already in place.

In much the same way that Leakey's race was said in 1995 to present a certain neutrality in the context of a polity hopelessly fractured by ethnic rivalry, Ngilu's gender was said in 1997 to present a certain neutrality in a similarly darkened Kenyan polity. Writing in the December 27, 1997 edition of *The Financial Times*, Michela Wrong asserts that Ngilu represented an altogether different danger for President Moi than was posed by all the other opposition candidates. She contends: "Associated more with Kenya's reform movement than a particular ethnic group, the former secretary-turned-professional baker and bucket maker hopes to cut across the tribal appeals of Moi's other chief opponents—such as Mwai Kibaki, a former

government minister, and Raila Odinga, one of Kenya's career opposition leaders [Kibaki and Odinga were two of the leading contenders for the presidency from the political opposition]" (Wrong 2). The transitions in Ngilu's career development—from secretary to professional baker to successful entrepreneur—are instrumental to her presidential pedigree in evolutionary terms. No other opposition is individuated and legitimated in this way. It bears emphasizing that Leakey's presidential pedigree had also been predicated on his professional credentials as a scientist of world renown.

Ngilu's symbolic mask mandate depended, it would seem, as much on an implicit discrediting of the other candidates in the political opposition as it did on an explicit discrediting of President Moi. Wrong casually dismisses both Kibaki and Odinga as ethnic candidates. Kibaki, she implies, is additionally tainted by his tenure as a cabinet minister in the Moi regime, Odinga by his history as a "career politician." The desire to discredit Ngilu's allies in the political opposition displays the functioning of fetishistic disavowal at its purest. In the paragraph immediately preceding the one in which she reports on Ngilu's purported transethnic appeal, Wrong pointedly asserts that Ngilu's appeal was ultimately ethnic: "In the last elections, Eastern Province was one of the areas where Moi pulled off that feat [i.e. defeated a divided opposition]. But the Kamba who voted for him in 1992, feel that they were ignored in the ministerial distribution that followed. *Most now plan to vote for Mrs. Ngilu, a fellow Kamba*" (Wrong 2, my emphasis). The contention that Ngilu is associated more with the political reform movement than with a particular ethnic group flatly contradicts the contention that Ngilu is strongly supported by her fellow Kambas. Yet in Wrong's article the two irreconcilable assertions are separated by a one-sentence paragraph. In terms of its own internal logic, Wrong's article can only make sense within a logic of fetishistic disavowal: "I know that Ngilu's appeal is implicated by ethnicity, but in Another Space—the missionary position I want her to occupy—she is still the candidate that, on account of her gender, is beyond ethnicity."

Ngilu is complicit in the gendered process of fetishistic disavowal in evidence in Wrong's article. The article includes the following account of an interview with Ngilu: "At first, when I declared my candidacy, people had mixed feelings. Can a woman do it? Is it possible? Ngilu said after a dusty day of campaigning along the Indian Ocean coast this month. 'Now I think they're looking at me as a unity factor [sic]. *They say [Mwai] Kibaki is Kikuyu and Raila [Odinga] is Luo. But Ngilu is a woman.*" (Wrong 2, my emphasis).<sup>7</sup> Ngilu reportedly identifies her allies in the political opposition as "ethnic subjects" at precisely the same moment she identifies herself as a subject who transcends ethnicity on account of her gender. In exactly the same way that Leakey's whiteness transformed him into a self-sacrificing man beyond ethnicity (a symbolic prerequisite for his status as saviour), Ngilu's gender transforms her into a substitute saviour. As Hugh Dellios of *The Chicago Tribune* reports, "Ngilu is staging a pioneering campaign to be the first female president in sub-Saharan Africa, and Kenya's chauvinism is not her main challenge. Instead, her target is [the] poisonous divisions among the country's Kikuyu, Luo and other tribes, and she and her supporters think that her gender may be the antidote" (C6). In "The Missionary Gene and the Postcolonial Polity," I demonstrated how in 1995-96 Leakey's race was re-presented as the antidote for Kenya's poisonous tribalism. How might we account for Leakey's putative failure, a failure in whose wake Ngilu's gender can be said to have emerged as Kenya's (latest) anti-tribalism antidote? (I will return to this question towards the conclusion of my essay). In several instances, the same reporters who had previously anointed Leakey as the saviour effect the substitution from Leakey to Ngilu, without comment, apparently unselfconsciously. My central argument is that the substitution of gender for race does not undermine the symbolic order of the colonial library.

Dellios' claims are more inflated and inflamed than may have been apparent from the excerpt cited above. Her rhetoric is so inflamed that she literally enacts the ways in which

articulations of sexual difference can justify the symbolic reassertion of the discourses of colonialism. She writes: "If power is a male domain in Kenya, so is the corruption that has impoverished this once-prosperous country and many believe that a woman with a fresh face and an untainted past may have the best chance of challenging the heavily favored President Daniel arap Moi in Kenya's general elections Monday" (C6). Gender is explicitly mobilized to perform precisely the same function that race performed in previous evaluations of Leakey, that is, to create a *people whose fundamental identity is ethnic fracture* against whose backdrop a putatively non-ethnic saviour can emerge.

Ngilu participates in her missionary detribalization and Kenya's pathological tribalization: "Kenyans are looking for someone who is not going to State House [the president's office residence] to 'eat', as they say, for them and their tribe . . . *I have no tribe. I am a Kenyan*" she is quoted as saying at one point (Wrong 2, my emphasis), in spite of the fact that, as numerous news accounts note, she drew most of her popular support from her "native Eastern province." It is instructive to emphasize the manner in which "negative images" of Kenya do not shift in the wake of the substitution from a white male saviour to a black female saviour. Other than the fact that Leakey's messianic attributes were based on a certain racial superiority, while Ngilu's were based, paradoxically, on a certain gender superiority, the discursive register remains fundamentally unaltered.

The manner in which the "deeply patriarchal" nature of the Kenyan polity is established, the manner, that is to say, in which this African polity discloses its sexist secrets, is worth exploring. As I began to indicate a short while ago, this fact is not so much established under any rules of journalistic evidence, but rather, it is assumed ahead of time and forcefully asserted. It consists of a form of colonial/racial knowledge that, in Bhabha's terms, is already known, already firmly in place, but that nevertheless must be anxiously, even demonically, repeated. Writing in *The Times of London* David Orr provides the following view of Ngilu's candidacy:

Today Kenyans go to the polls to elect a Government and a president. It will certainly be the dawn of a new era if they vote in Charity Ngilu, the country's first female presidential candidate. This is no Ireland or Norway. The fiercely patriarchal world of Kenyan politics is dominated by men and particularly by President Moi, who after 19 years of executive power, is seeking a fifth term in office. ("Can This Woman?")

In the casual turn of phrase, "this is no Ireland or Norway," sexism appears to have become quite literally a designation of racial otherness and of African deviation. That phrase immediately precedes and enables the declaration, "The fiercely patriarchal world of Kenyan politics . . ." Orr is, of course, using the example of two "familiar" nations with women heads of state. Yet, the inference seems irresistible that these two Western nations are also being mobilized in racialized and evolutionary terms, as implausible as it might seem, as examples of nations beyond sexism or, at any rate, beyond the fiercely patriarchal level that Kenya remains firmly implanted within. This mobilization represents a powerful example of fetishistic disavowal. Underpinning Orr's privileged and "knowing" characterization of the world of Kenyan politics as "fiercely patriarchal" is the presumption that sexism consists of a set of discrete practices or at least a set of codes that can be cross-culturally established and evaluated.<sup>5</sup>

Orr offers no evidence to support the claim implicit in the formulation of his argument that there was reason to believe that Ngilu's election to the presidency represented a serious prospect at any stage.<sup>6</sup> Nor does he marshal any evidence in support of his claim that Kenya is a fiercely patriarchal culture; rather, he goes on to assert in casual but intimately familiar terms that, "It is women—whose traditional roles are housekeeping, planting and childrearing—who

often hold the most conservative views. And even if they secretly admire the pluck of Mrs. Ngilu, when it comes to polling day they will usually vote the way they are told by their husbands" (Orr, "Can This Woman?"). (Orr repeats the assertion that Kenyan wives do what they are told by their husbands twice in the same article.) This rhetoric, along with Orr's claim (cited above) that Kenyan men control their wives, condenses—and conceals—a range of quite startling "revelations." It is unclear on what basis Orr feels qualified to make the extraordinary assertion that the women in Kenya, whom he stereotypically characterizes as conservative, may secretly admire "the pluck of Mrs. Ngilu" or his even more extraordinary claim to have somehow decoded the actual voting patterns of Kenyan women their secret admiration notwithstanding. He simply seems to know that Kenyan women secretly admire Ngilu but still vote as they are told by their husbands contrary to their own secret desires. I am pointing to the conceptual and actual incoherences at the heart of Orr's reasoning in order to emphasize the ways in which, as Bhabha suggests, the discourse of colonialism produces an effect of truth in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed (66).

Orr's discourse is by no means unique. His assertions concerning Kenya's deeply patriarchal polity and Ngilu's messianic exceptionalism are repeated, for example, by James McKinney, Jr., of *The New York Times*, Cathy Jenkins of the BBC, "Michela Wrong of *The Financial Times* and Ann N. Simmons of *The Los Angeles Times*. Reading these accounts in quick succession, one gets the uncanny feeling that one is reading the same article (with minor modifications) over and over again. Perhaps it is instructive to examine Wrong's article (cited above) in terms of the evolutionary discourse of liberal racism that I have traced in Orr's invocation of Ireland's and Norway's ostensible sexual progressivism in contradistinction to Kenya's fierce patriarchal culture. After repeatedly asserting, as we have seen, that Ngilu was the one presidential candidate able to transcend the ethnic and corrupt nature of masculinist Kenyan politics, Wrong is compelled to confront the fact that Ngilu was unlikely to win the election. It is a challenge she seems unwilling to confront. In a construction implicated in a logic of fetishistic disavowal, Wrong writes: "Some pundits query whether the Kenyan press is guilty of hyping up what may end up as a purely urban phenomenon. But she also enjoys success with rural audiences, despite the fact that her sex is regarded as a big weakness in a male dominated society" (Wrong 2). This construction seeks, in apparent anticipation of Ngilu's individual failure, to sustain the expectations of her symbolic mask mandate. Wrong tries to shift responsibility for "the hyping of Ngilu" from the Western press to the Kenyan press at precisely the moment when the apotheosis of Ngilu in the West was intensifying with a vengeance in the run-up to the presidential elections in Kenya in December 1997. Wrong refuses to give up on Ngilu's symbolic mask mandate. She argues that Ngilu's popularity transcends the rural-urban divide in Kenya. To confine Ngilu's popularity to urban Kenya would have been racist in its evolutionary thinking; Wrong resists this discourse. Nevertheless, an implicit evolutionary racism is unmistakable elsewhere in Wrong's piece: "Opinion polls show that she gets a particularly warm reception among graduates" (2). The implication is obvious: those who are not educated, who have not progressed on an evolutionary scale, are more inclined to oppose Ngilu. A similar logic was in play in the apotheosis of Richard Leakey, when, as I pointed out, educated Kenyans were said to support Leakey much more than "women and the uneducated"—a conjunction whose sexism is, I think, self-evident.<sup>11</sup>

Ngilu's symbolic mask mandate provides an instructive contrast to Agnes Risa's failed symbolization. A court case pitting a tribal woman and her common law husband, late in 1997, afforded the BBC, under the guise of sexual difference, the opportunity to darken the Kenyan landscape through a racialized discourse. Risa's case was reported (almost exclusively by the BBC)<sup>12</sup> to have constituted an important and irreversible first. It was said to represent one of the very few times in Kenya that a rural Maasai woman had filed such charges (regardless of its

ultimate success or failure). Much like Ngilu's unsuccessful presidential bid, the mere fact of this court case was, through an astounding leap of logic, said to represent, *independent of its specific conduct or outcome*, a decisive repudiation of the fundamental presumptions of a profoundly sexist polity. Although wife beating is a criminal offense under Kenyan law, there is a "widespread tolerance" of the practice—or so it was claimed in BBC accounts—which is an integral part of "tribal culture." As a BBC news bulletin put it: "Wife beating in Kenya is widely endured, but is also still widely accepted as a part of *tribal customs*" (Jenkins, "Wife Beating," my emphasis).<sup>3</sup>

By claiming that domestic violence is a part of "tribal culture," the BBC effectively transforms violence against women from a problem that, in varying ways, confronts all societies into the designation of racial and ethnic (or, put more precisely, racial because ethnic) otherness. In one bulletin Cathy Jenkins reports, "Wife beating in Kenya is still accepted by many women because tradition teaches them to expect to be beaten. In some tribes it is taught that a husband does not love his wife unless he hits her." One is astonished at the inordinate rhetorical weight that is brought to bear on the words "customary/customs," "tribe/tribal," and "training/teaching" in Jenkins' account. These terms are mobilized to inaugurate nothing less than a people, an ethnic people, a violently sexist people, an implicitly racialized people, a people whose ethnic designation and racial otherness is violent sexism. Such is the power of the idea of Africa.

I would like to underscore a constitutive ambivalence in the iconography that enables these two women to occupy the missionary position. One woman—Alice Risa—is singled out, paradoxically enough, on account of her extra-ordinariness; she is an illiterate, rural housewife from a deeply conservative tribal community. As we are reminded incessantly, this extra-ordinariness is the sole basis of her unlikely heroization, her failed saviour-status. By ambivalent contrast, the other woman—Charity Ngilu—is singled out on account of her extraordinariness: an educated, self-made professional, the daughter of a vicar.

Ngilu literally takes the place of Richard Leakey in the binary opposition that I traced in my earlier essay between the white man as saviour and the black man as savage. It bears reminding of the terms in which the opposition between Moi and Leakey was mobilized in 1995-1996:

President Daniel arap Moi [of Kenya], indeed, is almost the picture of the stock savage, who marks differences by sending groups of thugs (of which he has an ample supply) to beat up any remaining dissident. Very recently, that great man Richard Leakey, who not only tells the truth about Moi, but [also] stands against him with whatever scrap of real elections that remain, was, with his team, ferociously attacked by Moi's brutes with an iron bar, heedless of the fact that Dr. Leakey is confined to a wheelchair having lost both his legs. (Levin)

Why, having lost both his kidneys . . . and then both his legs below the knee in a plane crash, doesn't Dr. Leakey pull up a safari chair and enjoy the view of his eyrie overlooking the Rift Valley? Having been the much admired head of Kenya Wildlife Services and credited with saving Kenya's elephants from extinction, he could make a handsome living, and enjoy celebrity, on the American lecture circuit. . . . "Perhaps it is the missionary gene that brought my family here three generations ago. I do not think that sitting back and being quiet is in my blood" he says. (Kiley)

Some of the parallels between this discourse comparing Leakey and Moi, on the one hand, and Ngilu and Moi on the other are uncanny. In a passage that echoes Leakey's "missionary statement" (above), Ann Simmons of *The Los Angeles Times* writes: "Many here question why Charity Kaluki Mwendwa Ngilu would want to endure the hassles of running for the presidency in this East African Nation. In her short political career, she has been beaten by riot police and teargassed by cops breaking up opposition rallies, and her convoy stoned while she campaigned . . . 'It is worthwhile because somebody has to do it' she replies" (Simmons A6). In much the same way that Leakey was represented as, quite literally, sacrificing life and limb to save Kenya (its elephants and its people), the apotheosis of this extraordinary black woman appears to require a symbolics of blood. (Agnes Risa, the extraordinary would be saviour, is similarly marked by violence writ large by men on her tribalized body.)

A pivotal point in my "Leakey essay" turned on my analysis of the representation in the Western media of scenes of violence in the postcolony. I traced the manner in which acts of political violence directed at Safina officers in 1995 were discursively translated into acts of violence by blacks against whites. I averred that contemporary depiction of black on white violence in Kenya harked back to the Mau Mau imaginary and contributed to the image of Kenya as a land of atavistic violence. The image of black on white violence also directly contributed to the apotheosis of Leakey, to his symbolic saviour mandate, as the ethical subject who would sacrifice limb and life for Kenya. Ngilu's belated apotheosis depends, I suggest, on a similar ethics of violence. As numerous press accounts reported (including Ann Simmons's article cited above), Ngilu was the victim of several acts of violence.

A curious gender role reversal can be observed in the depiction of Ngilu's violent victimization in contrast to Leakey's. While Leakey, the white man, was invariably represented as a "cripple," helpless in the face of the violence of "Moi's thugs," Ngilu, the black woman, enhances her belated saviour pedigree by reportedly fighting back. In Louis Turnbridge's account, Ngilu's "five years in the notoriously macho world of Kenyan politics have earned her a reputation as a match for any man. She slapped a government officer trying to disrupt her meetings, forced her way through a line of baton-wielding policemen, and hitched up her skirt to run from tear gas during pro-democracy protest last summer" ("Housewives" 12). Along the same lines, David Orr writes, "Mrs. Ngilu is as tough as she can be. When a government official in charge of voter registration was found fiddling the forms, she marched up to him and grabbed him by the lapels. Such assertiveness is needed in Kenyan politics. On her left arm, she bears the scars of a recent attack" ("Can This Woman?").

Ngilu's image as warrior-saviour is perhaps captured at its most grandiloquent in an account provided by James Roberts of *The Independent*:

No one knows yet whether Charity Ngilu has what it takes to be President of Kenya, but she possesses one important attribute. In matters of street fighting, she can give as good as she gets.

Her national profile rocketed a few months ago when a picture of her hitching up her skirt to flee from the tear gas at a demonstration was slapped across the front pages. A story at the time of the recent voter registration exercise headlined, "Ngilu Beats up Official", also did nothing to diminish the vigorous image she is developing.

On that occasion Mrs. Ngilu felt that she had evidence that the officer in charge of registering the people in her constituency was tampering with the forms so that her supporters would be disqualified. Accompanied by 20 young men she marched to confront Mwema Malonza, a supporter of the ruling Kanu party, and grabbed him by the lapels as she issued threats. Only the arrival of plainclothes security officers prevented more humiliation for Mr. Malonza. (Roberts 11)

The contrast between the respective symbolic mask mandates adorned by Leakey and Ngilu could not be sharper. In a startling instance of stereotypic gender reversal, the white man suffers violent attack helplessly, while the black woman fights back admirably; indeed, she instigates the violence (or so it is claimed) in some instances. What the two images retain in common is a consistent decontextualized “darkening” of the Kenyan landscape.

Continuing his antithetical evaluation of Moi and Ngilu, David Orr stated, “Mrs. Ngilu speaks with a fluency and authority rare among Kenyan politicians. Compared to the septuagenarian President, she is eloquency itself. Undoubtedly, she learnt her oratorical skills from her father, a minister at the Ebenezer Gospel Church” (“Can This Woman?”). The fact that Ngilu’s father is a vicar, in addition to her entrepreneurial accomplishments, is picked in virtually all feature-length articles on her. Indeed one article is even entitled “Vicar’s Daughter Challenges Veteran Moi in Kenya” (Turnbridge A11).<sup>14</sup> It is as if we are returning, in the manner of a return of the repressed, to the encounter pitting David Livingstone, the legendary Christian missionary of the 19th century, against the African witchdoctor. And thus Ngilu’s missionary pedigree, much like Leakey’s before her, emerges in the name and with the authority of the Christian (missionary) Father. Earlier in the same piece Orr writes, “It is unlikely that Mrs. Ngilu, 45, will become president. But that is not the point. This businessman woman and mother of three has provided the only frisson of excitement in an otherwise predictable campaign. She has made it possible to believe, if only briefly, that the last of Africa’s old style autocrats could be toppled” (Orr, “Can This Woman?”). With these lines—and with the many other lines by many other journalists that I could alternately have cited—the substitution of Ngilu, the black woman, for Leakey, the white man is discursively complete. It has been the burden of this paper to argue that this belated gendered figuration of the saviour does not undermine, but rather, serves to reinforce the discourses of colonial stereotypic formation.

What was Leakey’s response to his symbolic demotion from the missionary position? He became, or so it is reported, an enthusiastic supporter of Ngilu (the new bearer of his erstwhile symbolic mask mandate). One report stated: “The odds are against Moi’s challengers, and critics say that Ngilu’s campaign is as amateurish as it is fresh. But she has won the backing of many young, progressive Kenyans, not to mention the political reformer Richard Leakey” (Turnbridge, “Vicar’s”). In the same vein, Stephen Buckley wrote, “Leakey has become an enthusiastic supporter of Ngilu, whom many Kenyans had not heard of until a few months ago. The former entrepreneur became a Member of Parliament in 1992, but became a presidential candidate only in June” (A25). What is to be made of these admittedly brief and indirect reports of Leakey’s enthusiastic support of Ngilu’s symbolization as saviour in the wake of his own symbolic inefficiency? Two interpretations seem possible. On the face of things, the fact that the media would find and record Leakey’s endorsement of Ngilu, however briefly and indirectly, suggests the enduring instrumentality of race in the processes of postcolonial symbolization. Ngilu, under this interpretation, needs Leakey’s legitimating white presence even if that presence serves the function of a vanishing mediator.

There is quite considerable merit in the interpretation offered above. Nevertheless, there seems to be something more profound afoot. Leakey’s reported endorsement of Ngilu may well constitute an empty gesture at its purest, a gesture, that is, without symbolic significance. What is an empty gesture? Žižek presents the following example:

There is a tension in Slovenia between the Prime Minister and the president of the republic. The latter, although the constitution reduces his role to protocolary functions, wants to play a larger role with effective power. So, when recently it became clear that the Slovene representative at the meeting of European leaders organized by Jacques

Chirac would be the prime minister, journalists were told that the president wrote to Chirac a letter explaining to him that since, unfortunately, he is unable to visit the summit, the prime minister will take his place there . . . This is the empty gesture at its purest: although it was clear that the prime minister should go to France, the president acted as if the fact that the prime minister would go was not "natural," but resulted from his—the president's—decision not to go and, instead, let the prime minister take his place. This is the way to turn defeat into victory, i.e. to transform into the results of one's free decision (to withdraw) that fact that, in any case, one cannot go. ("Demise" 15, fn10)

Without suggesting an empirical equivalence, I suggest that Leakey's endorsement of Ngilu and the anxiety of the western media to report that endorsement, comprises an empty gesture in the terms outlined by Žižek. Leakey's symbolic mask mandate has long lost its efficiency; he was effectively in no position to pass on the missionary position. Despite his belated endorsement of Ngilu, that position was never really his to receive or pass on in the first instance. One is reminded here of Foucault's assertion at the conclusion of "Politics and the Study of Discourse": "Discourse is not life. Its time is not yours. In it you will not reconcile yourself with death" (72). Foucault continues: "In every sentence you pronounce . . . in every sentence there reigns the nameless law, the blank indifference: 'What matter who is speaking'; someone has said what matter who is speaking?" (72). It remains only to ponder to whom Ngilu will cede, in her own empty gesture, her symbolic mask mandate at the time of the next Western discursive construction of a saviour apropos of the Kenyan polity.<sup>15</sup>

#### NOTES

Acknowledgements: To Simon Gikandi, Lemuel Johnson, David Thomas, and Slavoj Žižek. To David Cohen, Nancy Hunt, Cyrus Khumalo, Moses Oehonu and all the other members of the Africa Workshop at the University of Michigan. To the Institute for Research on Women and Gender at the University of Michigan. To Belinda Kong.

1. See Michel Foucault's "Politics and the Study of Discourse." With regard to the limits and forms of the sayable, Foucault writes, "What is it possible to speak of? What is the constituted domain of discourse? What kind of discursivity is assigned to this or that domain (what is allocated as a matter for narrative treatment; for descriptive science, for literary formulation)" (59-60)? With respect to the limits and forms of conversation, Foucault writes, "What utterances are destined to disappear without a trace? Which are destined, on the other hand, to enter into human memory through ritual recitation, pedagogy, amusement, festival and publicity? Which are marked down as reusable, and to what ends? Which utterances are put into circulation, and among what groups? Which are repressed or censored?" (60). I attempt to bring all these questions to bear in my analysis of the ways in which Africa emerges as a fixed object of knowledge in the Western media imagination.
2. As will emerge in what follows, the current essay is both a sequel to and a revision of "The Missionary Gene."
3. I am relying here on the distinction between "metaphoric essence/presence" and "metonymic contingency" developed by Lee Edelman in the context of queer theory. For Edelman, the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is crystallized in the historical distinction between sodomitical discourses, on the one hand, and the rise of the discourse of the homosexual in the 19th century, on the other. While sodomy referred to a series of contingent practices to which everyone was susceptible and which did not then define one's interior self essentially, homosexuality emerged as phobic discourse predicated on one's interior beingness. In Michel Foucault's terms (Edelman draws this distinction from Foucault), "As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject of them. The nineteenth century

homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form and a morphology, with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology. Nothing that went in his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality. It was everywhere present in him: at the root of all his actions because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle; written inmodestly on his face and body because it was a secret that always gave itself a way. It was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature" (*The History of Sexuality* [43]). According to Edelman, while sodomy was based on a discourse of metonymic dispersal, the homosexual was based on metaphorical presence. See Lee Edelman's "Homographesis." My "Leakey essay" conceived Leakey in terms of a metaphoric white presence. This revision conceives him as a site of metonymic saviour dispersal whose whiteness is radically contingent rather than essentially constitutive.

4. See Gayatri Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?"
5. In an interview partly reproduced in Orr's article, Ngilu describes herself in terms that, from the standpoint of standard Western feminism, would be considered reactionary and patriarchal. She is quoted as saying, "I consider cooking an important function for every wife. . . . As long as I'm home, I make sure I'm involved in the preparation of meals and serving my family, particularly my husband, and guests. Further, I love preparing and choosing what clothes my husband will wear for the day" (Orr, "Can This Woman?"). Orr faces an apparently insurmountable difficulty here: the woman he would anoint as Kenya's feminist saviour describes herself in precisely the same conservative (his characterization) manner as other Kenyan women who he says are controlled by their sexist husbands. He tries to overcome this difficulty in two ways: He first suggests that Ngilu's self-description was strategic rather than biographical; she was wary of seeming too emancipated even though she really is. Next, he suggests that Ngilu is as tough as she has to be. When recently provoked, she had physically confronted a government official. Orr is at pains to point out that her statements to the contrary notwithstanding, Ngilu is not a docile conservative woman, but rather a radical feminist (in disguise). Orr displays, in this instance, a perfect example of the functioning of fetishitic disavowal.
6. For a discussion of colonial stereotypes as the elaboration of facts already known, already in place, see Bhabha's "The Other Question" (66).
7. In a formulation that displays the ambivalence of colonial discourse at its most extreme, Wrong's article describes Ngilu as the latest in a succession of heroic Kenyan women. Wrong writes, "Ngilu . . . is carrying a torch for a line of politically active yet little acknowledged women who have helped shape Kenya's history. Activists such as Mary Nyanjiru and Me Katilili fought for independence from British colonialism, and women groups say that Kenyan women even served in the Mau Mau rebellion in the 1950." The intent of this historical account, quite clearly, is to heroize the political contributions and accomplishments of Kenyan women in "a deeply patriarchal culture." What the account also achieves, however, is the (perhaps inadvertent) heroization of anticolonial struggle in general. This account, therefore, contradicts the narrative of Kenya's decline from a civilized and prosperous British colony that I examined at the beginning of this essay.
8. Such cross-cultural evaluations depend, as well, on a structure of fetishitic disavowal. None of the many accounts that repeatedly remind readers that Kenya has never had a woman president and that the Kenyan parliament had only five women (out of a total of one hundred and eighty-eight members) stop to consider the fact that these conditions are not dissimilar to conditions in several Western countries. None of the American journalists, for example, considers the fact that the number of women in the United States Congress is not proportionately higher than the number of women in the Kenyan parliament, or the fact that America has never had a woman president. In other words, the observable set of facts on whose account the world of Kenyan politics is declared "fiercely patriarchal" exist elsewhere without inviting that designation.
9. There was some disagreement regarding the possibility of Ngilu actually winning the presidential elections. Most reports in the West insisted that there was "widespread agreement" that Ngilu represented the biggest threat to the Moi regime. Some reports, however, acknowledged that Ngilu was unlikely to win but went on to suggest that the fact of her imminent defeat at the polls was either beside the point or the ultimate proof of Kenya's crudely sexist culture. Other accounts suggested that Ngilu's defeat would be the inevitable result of electoral fraud. Writing in *The Manchester Guardian*, Lucy Hannan (to cite one example) contended, "Charity Ngilu believes that she has a good chance of being elected Africa's first woman president. Most Kenyans disagree, not because they will not vote for her, but because they're convinced that

President Daniel Arap Moi will, by hook or by crook, extend his 19 year rule by another five years" (B5). Yet other accounts claimed that, although Ngilu was unlikely to win outright, she was the only opposition candidate capable of defeating President Moi, if, somehow, she could force a second round of voting. These last accounts drew their power from the authority of statistical discourses: an opinion poll conducted by the United States Agency for International Development backs up their claims. (See, for example, Stephen Buckley's "Strong Contender Emerges to Challenge Kenya Moi" [A25]). For an analysis of the ways in which the media draws on the authority of statistical discourses in order to prove what is already known, see my "The Missionary Gene in the Postcolonial Polity" (233-35).

10. In a "Newshour" bulletin in December 1997, the World Service of the BBC carried an extensive feature on Ngilu's candidacy. Due to copyright law I was unable to obtain a copy of the full transcript of this bulletin and cannot therefore include it in my analysis. The news summaries that I use from the BBC were abbreviated versions available at the corporation's official website.
11. The article in question three years ago was David Orr's and Ochieng Sino's "Can a White Man Lead Kenya?" It is significant that, twice in three years, while writing for two different newspapers, Orr, apparently un-selfconsciously, uses virtually the same formulation when anointing Kenya's saviour. In 1995, in reference to Leakey, he posed the rhetorical question (answered resolutely in the affirmative in the body of the article), "can a white man lead Kenya?" In 1997, in reference to Ngilu, he posed the rhetorical question (also answered resolutely in the affirmative in the body of the article), "can this woman bring a new beginning to Kenya?" This repetition underscores the point that I have been at pains to make throughout the essay, that Ngilu took over the missionary position quite literally in place of Leakey.
12. My research found only one article on the Risa story in major British and American newspapers. See "Maasai Wife Takes Man To Court For Beating Her." Since I am considering this story only briefly I will not be examining this article in detail. Broadly speaking, this article is similar to the BBC bulletins I will be examining below even though its rhetoric is, admittedly, less inflamed. I choose to work with the BBC bulletin despite its limitations in recognition of the organization's superior symbolic capital.
13. Jenkins goes on to say, "Few cases come before the court because the police dismiss incidents of wife-beating as domestic issues." The BBC coverage of this story was much more extensive than the summary version I was able to obtain.
14. Hugh Dellios provides perhaps the most eloquent example of the deification of Ngilu, an account that is virtually reproduced by all the other reports. Dellios writes, "She is helped by her own profile, for Mrs. Ngilu is something of a Kenyan yuppie. Smartly dressed and articulate, she took courses in management, ran a bakery and restaurant, before setting up a successful electrical fittings business" (Dellios C6).
15. Shortly after completing this meditative conclusion, an unexpected development took place "on the ground" in Kenya. In an abrupt move, President Daniel Arap Moi appointed Richard Leakey the head of the Kenyan civil service provoking a somewhat muted recononization of Leakey as saviour by the Western press in July 1999. This development confirms, albeit in an unexpected way, my suspicions about the infinite substitutability of the missionary position in Kenya. I have decided not to change my conclusion to account for this "late breaking" development, but rather, to let it stand in its original form and assume a certain "prophetic quality" after the fact (dare I say in the manner of all prophesy?).

#### WORKS CITED

- Amoko, Apollo. "The Missionary Gene in the Kenyan Polity: Representations of Contemporary Kenya in the British Media." *Callaloo* 22.1 (Winter 1999): 223-39.
- Bhabha, Homi. "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Buckley, Stephen. "Strong Contender Emerges to Challenge Kenya Moi; Poll Suggests Ouster Charity Ngilu will Defeat Longtime President in a Run-off." *The Washington Post* (November 30, 1997).
- Deane, Daneila. "'Mama' Stirs up Kenya's Elections." *USA Today* (December 26, 1998).
- Dellios, Hugh. "Kenya Candidate Runs Against Tradition; Woman's Push for Presidency Defies Patriarchal System." *The Chicago Tribune* (December 28, 1997).

- Edelman, Lee. "Homographesis." *Homographesis: Essays on Gay Literary and Cultural Theory*. New York and London: Routledge, 1994. 3-23.
- Foucault, Michel. "Politics and the Study of Discourse." *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991. 53-72.
- . *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Hannan, Lucy. "Woman Battles Powerful Incumbent and Corruption in a Bid to Lead." *The Manchester Guardian*. Rpt. *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (December 28, 1997).
- Jenkins, Cathy. "Despatches: Africa." *BBC News* (November 10, 1997).
- . "Wife-beating Trial Opens in Kenya." *BBC News* (February 11, 1998).
- Kiley, Sam. "Corruption and Poverty Killing Thousands of Species." *The Times* (22 January, 1996).
- Levin, Bernard. "Darkness and Devils." *The Times* (September 8, 1995).
- "Maasai Wife Takes Man To Court For Beating Her; She Breaks a Tradition of Suffering in Silence." *The St. Louis Dispatch* (November 2, 1997).
- Mudinbe, V.Y. *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- O'Dwyer, Thomas. "Charity Fights at Home." *The Jerusalem Post* (December 30, 1997).
- Orr, David. "Can This Woman?" *The Times of London*. (December 29, 1997).
- . "Mama Takes on Kenya's Moi." *The Sunday Times* (December 28, 1997).
- , and Ochieng Sino. "Can a White Man Lead Kenya?" *The Independent* (September 22, 1995).
- Roberts, James. "Charity Takes To the Streets in Kenya Poll; Undeterred by Violence, A Feisty Anti-corruption Mother of Three is A Serious Threat to President Daniel arap Moi." *The Independent* (August 31, 1997).
- Simmons, Ann. "Female Candidates vie for Kenya's Presidency; They are Deemed Long Shot Contenders But Their Entry Into the Race is Seen as a Victory For Women." *The Los Angeles Times* (December 25, 1998).
- Spivak, Gayatri. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*. Ed. Patricia Williams and Linda Chrisman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. 66-111.
- Turnbridge, Louise. "Vicar's Daughter Challenges Veteran Moi." *The Daily Telegraph*. Rpt. *The Montreal Gazette* (December 8, 1997).
- . "Housewives' Choice Sets Out to Topple Moi." *The Daily Telegraph* (December 8, 1997).
- Wrong, Michela. "Moi Faces Challenge From Outsider." *The Financial Times* (December 27, 1997).
- Zizëk, Slavoj. "The Demise of Symbolic Efficiency." Unpublished manuscript.
- . *The Ticklish Subject: the Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. London and New York: Verso, 1999.



0161-2492(200102)24.1