



**PRODUCING EXILE:
DIASPORIC VISION IN ADICHIE'S
HALF OF A YELLOW SUN**

Susan Strehle

"For surely it is one of the unhappiest characteristics of the age to have produced more refugees, migrants, displaced persons, and exiles than ever before in history . . ."

—Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*

Diaspora involves both burdens and gifts. Those who suffer exile have experienced the catastrophic loss of homeland; displaced by traumatic violence from homes they will not recover, they may never experience a sense of belonging to a home again. At the same time, émigrés arrive in a space liberated from nationalism, with its damaging assumptions of homogeneity and unity, and their new, defamiliarized place makes possible a transgressive and resistant politics and sociality. The diasporic subject inhabits two locations and takes on internal divisions and doublings. Invoking W. E. B. Du Bois, R. Radhakrishnan identifies in diasporic subjects a version of double-consciousness, brought from past to present location: "If the diasporic self is forever marked by a double consciousness, then its entry as legitimate citizen into the adopted homeland is also necessarily double" (*Diasporic* 174). V. Y. Mudimbe and Sabine Engel agree that "Members of diasporas define themselves in terms of at least a double identity" rather than the "unconditional fidelity" of national citizens (4), and can therefore "think, live, and work as international

citizens, or citizens of a globalized world" (5).¹ In a divided and contradictory relation to place, these subjects may mourn the loss of rootedness; simultaneously, from an "uprooted" position, they may criticize both previous and present places.² Producing this doubled diasporic vision, the experience of diaspora involves loss and gain, painful displacement and liberatory relocation.

Postcolonial thought has often emphasized the positive aspects of diaspora, minimized its costs, and overdetermined its potential to generate cultural hybridities and transnational subjectivities. Emerging from a poststructuralist acknowledgment of the instability of meaning and identity, and founded on a critique of the nation state as inherently essentialist and identitarian, postcolonial theory has too readily affirmed the exile's potential for cosmopolitan liberation and the transformative politics of what Homi Bhabha calls "unhomeness" (13). Bhabha sees diasporic subjects, "wandering peoples who will not be contained within the *Heim* of the national culture and its unisonant discourse," as models for postcolonial thought (236). The intellectual, he believes, thrives best outside the nation: "It is from this hybrid location of cultural value—the transnational as the translational—that the postcolonial intellectual attempts to elaborate a historical and literary project" (248). Near the end of *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward W. Said similarly argues that the mission of intellectual liberation rests now within diasporic figures whose dual orientation to two homelands and cultures gives them a poignant awareness of the "contrapuntal" and connected nature of the global world. Inhabiting a space "between the old and the new" (332), the "unhoused" postcolonial exile refuses the nationalist sense of identity as "purely *one* thing" (336) and recognizes instead the "startling realities of human interdependence on a world scale" (330). Said ascribes to the consciousness "of the intellectual and artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages" (332). While he acknowledges the anguish in this "unhappiest" age of exile—which he describes in "Reflections on Exile" as "the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home" (173)—Said also affirms the "originality of vision" available to an exilic artist (186). Believing that exiles and émigrés have moved beyond interpellation by the nation state, Bhabha and Said see these figures as potentially liberated and liberatory, able to speak to a cross-cultural and transnational cosmopolis.³

Without forgetting that destabilizations and border-crossings can be transformative, or that our global age requires alternative approaches to community beyond the reductive patriotism of nation states, a postcolonial understanding of diaspora must also remember

its often tragic costs. In regions where underdevelopment, government corruption, and ethnic tensions accompany decolonization, these costs fall on subaltern victims more often than on the intellectuals and artists who record their losses of home, kin, safety, and homeland. The double-consciousness experienced by diasporic subjects may be more paralyzing than illuminating; their nostalgia for what is lost, permanently alienating. As David Theo Goldberg writes in criticizing Bhabha's affirmation of hybridity as "inherently, automatically transgressive" (72), we need to "take seriously the doubleness of hybrid consciousness, not just its in-betweenness but its 'caught-betweenness,' and accordingly not just the ambivalence it produces but its almost inevitable duplicity" (83). Between cultures, the diasporic subject may also appear as a threatening presence, an unassimilable specter of the foreign, in the new homeland. Indeed, as Amy Kaplan points out, nationalism requires the production and repression of the foreign: "a sense of the foreign is necessary to erect the boundaries that enclose the nation as home" (25), and thus the nation produces the foreign—not only outside the homeland, but inside, in the exclusive safe zone.⁴ Kaplan argues that nations must then colonize "specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside" the borders of homeland (50). In a global context ruled by the homogenizing logic of nation states and the targeting of "terrorist" infiltrators, diasporic subjects may suffer worse consequences than nostalgia and regret. Conditions of double exile, persecution, and invisibility follow for some diasporic migrants, ineluctably foreign "specters" within the nation.

Measuring the costs of diasporic experience in the postcolonial nation is, I will argue, the complex subject of Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's second novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Winner of the Orange Broadband Prize for fiction in 2007, the novel established Adichie's reputation even before she won a MacArthur Fellowship in 2008. Adichie creates in *Half of a Yellow Sun* rich metaphors for the public history of Nigeria in the private lives of imagined individuals who reflect the divided heritage of postcolonial subjects. In writing about the Biafran War, which resulted in the deaths of over two million people, Adichie has narrated the conditions under which, in one national location, postcolonial African history produced massive suffering among refugees and migrants. Adichie's novel depicts the inevitable failure of the nation created by British colonialism and grounded in the Western myth of the nation as a single family of those born (*natio*) to a homogeneous clan. The violations of the social contract in Nigeria, made vivid in sanctioned genocidal murders of the Igbo minority, fracture the nation, and the doomed war for Biafran independence strips the novel's protagonist-witnesses of their status as citizens and propels

them into diaspora. In the first days of the war, they lose homes; by the war's end, they lose homeland—not simply because Biafra is defeated, but also because their experiences have shaped them as permanent outsiders. The loss of Biafra renders these figures spectral in their powerlessness and foreign in their alienation from the triumphant nation. Adichie represents in her novel the emergence of a diasporic vision, conscious of the vicious exclusivity implicit in nationalism and attuned to the costs of diaspora.

This essay explores the novel's diasporic vision, first in the public and historical realm, showing how the novel traces the fracturing of community to British colonization of Nigerian lands and peoples. As the novel opens after independence, characters hope for a national culture crossing tribal lines, but this potential dissolves. The "divide and rule" policies of colonization, followed by the British design of a Nigerian constitution favoring its own financial interests and supported by a nationalistic drive toward homogeneity, together foster genocide, war, and the creation of millions of refugees. These same colonial legacies shape private lives and minds, leaving ingrained assumptions of value that undermine personal communities. The second section of the essay shows how the novel represents the fraying of private bonds and the fracturing of home. Adichie departs from the chronological ordering that her historical subject would appear to dictate and inverts chronology in parts two and three; this structure emphasizes the discord among characters at the personal level and highlights parallels between private and public versions of the "house divided."

Because she writes to recover a repressed history, Adichie wants her account of the Biafra War to be credible. She comments that "there is a deeply politicized feeling among many Nigerians that Biafra should be forgotten" (Wickett), but she believes that people need to learn from this history: "Without sounding too grand, I think I am bearing witness for my generation" (Shea). Despite this purpose, she nonetheless uses a narrative perspective that disavows conclusive truths and problematizes knowledge. While *Half of a Yellow Sun* uses a third-person perspective to regard history from a vantage beyond one individual, the novel rejects the omniscience common to historical narratives in favor of observations limited to three characters. A third section of the essay argues that, in telling the story through perspectives located in these three "unhoused" characters, Adichie demonstrates the diasporic vision produced by events in the novel. The observers' estranged orientations to their communities create ways of looking through diasporic eyes at the production of exile. The restriction of the narrative to these three lenses deliberately sacrifices any claim to provide an objective, impersonal, or certain account of

the events in the Biafra War.⁵ Each witness considers meanings from a single vantage point in gender, class, and race; the multiplication of three observers only amplifies subjective viewpoints, rather than producing comprehensive objectivity. The novel's perspective transforms subjectivity from a failure to penetrate objective truth to a powerful critique of the imperialist conception of knowledge implicit in omniscient objectivity; thus, Adichie's narrative demonstrates an anticolonial mode of perception and suggests the potential for a resistant diasporic consciousness.

Herself an example of what Said calls the "artist in exile," Adichie has lived outside her homeland for much of her adult life. She left Nigeria at nineteen to study in the United States, first in Philadelphia and then in Connecticut, near her sister's medical practice. Adichie has received degrees from Eastern Connecticut State University (a BA in 2001), Johns Hopkins (an MFA in 2003) and Yale (an MA in African studies in 2008). While she has returned to Nigeria to visit and has said in interviews that she would like to start a writers' colony in Nigeria, she has lived as an émigré for the past fourteen years (Anya, Shea). Her published books—*Purple Hibiscus* (2003), *Half of a Yellow Sun*, and *That Thing Around Your Neck* (2009)—have been written primarily in the West, though they represent Nigeria and "Nigerians in diaspora" (Anya). Adichie credits the West with her early publishing success; she told one interviewer: "I couldn't have published my [first] novel in Nigeria without the money to pay the publisher" (Garner). She has written about migrants to the West in *Purple Hibiscus*, where conditions force the protagonist's aunt to leave her position at the University of Nsukka and emigrate with her children to the United States. Adichie's comments in interviews reflect an exilic consciousness, at once deeply attached to a homeland from which she is distanced and to the Western place where she lives without belonging: "I will always feel like I don't belong here fully. Even though I also feel I'm an observer in Nigeria" (Blackburn). Adichie says that writing about the civil war "was something I had to do" (Palta): "It is a personal issue—my father has tears in his eyes when he speaks of losing his father, my mother still cannot speak at length about losing her father in a refugee camp" (Kimber). Her personal experience has given Adichie a vivid awareness, expressed in this novel, of the costs of exile.

Imperial History and National Community

Half of a Yellow Sun places Nigeria in historical context as a nation created in Europe, by Europeans, for European profit, and infused with European ideological commitment to the nation as an

emblem of popular unity. Scholarly discussions of Nigerian history often suggest that British colonial rule—its policies, tribal relations, and the government it empowered at independence—contributed significantly to the Biafran War: "A number of scholars partially link the Nigerian coups and civil war to policies during British colonial rule," Nafziger writes (27). As Adichie puts it, "Nigeria was set up to fail. The only thing we Nigerians should take responsibility for is the extent of the failure" (Kimber). Telling the story of the civil war, many historians begin, as fictional houseboy Ugwu does, with the unification of diverse tribes and the drawing of national boundaries at the Berlin Conference of 1884. When Europeans divided Africa, the British won control of Nigeria, named in 1914 by the British governor general's wife.⁶ As Eghosa Osaghae puts it, "Nigeria was a British colonial creation" (4). Nigeria thus had from its inception no basis for the narrative of a single, imagined community of the kind Benedict Anderson finds basic to nations. Colonial legacies actually preclude national unity in many African states, Tejumola Olaniyan writes: "Part of the contemporary crisis of the African state is its inability to forge a nation from its awkwardly thrown together constituent parts, parts that were routinely manipulated into fierce competition and set off against one another by the colonizers during colonial rule" (271).⁷ Following Nigeria's colonial history, the civil war that erupted in 1967 appears almost inevitable, as does British support for the Nigerian federal government, led by northern Hausa whom it had empowered.

Adichie's novel educates readers about Nigeria's colonial legacies, primarily through conversations among faculty members in Nsukka, fictional British journalist Richard Chamberlain's letters and essays, and Ugwu's interpolated "Book." Ugwu, for example, sketches the British perspective that encouraged tribalism and racial hierarchies favoring the Northern tribes:

The British preferred the North. The heat there was pleasantly dry; the Hausa-Fulani were narrow-featured and therefore superior to the negroid Southerners, Muslim and therefore as civilized as one could get for natives, feudal and therefore perfect for indirect rule The humid South, on the other hand, was full of mosquitoes and animists and disparate tribes. The Yoruba were the largest in the Southwest. In the Southeast, the Igbo lived in small republican communities. They were non-docile and worryingly ambitious. (115)

Writing to Europe during the war, Richard locates the source of tribal enmities in British imperial governance, which exploited and exacerbated divisions among the tribes in order to make Nigeria easier

to rule: "If this is hatred, then it is very young. It has been caused, simply, by the informal divide-and-rule policies of the British colonial exercise. These policies manipulated the differences between the tribes and ensured that unity would not exist, thereby making the easy governance of such a large country practicable" (166–67). In independent Nigeria, characterized in Ugwu's "Book" as "a collection of fragments held in a fragile clasp" (155), tribalism takes on a vengeful quality. Because of their strengths—their cultural affirmation of education, travel, and trade, and their success as merchants and administrators—the Igbo become targets. They are vulnerable because they are the smallest of the three major ethnic groups under a British-designed constitution that confers power based on a relative population size.⁸

Nationalism was particularly important in newly decolonized African states because, as Said writes, the nation offers a sense of belonging that assuages colonial estrangement or exile: "Nationalism is an assertion of belonging in and to a place, a people, a heritage. It affirms the home created by a community of language, culture, and customs; and, by so doing, it fends off exile, fights to prevent its ravages. . . . In time, successful nationalisms consign truth exclusively to themselves and relegate falsehood and inferiority to outsiders" ("Reflections" 176). In African states like Nigeria, though, with some two hundred languages reflecting a range of separate ethnicities (Nafziger 32), the assertion of a home community based in a single language, culture, and custom must necessarily create a significant population of outsiders and exiles. Indeed, British support for the Northern region at the moment of Nigerian independence led rapidly to renewed estrangement for the Southern peoples, both Western Yoruba and Eastern Igbo. Suzanne Cronje, a former diplomatic correspondent for the London *Financial Times*, observes: "the Colonial Office in London had decided to transfer power to a Nigeria which was firmly under the control of the North. British interests would thus remain in a position to influence the affairs of the entire Federation, regardless of the political aspirations of the more radical parties in the South" (7); she adds "[T]he Federation at independence was a constitutional monstrosity" (9). The national dominance guaranteed to the Northern Hausa was followed by a series of policy decisions taken by the newly-independent Nigerian government, directed at what Cronje terms "the emasculation of the [Igbo] East" (14). Nigerian nationalism became impossible for most southern Nigerians, especially the Igbo—though ironically, as Chinua Achebe observes, "the Igbo themselves had originally championed the Nigerian nation more spiritedly than other Nigerians" (40–41).

The first reported conversation among educated intellectuals in Adichie's novel reflects the alienation from Nigerian nationalism among Southerners in the early sixties, well before secession. Igbo and Yoruba faculty members of the University of Nsukka discuss African identity in the wake of colonialism; neither Odenigbo nor his Yoruba colleague, Lara Adebayo, identify with their new nation.⁹ He argues for tribal identity, while she believes that "pan-Africanism is simply the most sensible response" to Africans' common legacy of white oppression because "we are all one race" (20). Odenigbo rejects this position, believing that "we are not all alike except to white eyes" and thus "pan-Africanism is fundamentally a European notion" (20). Odenigbo explains his sense of the primacy of the tribe, while another faculty member points out that tribal identities themselves were produced by white colonization:

"[M]y point is that the only authentic identity for the African is the tribe," Master said. "I am Nigerian because a white man created Nigeria and gave me that identity. I am black because the white man constructed *black* to be as different as possible from his *white*. But I was Igbo before the white man came."

Professor Ezeka snorted and shook his head, thin legs crossed. "But you became aware that you were Igbo because of the white man. The pan-Igbo idea itself came only in the face of white domination. You must see that tribe as it is today is as colonial a product as nation and race." (20)

While Odenigbo retorts that pan-Igbo identity existed before colonization, educated Southerners remain unable to identify with a nation which, from its inception, renders them spectral outsiders to the national narrative.

Once exclusion was followed by persecution and genocide, with the massacre of Igbos at Kano and elsewhere in the North in May and September, 1966, the Igbo sought independence in their own national homeland. Characterized negatively as "tribalism" by those who opposed secession, the already-exiled Igbo understood their desire as "nationalism." In *The Education of a British-Protected Child*, Achebe writes that anthropologist Stanley Diamond "saw the bloody civil war not as Britain and other apologists for Nigeria presented it—that is, progressive nationalism fighting primitive tribalism—but as the ruining of a rare and genuine national culture at the moment of its birth" (153). In the stillbirth of that national culture, the Igbo become diasporic, first in the literal sense as the war drives them out of their homes, and then in a broader metaphoric sense as they recognize their irresolvable outsider status in the Nigerian nation.

The novel depicts the ravages of diaspora as ethnic hatred explodes into massacre and war. At first, Igbos flee dwelling places in the North and West for the safety of the East; later, they flee Eastern cities at the edges of Igboland as Nigerian forces take Nsukka, Abba, and Port Harcourt. The narrative attends displaced, wounded, starving, and dying Igbos on trains, in refugee camps, and in cramped and squalid temporary housing. All of the major characters lose their homes in the war, taking to the roads with thousands of others. At the end, the structures they have considered home are either damaged or inhabited by Nigerians who erase all traces of the Igbo owners. The Ozobias are forced to buy their own home, denuded of furniture, from the Yoruba "friend" they left to care for it when they fled to England (427). Odenigbo's home, empty and fouled, loses its security when Nigerian officers invade to harass the returned Biafrans (423). Ugwu's village home no longer provides solace; his mother has died and his sister's energetic spirit has not survived her rape and beating by Nigerian soldiers. Kainene's home in Port Harcourt has been taken over by a woman with tribal marks who has erased all traces of the past (426).

Adichie underscores the British role in fostering tribalism in the nation they created. When the first Nigerian republican government is overthrown in 1966 by the military, heavily staffed by educated Igbos, a guest at Odenigbo's comments, "The BBC is calling it an Igbo coup" (125); others point out that the deposed government was largely led and staffed by Northern Hausas who had been put in powerful positions by the departing British. When a second coup occurs six months later, the victims are Igbos, blamed for the bloodshed during the earlier coup: "Northern officers have taken over. The BBC says they are killing Igbo officers in Kaduna" (137). An Igbo who has fled the massacre tells Odenigbo, "They are killing us like ants," and the radio reports "teachers hacked down in Zaria, a full Catholic church in Sokoto set on fire, a pregnant woman split open in Kano" (144). The BBC takes a prominent role in interpreting Nigerian events as outcomes of tribal legacies, and its reports reflect the influence the departed empire continues to exert on public understanding, not only internationally but also inside its former colony. Behind the BBC reports, the British Foreign Office was "managing the news" throughout the Biafra War, supporting the Nigerian military government and discrediting as propaganda reports of the bombing of civilians (Jacobs 170).¹⁰

To be sure, ethnic hatred, fanned by the winds of transnational capitalism, reached catastrophic proportions in the events of the Biafra war. Adichie shows tribalism poisoning communities while it generates public massacres. Far from exonerating the victimized Igbo,

her characters acknowledge that Igbos kill Hausas in reprisal attacks and condemn Yorubas for their efforts to stay out of the murderous bitterness. In a rage, Odenigbo accuses Miss Adebayo: "Is it not your own people who are killing the Igbo in Lagos?" (174). Olanna's mother regards Mohammed, Olanna's Hausa former partner, as "the enemy now" and says, "Thank God you didn't marry him" (189). An unknown man, "good-looking" (227) with the "darkest ebony complexion" and a "three-piece wool suit" (226) worn in imitation of the British colonizers, mistakes Olanna for a Fulani Northerner and tries to attract her by disparaging the Igbo: "The problem with Igbo people is that they want to control everything in this country" (227). Later, as they begin to starve and to lose the war, Igbos blame their defeat on members of the minority tribes, which make up about forty percent of the population in Biafra, as saboteurs to the cause: "we can no longer trust these minorities who don't speak Igbo," an unnamed man proclaims (290).¹¹ The war inflames suspicion and mistrust of all other ethnicities, exaggerating the impulse toward racist tribalism on all sides.¹²

Underlying the traditional territory of Igboland, however, is the oil that makes Igbo secession unthinkable for both the Nigerian military government and the international interests, chiefly British, which control the oil. As Dan Jacobs, who served as Executive Director for the Committee for Nigeria-Biafra Relief, writes, "Here lay the explanation for the paradox that the 'Nigerians' had driven the 'Biafrans' out, yet seemed to be fighting to keep them in the federation. What they actually wanted was the land the Ibos were on and what lay under it—without the Ibos" (27). The oil has a spectral presence in Adichie's novel: Kainene has been "chasing a contract with Shell-BP" in the summer of 1966 (134). When Biafra secedes and the Nigerian government declares what it calls "*a police action to bring the rebels to order*," Kainene is not surprised: "'It's the oil,' she said. 'They can't let us go easily with all that oil'" (180). Ironically, she expects Biafra to win the war and ponders ways to improve her position in negotiating oil contracts after the war. For all her knowledge of the transnational oil industry, Kainene remains fatally innocent of the determination by international players to control profits and therefore to protect the existing government of Nigeria.

Private Communities

Early criticism of *Half of a Yellow Sun* focused on Adichie's choice of the village houseboy, Ugwu, as recorder of the traumatic history of Biafra; in doing so, critics foregrounded the public dimensions of Adichie's novel but neglected the private dimensions—and more im-

portantly, the novel's crucial linkages between the two spheres, where fractures in personal relationships reflect failures at the national level. In one of the most substantial readings of the novel to date, John Marx interprets it as a bildungsroman focused on Ugwu's education; he becomes "an indigenous expert on failed states" through his experiences in Odenigbo's library, the war, and his brief tour as a conscript in the Biafran army (615). The novel takes on the postcolonial question, not of how to become a national citizen, but rather of how to understand and manage why states fail (628). Amy Novak considers the relationship between Richard and Ugwu as "the binary between a knowing Western Subject and an impossible traumatic Otherness" (40). Ugwu becomes "the chronicler of trauma as the colonial voice that Richard represents fades into the background, marking the exit of the Western subject from narrative control" (40). As trauma fiction, the narrative serves "to counter the psychic shattering of the trauma victim with details that record concrete, tangible experiences" (44). Essays by John C. Hawley and Nathan Oates similarly place their emphasis on Ugwu's "ownership of the war's story" (Hawley 21) and his reaffirmed "goodness" (Oates 165).

While Ugwu's story forms one important thread in the novel, it needs to be seen in relation to the other narratives in order to make sense of Adichie's goals and achievements in *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Writing what she calls "more a love story than a war story" ("African" 53), Adichie sets the story of Ugwu's growth in a social context defined by two love stories, both neglected in the criticism to date. The romances involve Olanna and Kainene, twin daughters of the wealthy Chief Ozobia. These fraternal twins, born and raised together but different in personality, separated through most of the novel and lost to each other at the end, form an apt image for an originary wholeness that is divided and scattered in diaspora. Recently returned from university education in London, the twins choose men reflecting parallel but divergent relationships to Nigeria's postcolonial history. Olanna falls in love with Odenigbo, a mathematics professor and a passionate advocate for African self-affirmation as well as for the Igbo tribe. Kainene grows attached to Richard who, unlike the superior and condescending white men she dated in England, has "an endearing uncertainty about him—almost a shyness" (36). While Olanna's lover would remove the privilege still granted in post-independence Nigeria to the white colonizer and empower Africans, Kainene's lover represents the white colonizer transformed into a figure who learns an African language, values African people and their culture, and thereby affirms Africans. Yin and yang, or balanced but divergent exemplars of a similar logic, both men stand for postcolonial healing and for the value of the Igbo tribe. In these love

affairs, Adichie meditates on doubles, divisions, and the differences that make identities necessarily complex.

The love stories at the heart of *Half of a Yellow Sun* reflect characters' longing for a community of self-respecting citizens whose private bonds might energize and serve as a model for the society around them. These love stories fray and tangle in part three of the novel, which takes place chronologically after part one, but appears out of order after part two. Events in the early sixties begin the novel and continue in part three; events in the late sixties occupy parts two and four. This structural displacement effectively emphasizes the events in part three, where mysteries that have emerged in part two are resolved. Why does Richard no longer visit Odenigbo and Olanna? Who are Baby's parents? Why are Olanna and Kainene estranged? In a novel about civil war, strife within the family separates friends and sisters, and compromises previously happy lovers. Like the public civil war, the fracturing of personal bonds can be traced to Nigeria's colonial history, with its construction of an estranged and self-divided people. Inventing fictional characters to reflect the struggles of middle-class Igbos through the catastrophic war, Adichie imagines relationships that begin as models of close community and end in diasporic distances.

In the first series of events revealed in part three, Odenigbo's mother arranges to have a village girl seduce her son while Olanna is away. Mama's objective is to produce a grandson who will provide security and prestige; she does not trust that Olanna will bear a child, or the right sort of child. Mama sees Olanna as a witch: she is one of a pair of twins;¹³ she has not married; she has no children, though she is beyond the age when village girls give birth; and worse yet, she has been to university in England. "Too much schooling ruins a woman," Mama insists (98), and she tells Olanna to leave her son and go back to the other witches (96). Olanna not only speaks English (and Mama does not [196]), but her spoken language sounds like that of the foreigners who have colonized Nigeria. Her education, first in a British preparatory school in Lagos and then at a university in England, has left Olanna with a British accent that Ugwu admires: "Here was a superior tongue, a luminous language, the kind of English he heard on Master's radio, rolling out with a clipped precision" (22). For Mama, then, Olanna resembles too closely the imperial foreigners who colonized her people.

To remedy her son's mistaken choice, Mama brings along a village girl "with downcast eyes," the subservient, uneducated, docile Amala, whose language is limited to "Yes, Mama" and "No, Mama" (93). Amala comes from Odenigbo's home village of Abba: a part of Mama's tribe, she represents Mama's chosen way to bring her son

back to the community of his birth. Mama serves what Omofolabo Ajayi-Soyinka has called double patriarchy: "The colonial factor in black women's experience subjects them to another form of patriarchal authority, a foreign power, in addition to the one in their cultures; for both the colonizing powers and indigenous African cultures . . . are patriarchies" (162). Mama herself is strong and self-determined; nonetheless, she condemns Olanna's independent and unmarried state, crows and uses Amala, and insists that her grandchild must be male: "When this baby boy comes, I will have somebody to keep me company and my fellow women will no longer call me the mother of an impotent son" (238). Her effort fails when the child born to Amala is a girl, so devalued that neither Amala nor Mama will keep the baby. Mama's intervention strains and fractures her connections to all of the others, including her son and Amala; distance appears between Amala and her community and between Olanna and Odenigbo.

Ironically, Olanna has chosen Odenigbo for the immediate perception of kinship and community he creates. As she recalls the scene of their first meeting, he affirms his people in the face of the privilege granted to whites in the aftermath of colonialism. Lined up for theater tickets, both watch as the ticket seller signals a white man to come to the front of the line. Odenigbo shouts at the ticket seller, "You miserable ignoramus! You see a white person and he looks better than your own people? You must apologize to everybody in this line! Right now!" (29). In this outburst, Odenigbo transforms the group of strangers in the line into a community, "your own people" who deserve respect. He wears "a brown safari suit" and an Afro, identifying himself with the international movement to affirm black power—and he assumes that the ticket-seller is ignorant rather than craven. Olanna also signals kindred values when she complains at her British preparatory school about "the lessons on Pax Britannica" and "when she [joins] the Students' Movement for Independence" (35). She calls out "Well done!" to praise Odenigbo's rebuke of the ticket seller (29). "*Nkem*," he calls her, "my own": their bond in the early sections of the novel creates a tightly knit and passionate community of two, surrounded by the intellectual salon of academic and professional people in Nsukka.

While the war scatters the community of intellectuals, Olanna and Odenigbo's private community is irretrievably compromised by the chain of infidelities set off by Odenigbo. In a gesture she intends to be self-liberating, carefree, and without consequence, Olanna seduces Richard. Although he feels, afterwards, that "He had not been chosen; it could have been any man" (235), Olanna's choice actually reflects a postcolonial dynamic. Her attraction to the white British journalist offers a clear rebuke to Odenigbo, in that she has chosen

the figure historically vested with power—the one privileged by the ticket seller. Richard's presence in Africa arouses both servile attention (as when an unknown woman invites him to be her first white lover [171]) and resentment (as when Okeoma looks at him with "quiet disdain" [111]). This second affair frays bonds between lovers, friends, and sisters. After Olanna tells Odenigbo about the affair, she understands that, rather than freeing herself, she has fractured her bond with Odenigbo; she "realized that distrust would always lie between them" (244). Odenigbo severs his friendship with Richard; Kainene punishes Richard and refuses to speak to her twin sister. These conflicts reflect on the civil war as they enact the metaphor of the house divided against itself.

While the central couples find their attachments disrupted and distanced, other personal bonds suffer as well. Infidelities raise havoc between Chief Ozobia and his wife, who learns that her husband has bought his Yoruba mistress a house in "a neighborhood where Lagos socialites lived" (218). Susan admits to an affair with her close friend Caroline's husband, John Blake, hoping to distress Richard (236). Mrs. Ozobia berates a servant, Odenigbo expresses frustration with Ugwu, and Richard wants "to cane Harrison" (255). In part three of the novel, the civil war that began in part two finds its corollary in the private homes of major and minor characters, as communities dissolve within a postcolonial state that has perpetuated the assumptions and values supporting a "divide and rule" empire. As the war propels them into diaspora, their sustaining attachments disintegrate.

Diasporic Vision

Adichie develops three witnesses who are in spirit and from the very beginning diasporic non-citizens, yearning for a sense of membership that they never achieve in the communities whose edges they haunt. All three outsiders sense their own difference from the groups whose dynamics they do not always understand. In various ways, Adichie's three centers of perception are unreliable but careful watchers, made vigilant by uncertainty and anxiety. When Biafra secedes, they embrace the new nation with an enthusiasm born of disappointment with their prior experiences of national affiliation, but they find the government and leadership of Biafra no better than those of other nations. With the gradual exposure of the Biafran leaders' flaws, the defeat of the quest for independence, and Nigeria's punishment of those who seceded, the witnesses reject nationalism itself; their gestures of resistance affirm stateless human dignity in the face of nationhood. "Unhoused" and detached from both nation

and community as the novel ends, Adichie's observers inhabit the split and divided positions of diasporic subjects who are not at home.

Richard is the most visibly diasporic of the witnesses: from beginning to end he has no citizenship in the place where he chooses to live. An outsider even during his youth in England, he yearns for sustaining communities both personal and social. His parents ignored their only child and "raised him as an afterthought" (115); after they died, he lived with an aunt who left him feeling that he did not belong in her London home (61). Tentative and uncertain, Richard "wondered just what he was doing" in Nigeria (72). Though he tells Kainene "I've always been a loner" (62), Richard hopes "He would belong" in the new nation of Biafra because he has shared in its birth (168). He makes a strong effort to gain acceptance in this community, learning Igbo and writing articles for international newspapers supporting the Biafran cause. His articles earn praise from two historical figures, Ojukwu (306) and the Swedish pilot Count Von Rosen (309), and Richard briefly feels "a part of things" (306). But he remains an outsider; he neither renounces his British citizenship nor marries Kainene. Richard's efforts to claim community with Biafrans rouse skepticism, as when Major Madu, a commander in the Biafran military, treats him as "a foreigner" (314). Even Kainene raises her eyebrows when Richard proposes to write a book titled "The World Was Silent When We Died" (374) and Ugwu agrees that the war was never Richard's story to tell (425).

Like the other witnesses, Richard watches events from a position of diasporic uncertainty. While he studies Igbo history and culture, he does not always understand. He makes frequent mistakes as he attempts to gain acceptance in Nigeria and later in Biafra. In an early visit to a small village, for example, he asks about Igbo kings, though he knows the Igbo have a long history of republican governance (71); later, he pays a condolence visit to the family of a young man massacred in Kano without bringing the gifts he knows are customary (165). He is "bewildered by Kainene's busy life" (77); he wonders about her relationship with Madu (82); he is not sure what Kainene thinks about his writing (167); and he is uncertain how to relate to Olanna (169). Richard habitually registers events without knowing how to interpret them. His frequent mystification confers duplicity on the narration of what he sees and thinks, as the narrator asserts third-person objectivity while undermining the pretense of reliable knowledge associated with it. Watching Richard witness in uncertainty, the narrative itself manages to know without knowing.

Richard loses all hope of belonging as the novel ends. Kainene's disappearance erases his own sense of home; once Biafra surrenders, Richard's reason for being in Nigeria evaporates. He exchanges hostile

words with Major Madu, who has insulted him at every opportunity and who now asks, "Will you go back to England?" as though Richard belongs in the imperial homeland he abandoned a decade earlier. Madu claims Kainene with a comment whose "we" excludes Richard, who has constantly searched for her: "I don't understand how we have found out nothing about Kainene" (429). Richard wonders silently whether the Igbo's "filthy black hand" ever touched Kainene (430); then he hits the powerful officer. His jealousy, frequently provoked by Madu, brings to the surface a latent racism that undermines Richard's commitment to the Igbo, to the Biafran cause he has served, and to Kainene. Madu's return punch brings an instant recognition of his loss: "Darkness descended on him, and when it lifted he knew that he would never see Kainene again and that his life would always be like a candlelit room; he would see things only in shadow, only in half glimpses" (430). Understanding that Kainene is lost, Richard sees that he is condemned to dwell in indeterminacy. Lacking home and homeland, light and clarity, he will now be limited to a half-life of half-glimpses. Ironically, this is how Richard has seen events and people throughout the narrative.

Richard's hitting the larger and more powerful man constitutes both folly ("You idiot," Madu says twice) and a quixotic act of resistance. He has endured the Biafran officer's repeated claims on and of Kainene; in this final scene he gestures his protest. He has been insulted by a drunk Major Udodi who claims that white men sexualize African women but never marry them. Madu compounds the problem by apologizing to Kainene but not to Richard, the real target of Udodi's insult (80–81). In the doomed act of hitting Madu, Richard resists all that Udodi has implied about his own compromised motives and all that Madu has insinuated about the superiority of Biafran manliness. Atavistic and hopeless, painful to his hand and too late to make a difference, Richard's gesture also rejects Madu's implicit invocation of the founding myth of nation—that those born inside the national family like Madu have greater rights than those like Richard who choose to serve. That he will now live a half-life does not lessen Richard's courageous moment. More constructively, he gives Ugwu the title he has abandoned, promises to bring him a copy of Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, and encourages Ugwu with praise for an early draft. Richard helps empower Ugwu's creation of the story of a people afflicted by a war between two nationalisms, both careless of their suffering. Richard displays courage, too, in his decision to stay in Nigeria, though he has no home there and can never belong to the sutured nation. Rejecting nationalism altogether, he will join a new "Institute for African Studies" (429).

Like Richard, Olanna sees without certain knowledge. Although she knows her culture as Richard does not, she has been distanced by privilege, by her education in a private British preparatory school and then in London, and by her father's wealth and power. Her awareness of complexity makes Olanna slow to judge; she recognizes her own uncertainty and wishes she could be "a little more certain, a little less questioning" (27). As events unfold, she cannot comprehend the murders in Kano, where "she was not sure" of what she saw (148); with her father, "She was not sure" how to understand his response (219). Frequently surprised or puzzled, Olanna marvels at the power of bombs (279); she wonders what Mrs. Muokelu means (379); "She did not entirely understand" her resentment of Odenigbo (382). Her response to the events of the Biafran War, to death and starvation and unpredictable cruelty, constitutes an entirely appropriate bafflement. She witnesses in amazement, and her bewildered registering expresses a doubt similar to Richard's: the events recorded as historical fact by the third person narrator strain credulity and seem unreal. Through Olanna's eyes, outrageous wartime events take on the paradoxical status of unthinkable knowledge.

The disappearance of her sister reflects Olanna's loss of home and homeland in ways parallel to Richard's. Kainene's disappearance haunts the end of the novel: it figures the loss of those missing in the war, presumed dead, leaving a grief that can never be resolved. Olanna looks for her among the living and the dead, alternating between "moments of solid hope" and "stretches of raw pain." She rages at her inability to know: "She did not know where her sister was. She did not know. She raged at herself for not waking up early the day that Kainene left for *afia* attack and for not knowing what Kainene wore that morning and for not going with her and for trusting that Inatimi knew where he was leading her" (431). Condemned like Richard to a future in which she will never know, Olanna asserts to Odenigbo that "in my next life, Kainene will be my sister" (433). For the remainder of her current life, however, she exists as one half of a lost whole. Self-divided and compromised, "she felt tarnished" (431).

As the novel ends, Olanna gestures her resistance to the bullying nationalism that follows Nigeria's victory in the war. On their way home to Nsukka, they encounter Nigerian soldiers who beat Odenigbo and order him to carry wood: "Let's see how you can help a united Nigeria" (416). When one of the soldiers looks at her, Olanna calls the commanding officer and warns him to tell the soldier not to touch her. Her tone and action surprise Ugwu: "she sensed his intake of breath, his panic at her boldness" (417). In effect, she defies the conquering nation's assumption of power over the bodies of women. A few days later, Nigerian soldiers invade the house in Nsukka, making all the

inhabitants lie on the floor while they look for Biafran money and eat heaping plates of Ugwu's *jollof* rice. When they leave, "Olanna stood up first. She walked into the kitchen and poured the rest of the *jollof* rice into the dustbin" (424). Rejecting the soldiers' right to threaten in the name of national victory, she also refuses to eat their leftovers, even in a time of starvation; she implies that by stealing it, they have made Ugwu's rice into trash. She expresses contempt for the soldiers' assertions of national power in both scenes, asserting her own self-respect. She burns her Biafran money despite Odenigbo's criticism and pursues her search for Kainene along every avenue, including magic, despite his reservations. While she remains with Odenigbo, the novel suggests that she has learned his limitations and, even more importantly, her own strengths.

Like Olanna and Richard, Ugwu is an outsider who does not belong and does not know; he watches without understanding. The novel begins with his introduction to plumbing and electric appliances; these he quickly masters. But "He did not know" how to replace the sock he has destroyed (16), and he "did not understand" the contents of books or the conversations between Odenigbo and his visitors (17). When the first coup occurs, Ugwu "was not sure" (124) what the radio announcement meant and "was surprised" at Odenigbo's response (125). In a refugee camp, Ugwu "did not know" how people were managing (288), "did not hear" a report on the radio (289), and "didn't know" that Eberechi's brother had joined the army (291). Most importantly, he does not know until after the war that his mother has died and his sister has been raped and beaten; even at the end he does not know that Eberechi has died (428). Like Richard and Olanna, Ugwu serves as a limited witness. The narrative emphasizes all of the characters' inability to know events beyond the horizon; as the youngest witness, Ugwu also turns away from knowledge he does not want. Duplicity arises at the juncture between his innocence and the other witnesses' knowledge.

Ugwu's self-exiling experience in the war occurs when, among a group of soldiers, he participates in the gang rape of a bar girl. Challenged to join in the rape by other young soldiers—"aren't you a man?"—Ugwu finds his way to a "self-loathing release" in the girl (365). The memory of this event "haunted him, filled him with shame" (396), and when he dreams of Eberechi being raped, "He woke up hating the image and hating himself" (397). All of the women he cares about "would loathe him" if they knew what he had done (399). Like Richard and Olanna, he has betrayed his own values and tarnished his sense of self-worth: "Ugwu felt stained and unworthy" (398). At the end of the war, Ugwu returns to his village to find his mother dead, his sister damaged, and a girl he has desired carrying

the baby she conceived with a Hausa officer. Though he continues to serve Odenigbo and Olanna as houseboy, Ugwu has no home place, no community, and no certainties as the novel ends.

The only comfort for his guilt comes in writing about the war, begun as a way to hold off pain and carried on as Ugwu's act of resistance to a triumphant Nigerian nationalism. He writes with a powerful awareness of his own inadequacy and of the inability of any account to describe the horrors he has witnessed: he realized that he would "never be able to describe well enough the fear that dulled the eyes of mothers . . . never be able to depict the very bleakness of bombing hungry people" (398). However uncertain his faith in the power of language, Ugwu writes a chronicle of what he has seen among the Biafran people. Unlike Adichie's novel, "The Book" does not narrate fictional events among invented characters, but rather traces the emergence and defeat of Biafra, blaming England and Nigeria as well as other nations: "He writes about the world that remained silent while Biafrans died. He argues that Britain inspired this silence" (258). His book about Biafra is an effort, made by a young man inhabiting a despoiled diasporic location, to memorialize a lost homeland. In the eight fragments described in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, he records the poignant inevitability of this loss, together with glimpses of Biafrans like the woman sitting "on the floor of a train squashed between crying people, shouting people, praying people," caressing the calabash with her daughter's head inside (82). Justly seen by critics like John Marx and Amy Novak as an assertion of his own authority to tell the Biafran story, Ugwu's book constitutes an act of resistance against a triumphant Nigerian nation.

Adichie's novel goes beyond Ugwu's historical chronicle in its broad interrogation of nationalism itself. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Adichie suggests that even Biafra fails: Ojukwu proclaims secession without arms or external support, and eventually he leaves Biafra with the false claim that he is going abroad to secure peace. Professor Ezekwe, modeled on Ojukwu, gains weight while Biafrans starve, and his wife and children flee the war zone for the safety of London. The Biafran army prevents Igbo people from fleeing cities under bombardment and siege, increasing the deaths of innocent civilians. Later, the army conscripts old men and young boys, and the officers eat while their soldiers starve (366). Recapitulating the identitarian logic that led to massacre and secession, the Biafran public persecutes non-Igbo minorities. Even communities of suffering Igbos fracture under the pressures of starvation: jealousy and competition arise in the rooms Olanna and Odenigbo share with dozens of others. Refugee camps fare no better, as Kainene realizes when she learns that one of the Catholic priests is extorting sex from young girls in exchange

for the food she secures for the camp. While Ugwu's book expresses nostalgia for the lost potential of the national homeland, Adichie's book frames its sympathy for such a position inside a comprehensive skepticism about the very impulse, brought by the Western powers that shaped Nigeria, to exalt an imagined national community.

Adichie's book also differs significantly from Ugwu's in its renunciation of historical authority. Writing historical analysis, Ugwu claims knowledge: "He argues that Britain inspired this silence" (258). Although he perceives the limits of language to convey the poignancy of the tragic events he has witnessed, he retains faith in his ability to construct secure interpretations of events; thus he claims a position of authority to tell Biafra's story. *Half of a Yellow Sun* renounces this very position with its use of a narrative perspective limited to three witnesses whose lack of certainty it emphasizes. Even Ugwu is characterized from first to last by what he does not know. Uncertainty resonates through the end of the novel, dramatized in the unresolved question of what has happened to Kainene. While the novel follows historical sources, some of them acknowledged in the "Author's Note," in its representation of events between 1967 and 1970, it declines comprehensiveness, inverts chronology, and replaces the historian's measured overview with glimpses of the subjective and uncertain positions of three diasporic characters caught up in unimaginable events. Biafra's story emerges, but the novel does not claim to tell it in a single authoritative version.

Half of a Yellow Sun reveals the losses that shape its protagonists into "unhoused" witnesses of their own exile and thus counts the costs of diaspora for postcolonial subjects; Adichie's witnesses see through what Said calls the exile's "essential sadness" that "can never be surmounted" ("Reflections" 173). The inherent gifts of diaspora also emerge by implication in the novel's critique of nation states and nationalism: the logic of a single exalted people, *natio*—born into—and forming an exclusive national family, leads to the expulsion or massacre of aliens within the homeland. Imported from Europe with the creation of its national identity, nationalism has tragic consequences in Nigeria and in Biafra. Adichie's novel finds implicit hope in this awareness. While the protagonists survive the war, reduced to foreign "specters" within the restored Nigerian nation, they have at least gained the spectral vision that allows them to see what is not there: Biafra, Kainene, and the illusion of a national homeland capable of justice for all citizens. Their diasporic sight may not extend to a futural vision of multicultural sociality or a global cosmopolis, but in recognizing the innate failures of nationalism, it opens up the potential for a different relation to community. Watching like its protagonists from a position outside nation, the novel sees no other way.

Notes

1. See also Stuart Hall, who writes that the Caribbean conveys "the shock of the 'doubleness' of similarity and difference" through the Afro-Caribbean diaspora (238), defined by "the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity" (244).
2. See Radhakrishnan ("Ethnicity" 126) and Walters (272).
3. Many interpreters of diaspora take similar views: Brinda Mehta, for example, writes that Indian women who crossed the Atlantic to settle in the Caribbean created "a discourse of rupture that initiates transgressive boundary crossings through creative (self-) assertions in literary production" (4). Radhakrishnan finds that "the diaspora is an excellent opportunity to think through some of these vexed questions" ("Ethnicity" 127).
4. While Kaplan's work addresses the United States, her observations apply trenchantly to Nigeria, where the Igbo remained an identifiable—and unforgiven—minority after the civil war.
5. Adichie comments, "Some of my writer friends disagree, but I do think that to write from an omniscient point of view is a little too easy Also I think that when you're writing about war it's particularly difficult to be omniscient. I think if I had been all-knowing I would have been less convincing" (Mundow).
6. See Nafziger (27–32); Cronje (1–6); Jacobs (18–19). Ugwu includes the Berlin conference and the naming of Nigeria in an early section of "The Book" (Adichie, *Half of a Yellow Sun* 115).
7. Olaniyan goes on to cite Nigeria, where the Hausa-Fulani "had the coziest relationship with the British," and after independence, tribal antagonisms "led to the enthronement of an atavistic ethnic consciousness, a major civil war, and an epidemic of *coup d'états*" (271).
8. The 1963 census listed 11,653 Hausa, 11,321 Yoruba, and 9,246 Igbo citizens among the ten major ethnic communities, leaving the Igbo the smallest of the three groups competing for power in the federal government (Nafziger 33).
9. Miss Adebayo, a Yoruba, may be named for Colonel Robert Adebayo, who was named governor of the Western region in 1966 by Yakubu Gowon, head of the federal military government during the Biafran War. Lieutenant Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu was governor of the Eastern region and leader of Biafra. For a helpful characterization of these two leaders, see Stremmlau (41–45).
10. Jacobs notes that Winston Churchill III traveled into Biafra, reporting for the *Times*, and witnessed bombings of hospitals, schools, and markets; the Foreign Office "set about to discredit Churchill" (170) and took other steps to "divert this rising tide of indignation" (171).
11. Suspicion of members of minority tribes rings through two other Nigerian women's novels about Biafra. Flora Nwapa writes in *Never*

- Again* of the targeting of saboteurs and infiltrators: "Everyone distrusted everyone else" (35). In *Destination Biafra*, Buchi Emecheta focuses on the heroic errand of Debbie Ogedemgbe, whose family comes from "the small Itsekiri tribe which claimed to be of Yoruba stock" (15). Claiming the Igbo name of Ugwu, she travels into Biafra in a failed attempt to convince the Biafran leadership to stop the war (160).
12. Reminders of Western racism provide a context for events in Nigeria: Adichie alludes to lynchings of African Americans in the American south (229); to the 1963 bombing of the Baptist church in Birmingham, Alabama (245); to British expatriates' skepticism about Nigerian self-rule (53); and to American reporters' misconceptions of Africans (370). Susan's understanding of culture is everywhere racist (for example, 154).
 13. Twin births were regarded as unnatural and dangerous in precolonial Igbo culture. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe suggests that Christian missionaries began by converting the parents of twins.

Works Cited

- Achebe, Chinua. *The Education of a British-Protected Child*. New York: Knopf, 2009.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. "African 'Authenticity' and the Biafran Experience." *Transition* 99 (2008): 42–53.
- . *Half of a Yellow Sun*. New York: Knopf, 2006.
- Ajayi-Soyinka, Omofolabo. "Black Feminist Criticism and Drama: Thoughts on Double Patriarchy." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism* 7.2 (1993): 161–76.
- Anyanwa, Ikechukwu. "In the Footsteps of Achebe: Enter Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Nigeria's Newest Literary Voice." *THISDAYonline*. 19 Oct. 2003. 9 Jan. 2006. <<http://www.nigeriansinamerica.com/articles/347/1/In-the-footsteps-of-Achebe-%3A-Enter-Chimamanda-Ngozi-Adichie%2C-Nigeria%92s-Newest-Literary-Voice>>.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Blackburn, Maria. "Novel approach to Nigeria." *Johns Hopkins Magazine* 2004. 2 Dec. 2006. <<http://www.jhu.edu/jhumag/0204web/wholly.html>>.
- Cronje, Suzanne. *The World and Nigeria: The Diplomatic History of the Biafran War 1967–1970*. London: Sidgwick, 1972.
- Emecheta, Buchi. *Destination Biafra*. 1982. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994.
- Garner, Clare. "An Interview with Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie." *Harper-Collins Reading Groups*. 8 Jan. 2006. <<http://www.readinggroups.co.uk/Authors/Interview.aspx?id+581&aid=6620>>.
- Goldberg, David Theo. "Heterogeneity and Hybridity: Colonial Legacy, Postcolonial Heresy." *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray. Malden: Blackwell, 2000. 72–86.

- Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*. Ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Malden: Blackwell, 2005. 233–46.
- Hawley, John C. "Biafra as Heritage and Symbol: Adichie, Mbachiu, and Iweala." *Research in African Literatures* 39.2 (2008): 15–26.
- Jacobs, Dan. *The Brutality of Nations*. New York: Knopf, 1987.
- Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of US Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002.
- Kimber, Charlie. "Interview: Chimamanda Adichie." *Socialist Review* (2006). 10 May 2010. <<http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=9845>>.
- Mehta, Brinda. *Diasporic (Dis)locations: Indo-Caribbean Women Writers Negotiate the Kala Pani*. Jamaica: U of West Indies P, 2004.
- Mudimbe, V. Y., and Sabine Engel. "Introduction: Diaspora and Immigration Special Issue." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98.1/2 (1998): 1–8.
- Mundow, Anna. "Her stories of war are also her stories of family: Interview." *The Boston Globe* 8 Oct. 2006. 9 Feb. 2010. <http://www.boston.com/ae/books/articles/2006/10/08/her_stories_of_war_are_also_her_stories_of_family>.
- Nafziger, E. Wayne. *The Economics of Political Instability: The Nigerian-Biafran War*. Boulder: Westview, 1983.
- Novak, Amy. "Who Speaks? Who Listens?: The Problem of Address in Two Nigerian Trauma Novels." *Studies in the Novel* 40.1–2 (2008): 31–51.
- Nwapa, Flora. *Never Again*. 1975. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1992.
- Oates, Nathan. "Political Stories." *The Missouri Review* 30.3 (2007): 156–71.
- Olaniyan, Tejumola. "Africa: Varied Colonial Legacies." *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray. Malden: Blackwell, 2000. 269–81.
- Osaghae, Eghosa E. *Crippled Giant: Nigeria since Independence*. London: Hurst, 1998.
- Palta, Rina. "Half of a Yellow Sun." *MotherJones.com* 23 Oct. 2006. 10 Feb. 2010. <<http://motherjones.com/interview/2006/10/adichie.html>>.
- Radhakrishnan, R. *Diasporic Mediations: Between Home and Location*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996.
- . "Ethnicity in an Age of Diaspora." *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*. Malden: Blackwell, 2005. 119–31.
- Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage, 1993.
- . "Reflections on Exile." *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000. 173–86.
- Shea, Renee H. "An Interview with Fiction Writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie." *Poets & Writers* 8 Aug. 2007. 9 Feb. 2010. <http://www.pw.org/content/interview_fiction_writer_chimamanda_ngozi_adichie>.
- Stremmlau, John J. *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War 1967–1970*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977.
- Walters, Wendy W. "Writing the Diaspora in Black International Literature 'With Wider Hope in Some More Benign Fluid . . .': Diaspora Consciousness and Literary Expression." *Diasporic Africa: A Reader*. Ed. Michael A. Gomez. New York: New York UP, 2006. 271–89.
- Wickett, Dan. "Interview with Chimamanda Adichie." *Emerging Writers Forum* 6 April 2004. 11 Jan. 2006. <http://www.breaktech.net/EmergingWritersForum/View_Interview.aspx?id=82>.