

Gender Dynamics and Female Characters in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *The Black Hermit*

Raphael Chukwuemeka Onyejizu

Abstract

The portrayal of women in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's seminal play, The Black Hermit (1962), is characterised by gender dynamics, with females embodying and navigating the patriarchal system that undergird nationalist discourse. Often analysed through the lens of the dilemmas of its male lead character, Remi, this paper takes a different approach by re-examining the roles of Thoni, Nyobi, and Jane as key to grasping its broader concerns of gender relations in the post-independent African society. This study highlights how the playwright articulates womanhood both as bearer of tradition and as leading symbol of rebellion, yet constrained by male-oriented nationalism. The aim of the paper is to highlight how Ngũgĩ articulates womanhood not as victimhood but as a point of tension between submission and resistance. Using a feminist postcolonial framework complemented by feminist nationalism theory and the idea of the politicised female body to interpret the characters in relation to both personal and collective social struggles, the paper shows that Ngũgĩ presents women as indispensable to the survival of the community, yet constrained within patriarchal expectations. The orientation of this paper is that any nationalist project that falls short of female liberation remains incomplete. The research contributes to scholarship by highlighting the gendered foundations of African nationalist literature.

Keywords: *Gender, Dynamics, Female, Characters, Black, Hermit*

Introduction

African literature has a long thread of representing female often with reductive stereotypes, portraying the narrowed narrative of their status as victims of patriarchal structures (Mwanza 1; Azuike 1; & Akukwe 31). But the critic, Chimalum Nwankwo, thinks differently, that a more sincere evaluation needs us transcending this simplistic observation to understand how writers conceptualise the difficult existence of female characters within their specific cultural and historical contexts (85). Ngugi wa Thiong'o's seminal play, *The Black Hermit* (first performed in 1962 but officially published in 1968), inspired by and performed in honour of Uganda's independence celebrations, makes a persuasive case in point for such a second thought. The play follows Remi, the male lead, as he struggles between his duties to tradition and the pull of modern ideas, while also exploring sensitive issues of gender. This paper argues that through the triadic and distinct representation of Thoni, Nyobi, and Jane, Ngugi articulates a unique analysis of womanhood that goes beyond the stereotype to reveal a complex system of female agency, limitations, and perseverance.

To fully engage this position of feminine agency, limitations and perseverance, the analysis is layered around three main objectives. First, it will involve a close character study of each of the identified female characters in order to underpin their particular construction and individual dramatic function: Thoni,

who concretises the painful tensions between tradition and personal desire; Nyobi, whose character represents a localised cum practical and often sensible obstinacy that reject simplistic readings of the “traditional woman”; and Jane - a minor character who brings to the play’s primary rural mix, a complicating nonrural femininity. Second, it will examine the interactions and conflicts of these women so as to map the gender dynamics therein to show how Ngugi employs these interrelations to criticise phallogentric limitations. Lastly, paper will bring together the three female characters under review to illustrate the general significance of Ngugi’s portrayal, making clear the difficulties and strength of African womanhood. By advancing multi-vocal feminist discourse that is already fully operative within Ngūgĩ’s dramatic piece, this paper will respond to the central question of how Ngugi portrays women and the implication of such representation for an adequate understanding of his literary vision.

Theoretical Framework

For the theoretical framework with which the reading of gender dynamics in Ngūgĩ’s *The Black Hermit*, two theories and a concept will be relied upon: postcolonial feminism, feminist nationalism theory, and the concept of the politicised female body. These three, taken as a synthesis, will provide a framework for examining how female characters navigate systems of power that are at once phallogentric, nationalistic, and colonial.

Postcolonial Feminism is primarily the lens for interpretation, drawn chiefly from Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s foundational concept of “double colonisation.” The position of this theory is

that women in postcolonial settings experience oppression from two intertwined forces: the external, enduring legacy of (neo)colonialism and the internal structure of indigenous patriarchy (Mohanty 71). This twofold oppression means that African women are not only fighting gender inequality but are also trapped in the web of wider socio-political challenges at the hands of imperialist and racist systems. In Belwal and Sharma (128) and Waita (45) we see this reality as persistent theme in African literature, where female characters must negotiate their identities within these intersecting structures of power. Postcolonial feminism is fitting for interpreting the characters in *The Black Hermit*, as it transcends beyond the analysis of Western feminist paradigms that commonly fall short of accounting for this particularly difficult subversion of double colonisation.

Building on this, Feminist Nationalism Theory, as theorised by scholars like Nira Yuval-Davis and Partha Chatterjee, offers a critical mode for understanding the significant function given to women within nationalist visions. Yuval-Davis opines that women are consistently constructed as the biological, cultural, and symbolic reproducers of the nation (21). Their bodies and behaviours are put at the centre of determining national identity and preserving cultural purity, especially in the light of anticolonial struggles. Chatterjee's work on Indian nationalism prolongs the discourse by revealing how nationalist conversations often tilt around the tension between modernity and tradition by facilitating a spiritual, domestic sphere, symbolised by women, that must be kept safe from the corrupting material world of Western colonialism (6). This framework brings out the immense pressure from the community on a character like Thoni to conform

to the roles of wife and mother; her personal desires are swallowed by her responsibility to ensure the continuity and purity of the cultural nation, a responsibility designated as crucial to the post-independence project (Chakraborty 165).

In the light of the above, this symbolic burden leaves a loophole (that while nationalism claims to elevate women as central to the nation, it actually limits their freedom and silences their voice, creating a gap between what women represent and what they are allowed to be) that its filling necessitates a third concept: the politicised female body. This concept is rooted in the context of particular history of the clitoridectomy controversy in colonial Kenya, as analysed by Brendon Nicholls. This event typifies how the female body becomes a primary location of political contestation. During the 1920s and 1930s, the practice of female circumcision (clitoridectomy) turned into a fierce battlespot where both the colonial administration (which condemned it as barbaric) and the Gikuyu nationalist patriarchy (which upheld it as an essential cultural rite for womanhood) tussled for control. The result, as Nicholls argues, was a collusion of patriarchies that silenced Gikuyu women, whose bodies were metaphorically transformed into symbols of the emerging nation at the direct expense of their own sexual and political agency (3940). This precedent in history is important in foregrounding the theory in Ngũgĩ's play. It illustrates that the pressure on women to perform specific roles is not merely social but intensely political. Their bodily autonomy is routinely sacrificed in conflicts between larger power structures, a dynamic that directly informs the struggles of Thoni, Nyobi, and Jane in *The Black Hermit* (Chakraborty 166).

Going forward, the analysis herein employs this synthesised framework with the caveat proposed by the critic Chimalum Nwankwo, which seeks to identify not only the mechanisms of constraint but also the spaces for agency, resilience, and subversion that female characters enact within and against national and patriarchal systems. In opting for such integrated theoretical approach, this paper will shed light on how Ngũgĩ's play exposes the delicate ways in which gender, nation, and the body collide not only in that fraught space of a newly independent society but even the contemporary society that is yet to outgrow the same tendencies.

Characterisation of Females in *The Black Hermit*

Thoni is a very obedient village girl who gets married to Remi's brother. She becomes a widow and lives alone after her husband's death. According to custom she is inherited by Remi, but he runs away, leaving her alone. She is portrayed as a person with true love for Remi. Despite the fact that Remi deserts her, she is determined to wait for him even for twenty years. This is revealed in her moving declaration: "I will not go with another, but him I call my husband, even if I wait for twenty years and more, I shall bear all" (4). Even when Nyobi advises her to seek a third husband, Thoni resists, insisting, "I cannot now go to a third husband. I cannot roll from hand to hand, a public ball, or a common whore, making myself cheap before the world. Rather than that, I shall die and have the grave for a bed" (2).

She is patient and optimistic, enduring terrible loneliness but still hoping that Remi will one day return. Yet she also suffers from intrapersonal conflict. On the one hand, she longs for a man

to complete her life: “Yet I can’t do without a husband, without a man to warm my bed, a man to ask me for a meal in the evening... and a child of my own, a child to call me mother, to make me feel a new self” (2-3). On the other hand, she views Remi’s absence as a personal rejection: “Why do men not rest in my hands? Death took away my first husband. Now the next, his brother, has left me. The hut’s gloom and loneliness has started eating into me” (4).

Her solitary resilience is also evident in how she seeks comfort outside human companionship: “Look now. I’ll not cry any more, and when I feel grief come, I’ll go out and seek companions in the trees on the hills. I’ll watch little birds, and lizards and insects. Often at night, I’ve walked about, alone, letting the moon and the stars speak to me” (5). Yet despite her strength, she tragically uses a wrong approach to solve her problem. When Remi eventually comes back and degrades her in public, she commits suicide; a final weakness that undoes her long patience and faith.

Nyobi is the wife of Ngome and Remi’s mother. She is a sympathetic and caring mother who treats Thoni as her own daughter. Her concern is clear when she tells her: “I, your mother in all ways but birth, am pained to see the gradual waste of your maidenhood” (2). She is deeply hurt by the loneliness Thoni experiences and wishes to see her restored to happiness. She is also a good advisor. She urges Thoni to remarry, reminding her that time will not wait: “Go and get another husband. The world will not wait for you. I tell you take a man. If he does not marry you, he may at least give you a child” (4). Similarly, she later

cautions Remi about his dealings with villagers: “My son, don’t be dazzled by the blaze which will burn for the night and tomorrow it is out” (48).

Nyobi’s character is also marked by deep intrapersonal conflict. She longs for her absent son and feels guilty for straying from her faith. After being tricked by the elders into blessing their traditional medicine, she confesses to the pastor: “They want to send for him. So they came to me for blessings, and I, overwhelmed by a mother’s desire to see her son back, betrayed my heart, giving the required blessings” (17). This moment reveals her struggle between her devotion to Christianity and her desperation to see her son return. Her cry of doubt earlier, “What have I done? I know Christ hates our medicine. Suppose God punished me so that Remi does not come back?” (12), reinforces this tension.

She also reveals her maternal concern for Thoni, speaking of her as a fragile plant in need of care: “Remi left a young wife. And she, like a sapling in a drought-stricken land, will also dry up in the heat of desolation... She is a seedling whose eventual fruit will be a blessing to us all. But a seedling needs a gardener” (18). Here, Nyobi sees Thoni’s fate intertwined with Remi’s, fearing that without him she will wither away. Finally, Nyobi becomes disappointed by Remi’s change of character. Once God-fearing, he returns rude and irreverent, prompting her to exclaim in disbelief: “You talk to me so? You talk to me so?” (48).

Jane is minor character, Jane is Remi's girlfriend in the city; she works in an office as a typist. She is anti-racism. She believes that colour differences should not create barriers between people. She

tells Remi: “What matters is not race, creed, or custom, but whether individuals can meet and understand one another” (36). She is betrayed by Remi. Jane is betrayed by Remi when the time comes for Remi to go back home, but he refuses to go with her. Finally, she runs away, leaving Remi alone.

Gender Dynamics in *The Black Hermit*

Gender and identity are intertwined as far as the discourse on humanity is concerned (Belwal and Devendra 1). Abdullahi notes, Ngũgĩ repeatedly warned that “the immediate obstacle to the creation of a Kenyan nation is not so much racialism, but tribalism” (5). The play primarily dramatises these fractures, where cultural conflict between elders and Christians intersects with political betrayal in the postcolonial state. Yet of no less importance is Ngũgĩ’s concern with the role of women in these combats. It is not without reason that Nwankwo observes thus: “a study of the plays of Ngugi wa Thiong’o reveals unstinted efforts to transform the negative image of African womanhood from passivity to social responsibility... in appropriate historical and cultural contexts” (85). Gender dynamics, if understood as the shifting power relations between men and women, become the channel through which the play exposes the tensions between tradition, nationalism, and personal desires.

The “Double Bind” of Womanhood

Thoni’s character is an illustration of a “double bind,” by that is meant being trapped between national expectation, ethnic custom

("Marua"), and her own personal desire (Chakraborty 167). Her opening lament embodies her existence entirely through the presence of a husband and child: "A man to ask for a meal... a child to call me mother" (Ngugi 3). This moment affirms her internalisation of normative gender roles that confine women's identities to marriage and motherhood. In Marua village we see, womanhood was perceived in the light of motherhood, defined through reproduction and service to a husband.

Be that as it may, Thoni rejects easy conformity. Her subsequent plea to Christ to free her from "temptation," followed by her vow to wait for Remi "even twenty years and more" (Ngugi 5), dramatises her painful internal conflict. On the one hand, she yearns to claim her biological body, to "have a child of her own, a child who would make her feel a new-self" (Ngugi 3), while on the other hand, custom forbids her from remarrying: as the widow of Remi's brother, she was inherited by Remi through "Marua," and seeking a third husband would brand her a "common whore."

In this context, Nyobi's advice to Thoni to "take a man" and conceive a child outside of marriage initially appears radical, momentarily granting her reproductive autonomy (Ngugi 4). But this is shortchanged when Nyobi later redefines Thoni as a "seedling" whose eventual fruit must serve the nation; yet, "a seedling needs a gardener" (Ngugi 19). Thoni's youthful body becomes a metaphor for national continuity, subsuming her desire into responsibility to the nation.

Her tragic silence and ultimate fate, that is, dying without bearing a child, becomes a symbol of women being trapped in patriarchal bargains, imprisoned between custom, nationalism, and their own desire for selfhood.

The Ambivalence of Maternal Authority

Nyobi concretises the contradictions of maternal authority in a masculinist cum nationalist society. For one, she comes forward to challenge rigid norm when she advises Thoni to “take a man” and conceive a child outside of marriage, warning her that otherwise her youth will “fall into bits like a cloth long hung in the sun” (Ngugi 4). This counsel, even if brief, suspends the rigidity of marital inheritance, implying a recognition of women’s right to biological self-fulfillment even if it goes against communal expectation. In this moment, Nyobi airs out a subtle form of rebellion, affirming female desire and agency that transcends sanctioned systems.

Yet the flicker of hope seen in that moment of resistance proves short-lived. Nyobi eventually reasserts phallogocentrism when she affirms Thoni as a “seedling” that requires a male “gardener” (Remi) to bear fruit for the nation’s continuity (Ngugi 19). What earlier came as activism for Thoni’s self-rule is reoriented into the nationalist agenda, where women’s bodies are but vessels for reproduction in service of the community. In this sense, Nyobi’s maternal concern is co-opted by broader patriarchal-nationalist imperatives.

Her ambivalence highlights the double-edged nature of maternal authority: while mothers may sympathise with female suffering and glimpse alternative futures, they often reinforce the very systems that limit women. As Chakraborty notes, women in this context are not merely victims but also collaborators in sustaining patriarchal structures (167). Nyobi’s role, therefore, does not allow for any simple reading of her as either radical or

conservative. She is both, momentarily resistant yet ultimately complicit, embodying the paradoxes of women navigating patriarchy under the weight of nationalist expectations. In this sense we understand what Nwankwo meant in saying “The telltale patriarchy and its concomitant sexism in African societies is not as absolute as the armchair scholar or unwary feminist would have one believe” (85).

Modern Counterpart and the Crisis of Imported Femininity

Jane functions as the modern foil to Thoni, personifying the educated, urban woman who seeks autonomy outside the patriarchal village order. As Remi’s girlfriend in the city, she dramatises a model of anti-racist modern femininity characterised by being exposed to urban values and global ideals. Her refusal to submit to established gender roles challenges the inherited practice of widow inheritance and destabilises the patriarchal system that binds women to phallogocentric continuity.

Yet, Jane’s position is dangerous. While she disrupts custom, she also provokes patriarchal anxiety by threatening the symbolic stability of the marriage system. Her individualism, though empowering, is cast as an “imported” model of femininity, a massive breakaway from the socio-cultural soil in which Thoni is cultivated. As Ogunyemi, invoking Simone de Beauvoir, reminds us, woman is constructed as “the second sex” whose cultural value and existence are determined by man (45). Jane’s independence, therefore, cannot escape being mediated by Remi’s authority.

Her final betrayal by Remi speaks volume of the limits of modern alternatives grafted onto entrenched systems. Rather than transforming patriarchy, Jane’s challenge is either absorbed or

rejected by it. In the end, she demonstrates that authentic liberation cannot be externally imposed but must arise from within the cultural matrix itself.

The Male-Centered Nationalist Project

In *The Black Hermit*, Remi occupies the paradoxical role of both ethnic and national saviour. The Elder insists that with his education he could have elevated Marua into political dominance by forming a party of their own (Ngugi 8-10). But Remi resists the pull of ethnic politics, asking: “Has our nationalist fervour... been torn to shreds by such tribal loyalties? All my life I believed in the creation of a nation. Where are we now?” (41). Thus, he is positioned as the custodian of the nation-state, caught between tribal loyalty and a broader nationalist vision.

However, Remi’s political struggle is inseparable from gender. As Jan Jindy Pettman observes, “the state is often gendered male, and the nation gendered female” (35). In this symbolic economy, Remi’s authority as a nationalist leader depends on subordinating women to private, reproductive roles. His rejection of both Jane and Thoni underscores this malecentered project. Thoni represents tradition and ethnic continuity through widow inheritance, while Jane symbolises modern, urban individualism. His indecision to choose one of them reveals his privilege: unlike the women Remi can delay choice, oscillate, or abandon them completely, while they, the woman, bear the burden of sacrifice.

By vowing, “I will no longer be led by woman, priest or tribe. I’ll crush tribalism beneath my feet, and all the shackles of custom.

I was wrong to marry her who was another's wife" (65), Remi articulates a masculinist nationalism rooted in domination rather than inclusivity. Women are cast not as participants but as symbols; Thoni as the nation-mother destroyed by neglect, Jane as modernity, rejected. In the end, Remi embodies the virile fraternity of postcolonial nationalism, where men monopolise power and women pay the cost.

The Wider Echoe on Gendered Power

Ngugi's *The Black Hermit* offers a penetrating critique of patriarchy as a system that adapts to shifting political realities while continuing to subordinate women. Even as nationalism and Christianity bring change to Marua society, gender hierarchies remain intact. Women are shown as central to the survival of the family and community, yet their roles are carefully circumscribed and they are denied genuine autonomy.

Nyobi captures this paradox. She embodies resilience, care, and spiritual commitment, yet her maternal authority is undermined by elders who mock her faith and belittle her influence. Her admission, "I have tasted the pains of beating, the pangs of birth and death's blow," underscores the normalisation of domestic violence as part of a woman's lot. Similarly, Thoni represents the tragic dimension of women's constrained choices. Bound by the custom of widow inheritance, she is compelled to marry Remi against her will. Her undying fidelity to him, waiting even in his absence and refusing other suitors, marks her as a figure of self-sacrificial love, but also highlights the suffocating expectations that deny her agency. Her eventual suicide demonstrates the destructive weight of patriarchal culture.

Ngugi also sketches Jane, the urban lover whom Remi uses for sexual pleasure but refuses to marry. Jane's lament: "Can't you remember all the sweet hours we had together?," exposes another dimension of exploitation, where women's intimacy and devotion are reduced to disposable pleasures. Collectively, these portraits show women as caregivers, moral anchors, and lovers, but ultimately confined to positions defined by male desires or communal obligations.

A comparative glance at Ngugi's wider oeuvre sharpens this reading. In *The River Between*, characters like Muthoni and Nyambura are underdeveloped, their fates tied to male protagonists' journeys (Nankuri et al. 8). By contrast, in *Wizard of the Crow*, Nyawira emerges as a radical, politically conscious agent who actively resists oppression (Waita 45). Thus, *The Black Hermit* stands as a transitional text. Ngugi identifies patriarchal nationalism as a profound problem but has not yet envisioned a liberatory path for women. The play critiques oppression but leaves its female characters without the political agency that defines Ngugi's later, more mature feminist vision.

Conclusion

Ngugi's *The Black Hermit* is often read as a nationalist drama preoccupied with tribalism, independence, and male political subjectivity. Yet, as this analysis has shown, its most enduring insight lies in its portrayal of women and the gendered structures that underwrite the nationalist project. At its core, the play exposes how the language of liberation and community is sustained on patriarchal assumptions, ensuring that women remain subordinated even as men speak of freedom.

Through Thoni's silenced agency, Nyobi's ambivalent maternal authority, and Jane's disruptive modern femininity, Ngugi sketches the contours of a society in transition where women simultaneously embody possibility and constraint. Thoni's quiet endurance dramatises the suffocating demands placed upon women to uphold traditions that deny their personal desires. Nyobi, while occasionally glimpsing alternative possibilities, reinscribes patriarchal logic by situating women as dependent "seedlings" who need male cultivation, showing how even maternal figures can become custodians of oppression. Jane, in contrast, unsettles patriarchal-nationalist narratives by asserting her sexual and emotional claims, yet her marginalisation within the text reflects how nationalist discourse struggles to incorporate women as autonomous subjects.

Taken together, these figures reveal how the personal realm of gender is inseparable from the political, demonstrating that the supposed "unity" of the nation is built upon the regulation and containment of female bodies. Ngugi thus provides an incisive critique: independence without gender justice is incomplete and nationalism that silences women simply reproduces colonial patterns of domination under a different name.

If anything, *The Black Hermit* endures as a powerful reminder that any project of liberation in Africa or elsewhere that excludes women is fundamentally compromised. To dramatises the intimate entanglement of patriarchy, ethnicity, and nationalism presupposes Ngugi wa Thiong'o, as impelling us to take note that authentic liberation must contain within it the freedom of the female, without which no nation can claim to be free.

Works Cited

Abdullahi, Nasir Umar. “Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's Writing Career: The Rise and the Development of a Dynamic African Literary Star.” *International Journal of Literature, Language and Linguistics*, vol. 3, no. 6, 2023, pp. 1–16.
doi:10.52589/IJLLL-SQJMVMP5.

Akukwe, Nwamaka B. African and African Diasporic Women Writing: Voices against Patriarchy in Africa. 2024. *University of Derby, PhD dissertation*.

Azuike, Maureen Amaka. “Cultural Patriarchy and Mythical Stereotypes about Women in African Literature.” *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2019, pp. 1–17. ISSN: 2277-0046.

Belwal, Kanika, and Devendra Kurma Sharma. “Gender Perspective and Its Role in Constructing Women Identity in Ngugi wa Thiong'o Selected Novels.” *International Journal of Global Research Innovations & Technology (IJGRIT)*, vol. 3, no. 1 (II), Jan.-Mar. 2025, pp. 127–130. ISSN 25838717.

Chakraborty, Amitayu. “Nationalism, Ethnicity and Gender in Ngugi's *The Black Hermit*.” *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 6, no. 9, May 2014, pp. 162–174.

Chatterjee, Partha. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. Zed Books, 1993.

Mwanza, Lefani F. "African Identities and Gender Perspectives: The Role of Women in Identity Construction in Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Petals of Blood*." *Political Philosophy, Identity Politics, African Literature*, 6, pp. 1-6.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Feminist Review*, Vol. 30, No.1 1988, pp. 61-88.

Nankuri, F., B. P. Addo, M. Akomea, I. A. Asare, and A. A. A. Duhoe. "Gender Perspectives and Portrayal in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *The River Between* (1965)." *Hybrid Journal of Literary and Cultural Studies*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2022, <https://royalliteglobal.com/hybrid-1literary/article/view/741>.

Nicholls, Brendon. *Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading*. 1st ed., Routledge, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315598253>.

Nwankwo, Chimalum. "Women in Ngugi's Plays: From Passivity to Social Responsibility." *eScholarship*, 1985, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6m38c7h8>.

Ogunyemi, Christopher Babatunde. "The Configuration of Gender and Identity in Nigerian Literature." *ResearchGate*, June 2014, www.researchgate.net/publication/356584633The_Configuration_of_Gender_and_Identity_in_Nigerian_Literature.

Pettman, Jan Jindy. *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics*. Routledge, 1996.

Waita, Njogu. “Identity, Politics and Gender Dimensions in Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s *Wizard of the Crow*.” *International Journal on Studies in English Language and Literature (IJSELL)*, vol. 1, no. 2, July 2013, pp. 45–50. ARC Journals, www.arcjournals.org. wa Thiong’o, Ngugi . *The Black Hermit*. Heinemann, 1968.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. “Gender and Nation.” *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Politics of Transition*, edited by Robert E. Miller and Rick Wilford, 1st ed., Routledge, 1998, pp. 21–31. Routledge, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203169582>.

Raphael Chukwuemeka Onyejizu is an independent scholar in Nigeria. Email is Raphaelnjz@gmail.com