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NIGERIA'S MULTI-ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON SOCIAL AND BUSINESS BEHAVIOR.

United States International University,
Ph.D., 1971
Psychology, general

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1971

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NIGERIA'S MULTI-ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON SOCIAL AND BUSINESS BEHAVIOR

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
of Leadership and Human Behavior
Department of Communications
United States International University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Sunday Matthew Umoh
May, 1971

NIGERIA'S MULTI-ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS
SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON SOCIAL
AND BUSINESS BEHAVIOR

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Graduate Faculty
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---

by
Sunday Matthew Umoh

Approved by:

David Feldman — May 5, 1971
Chairman — Date

Manuel Rodriguez

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To many authors the writing of an acknowledgment to a piece of printed work is a matter of mere or common formality. But I regard this page to be of more signal or paramount importance to me than all the many pages of this dissertation which contribute towards my obtaining a Ph.D degree.

Why? Because it affords me an unparalleled opportunity to document my sincerest and innermost feelings towards those whom I have held very dear during the many long and weary years of my academic exploit in the United States of America.

For one to leave one's native home for the first time in life and be separated from one's parents, relatives, intimate friends and loved ones for eight years in a row, without the opportunity to re-unite except in dreams, is a pill rather "too bitter to swallow." But I have swallowed it, and that not with "honey" but with "vinegar." Through-out this episode of occasional, seasonal or periodic bodily discomfort, burdened heart and mental anguish resulting from unelaborated causes, my martial spirit has always remained invulnerable.

In this respect, God deserves all the praise and glory. And to Him I must accord my first wave of thanks.

Secondly, the thought of my beloved father, Matthew Umoh, who, after bitterly missing my filial relationship for more than seven years passed away, continuously hunts my imagination and sentiments. He died, it is sad to say, on September 20, 1970, only nine months before my scheduled date of return. To his memory, I also dedicate this paper.

My mother, Mrs. Jane Udoh, has inexplicably missed me, and that with tears, for so long. And which mother in her position would not do likewise? Yet she understands that greatness rarely comes without sacrifices. In her recent letter she wrote, "Sunday, even though you may be told that I sometimes cry over our long separation, I don't want you to weaken your spirit. But rather, double your effort. Accomplish whatever goal you have to; and hurry home." Such a mother undoubtedly deserves not only thanks for this encouragement, but also an immeasurable respect.

During this period, my Uncle, Chief Nelson Udoh Akpan, has willingly played the "big brother" to my two younger brothers, Emmanuel and Umoh, who have also lost my fraternal relationship, counseling and guidance which is African tradition. They have cheerfully endured all this to encourage me. I must express my deep appreciation also.

My indebtedness must equally go to my townsman, Mr. A.B. Umoh of the Surveys Department at Calabar. Upon hearing that I got a Master's Degree in Business

Administration, he wrote, "We must make the first Doctor from Ikot Nya out of you. Don't let us down. Study harder and don't return without a Ph.D degree." Needless trying to assess the tremendous impact that such words had on me. They really encouraged me in the face of difficulties and hardship, and perhaps heavily influenced me to remember the words of Duke Senior in Shakespeare's As You Like It: "Sweet are the uses of adversity, which, like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in his head. And this our life exempt from public haunt finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything" (Act II, Scene I).

The name of Pastor U.A. Okure, the Superintendent of Undenominational Church of the Lord in Nigeria, deserves a special place in this acknowledgment. His continuous prayers, news release and words of spiritual comfort and encouragement will always remain green in my memory.

Before I left home, Professor E.J. Umoh, M.P., O.C.P., of Ikot Nya, pledged that he would welcome home any Ikot Nya youth who would return from a recognized institution of higher learning with a Ph.D degree with seven-gun salutes. However, there were circumstances that promoted this pledge, which I don't intend to discuss. Nevertheless, every correspondence from the Professor has always reminded me of his pledge. I am truly indebted to him for such words of encouragement.

The very Ekpuk, Nnung Imoi, of which I am a member, must also be remembered for fervent prayers and a strong moral support for my academic growth and maturity. Ikot Nya Youth League, Lagos Branch, equally deserves my recognition and appreciation in this respect.

It will prove an attempt at futility to try to list all the Nigerians who have contributed directly or indirectly towards the achievement of my goal. To all these individuals, of whom Mr. and Mrs. E.N.E. Obong of Nung Udoe would top the list, I must express my heartfelt appreciation, thanks and indebtedness.

My days in the United States have not been totally bitter. Individuals, as well as groups, have also teamed up together to enable me to attain this academic status. The Undenominational Church of the Lord at Placentia, California, that was really instrumental to my coming to the United States, has conspicuously accepted and woven me inextricably into their fold. They have never denied me their support--spiritual, moral and temporal--whenever they can afford to render. There is no doubt that I owe much of my academic and spiritual ambition and success to this group. May God be praised for such a Christian fold.

In matters of physical health, Dr. N.E. Roberti of Fullerton, California, has voluntarily given me his personal attention at no cost to my pocket. And with the willing

cooperation of his wife, they have generously made me the African member of their family. Who would not be grateful for this profound gesture of amicability?

Words may be scarce with which to especially express the role played by Mr. Don Pierotti, a member of the above-mentioned church. But let it suffice without further expatiation that his relationship has been not only a blessing, but also a source of inspiration to the attainment of my goal.

We must admit that many factors contribute towards obtaining a Ph.D degree. The student may need criticism, suggestions, encouragement, cooperation, and moral support from colleagues and friends from all spheres of life in such things as typing, proofreading, supply of needed materials and otherwise. In this connection my indebtedness must go to these few who have generously devoted their time, efforts and resources in one or more of the listed categories. They are: Mrs. Yvonne Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Malloy, Miss Linda Bardeen, Miss Marcia Holloway, Mrs. Allene Byrd and Mrs. Aristene Middlebrook.

Nevertheless, there are many more who have chosen to remain anonymous to whom I am equally grateful for their help and assistance. This, of course, does not imply that there was any intention to list every name that deserves mention. Such would not be possible.

Yet the part played by Mrs. Florence Learned must not go unnoticed. She merits my thanks and indebtedness for the pains she takes, and the ingenuity she exercises in typing this work in its final stage in an acceptable form.

Finally, Mario Pei in The Story of Language quotes Dryden: "Who climbs the grammar-tree, distinctly knows where noun and verb and participle grows" (p. 101).

I can follow up this quotation by asserting that he who writes a dissertation distinctly knows the necessity and usefulness of an able and willing committee. My immense thanks, gratefulness and indebtedness must be wholeheartedly accorded my dissertation committee for every and all the constructive suggestions and criticisms rendered. Their willingness to critically and patiently evaluate my philosophy has been of inexpressible value throughout the writing of this treatise. Without this type of support, assistance and guidance, and also encouragement, the accomplishment of my intellectual maturity and academic eminence would be far from a reality. To the members of this committee, whose names are conspicuously documented on the title page, I must express my most sincere appreciation.

Nevertheless, I hold myself, and myself alone, solely and wholly responsible for the contents of this doctoral dissertation in all its entirety. However, comments and suggestions from my readers will always be welcomed, not

for improving the quality of this research which has already been concluded, but for further works in this field which are obvious to follow.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In our present civilized world of constant human interaction, man is more concerned about the daily and occasional problems of communication than ever before in the annals of recorded history. This is profoundly significant not only on national and international levels, but also on intrapersonal, interpersonal, intragroup and intergroup levels. When somebody from Europe proposes a journey into Africa, he first of all asks himself whether he can speak and understand the language of the particular country that he is about to visit. When an American intends to travel into Mexico, he asks himself how well he can communicate in the Spanish language. A Mexican does not fail to ask himself a similar question about the English language while planning to cross the international boundary into the United States. Between England and France, Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Germany, China and Russia, Brazil and Panama, Cuba and Australia, or Nigeria and Ghana, etc., similar questions are never out of place.

It is beyond every reasonable doubt that where the answer is negative, the person proposing the trip must

either change his mind about the planned visit, or anticipate communicating through interpreters or translators who can speak and understand the two or more languages that may be involved. We can logically defend this behavior on the ground that the subject countries are different and separate independent nations.

If a Californian were to change his mind about visiting Oregon or Arizona from fear of not being able to speak and communicate with the people of those states, it would be thought that such an individual is crazy and a qualified practising psychiatrist might be immediately consulted to examine him. But in Nigeria, if Mr. "X" (a hypothetical traveler) should refuse to travel from the Rivers State (his home state) to the East Central State or Southeastern State (adjoining states with the Rivers State) for fear of not being able to communicate with the people of his destination, obviously Mr. "X" would not be deemed crazy. And no services of a psychiatrist would be necessary. These three Nigerian States are coterminous; yet they have completely different languages. This holds true as well with all other States within the confines of Nigeria. Nevertheless, Nigeria is a single independent country.

However, our hypothetical traveler may not cancel his planned trip in spite of the impending linguistic

communication difficulties. He realizes that in every community in Nigeria there are bound to be some people who can speak more than one Nigerian native language. Their services as interpreters may be used when necessary. The problem lies then in appraising the feelings and attitudes of the host statesmen towards their visitor who is thus linguistically handicapped. From practical experience, however, we know how we, in our countries, feel towards visitors who come from other different nations. But what would be the situation in a case involving citizens of the same country who speak different languages?

The concern in Nigeria, heretofore, is not whether the citizens communicate verbally. Obviously they do. But the major point of interest, concern and inquiry is how to relate the use of multi-cultural communication among the citizens of one country to the social, political, economic and general business behavior. This is the specific field of investigation requiring a thorough exploration, explanation and analysis in this work.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The importance of presenting any written material in a well organized format has already gained a world wide significance among students, scholars, educators, businessmen, politicians, technicians, lawyers and all other classes

of intellectual elites. Experience has taught us that anything worth doing deserves a dependable, thought-out organization. In fact, the way a person organizes his work can tell much of his "blind self" and his business acumen, although this cannot be regarded as an infallible index. Nevertheless, to facilitate a clear and continuous line of thought, the contents of this work will take the following sequence. Chapter I is designed to deal with: (1) the significance of the study, (2) general and specific purposes, (3) hypotheses (these will be given as statements of facts required to be proven), (4) rationale of the study, (5) methodology, (6) sources of information, (7) problems connected with the study, (8) assumptions, and (9) definition of important terms.

Chapter II is devoted to the review of related literature. Reading materials are selected from various sources ranging from memoranda to books that have some bearing upon the subject matter discussed in this work. The literature is not limited to topics on Nigeria alone. It expands to include not only African countries but also other nations of the world. The titles and book topics are not supposed to be only those dealing with human communications. Other topics that appear relevant are brought in for the purpose of lending greater clarity to the study.

Chapter III gives a survey of the physical and cultural elements of the country in question. Topographical and geographical factors may feature to some extent. A brief historical analysis may be expected here. Ethnic groupings and characteristics constitute the central core of this chapter.

Chapter IV is devoted to Communication in transitional phases. This is composed of subsections on such titles as (1) The Pre-Colonial Era, 300 B.C. - 1860; (2) The Colonial Regime, 1860 - 1960; (3) The Educational system and western influence upon native laws and customs; (4) Independence Period, 1960 - 1970; (5) Conflicts and Resolutions, etc.

Chapter V deals with the concluding analysis of the study. Recommendations that the author considers reasonably justifiable are made in this chapter.

Appendices and Bibliography mark the end of this work. This, of course, must not be regarded as a chapter.

Significance of the study. What usually causes much alarm to visitors in Nigeria and people who read about the country is the fact that each little section has its own language. The number of languages attributed to this country has ranged from eight to 250. This is enough to tax one's imagination. To paint an accurate linguistic picture, many current books and contemporary literature

have labeled Nigeria as the "linguistic crossroads of Africa."[1] Some people have regarded this multi-linguistic attribute as an asset. Others condemn it without a second thought as an inevitable liability. Certainly, this situation has puzzled not only the government but also private social groups of the citizenry. Suggestions have been proposed at times which seem to have not been implemented or have caused no change since they were not predicated upon a thorough research and study.

In spite of various comments, opinions and unofficial conclusions, no diligent research, to the best of the author's knowledge, has as yet been undertaken to indicate reasonable bases for possible alternatives for handling multi-cultural communications in the country. It is obvious that this type of study has been past due. Therefore, this particular work is hoped to be of immense importance and interest to both Nigeria, other countries finding themselves in a similar category, and to scholars of human behavior and communications in various institutions of higher learning.

It is indisputably appropriate that a study of this nature should be done by a person indigenous to the subject country. And, in this respect, if ever anybody is unquestionably qualified, it is the author of this work.

---

[1] "Think," Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, January 1962, p. 26.

Purpose of the study. The purpose of this work is to diagnose and evaluate events and incidents in Nigeria which were/are connected with individual/group behavior of people from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds interacting to work towards a common goal or reach a consensus on some solution. Parallels will be drawn against similar or related events in which participants or opposing parties may have belonged to one and the same ethnic group in order to relate the decisions reached to the communication system, instruments, media or channels used.

There may be some leads to recommendations that the writer has sufficient and justifiable reasons to propose with the hope that such recommendations will help to solve the nation's political, social, economic and business problems which may owe their genesis to the malfunctioning of a multi-ethno-cultural communication network. The study, therefore, points in the general direction of finding out how the use of the many indigenous languages has influenced or affected the lives of the 60 million inhabitants of Nigeria positively or negatively, and their international associates in the world's social and economic arena.

In general terms, one can see the purpose of this work as follows:

1. To find out whether the use of various ethnic languages in Nigeria generates intergroup disharmony and

constitutes a cause of social malady in the country's national affairs.

2. To determine whether the cultural heritage of the people is precisely demarcated on linguistic lines, and if so, the positive and negative influences upon the lives of the people in such cultural segments.

3. To discover if the multi-linguistic communication system has any inherent virtue relating to the social and economic development and how it could be utilized, improved (or discarded, if totally worthless) to the country's optimum advantage.

4. To critically analyze and evaluate the sentiments, opinions and attitudes of qualified respondents in order to formulate meaningful alternatives.

5. To assess the impact of time upon tradition to see if a change of attitude has signaled itself.

Specific purpose. To specifically state the purpose of this study, it can be said that it is designed to diagnose Nigeria's social and economic sensitiveness in the framework of a multi-cultural or multi-linguistic communication; to compare and contrast with uni-cultural or uni-linguistic systems, and, if possible, formulate probable alternatives.

Hypotheses. From the specific purpose indicated above, it is easy to deduce the hypotheses relevant to this study. The hypotheses, of course, must not be accepted as true and conclusive statements on their face value. The dictionary defines "hypothesis" as something assumed because it seems likely to be a true explanation or theory. It is a proposition assumed as a basis for reasoning.[2] And the hypotheses given below are intended to serve the same purpose.

Unflinching adherence to the various traditional ethno-cultural communicative values in Nigeria has produced the following results: (1) it retards social progress, (2) it hinders economic development, (3) it generates unfair play in resource and product allocation, (4) it impedes efficient utilization of human potentialities, (5) it causes a waste of manpower, (6) it promotes inexcusable discrimination, (7) it nourishes nepotic favoritism, (8) it consolidates acute majority-minority problems, (9) it propagates cankering political instability, and (10) it perpetuates dehumanizing insensitivity to moral sentiments.

To summarize the above hypotheses, it can be stated that the current use of diverse ethnic languages, representative of the multiplicity of cultural values, has

---

[2]Thorndike Barnhart, Comprehensive Desk Dictionary.

perpetuated a national attitude of ignoring and disregarding basic human feelings and acceptable social norms and, therefore, retards the rate of social and economic advancement.

Rationale of the study. Whenever somebody feels that he is ill, sick or indisposed, he goes to a medical doctor or physician to find out what is wrong with him, and if possible, to get some treatment. If somebody is emotionally disturbed, he visits his psychiatrist. When hunger presents bodily discomfort, we eat food. Why do we behave in this fashion? The correct answer is that we want to feel comfortable all the time.

Sometimes we are surprised when our doctors find that nothing is physically wrong with us. Greater surprises erupt if our doctors tell us of our illness, even when we feel no pain and raise no complaints. There is, therefore, some justification for people to report to medical officers for some treatment when they are ill, and to report for routine medical check-up even when they feel no bodily pains. All this--for the purpose of remaining comfortable at all times.

The above analogy is very much applicable to a human kingdom. Whenever the citizens suspect a malfunction in the social, political or economic fabric of the national

system, it is expedient that thorough investigation should commence instantaneously if crises must be evaded. It has been only one year since a bloody civil war ended in Nigeria at a cost of innumerable thousands of lives. Many people had wished it had not happened. This wish came rather too late. From its inception to conclusion the war was blamed upon irreconcilable ethnic differences of the citizens.

The logical questions at this point are (1) Did Nigeria not realize prior to the war that the country comprised many different ethnic groups? (2) Had there ever been minor instances of grave conflicts between and among the various cultural groups? (3) What other factor than language creates the magnanimous gap between the peoples of the country? (4) Did this gap grow wider than ever before at the time that the civil war broke out? Could adequate communication have prevented the strife? How do we guarantee ourselves that a similar (if not more dangerous) situation will not recur? An infinite list of related questions is possible in this aspect. And if one attempts to find their answers, one will find sufficient reason to congratulate the author for his choice of this topic.

That the author has suspected a malfunction in the linguistic communication system of Nigeria is obvious when we examine the hypotheses. Instead of the government, the

writer undertakes this study not only to illustrate his academic maturity but also to demonstrate his illuminous gesture of profound patriotism.

II. METHODOLOGY

This paragraph is intended to describe the research procedure used in this study. Some brief explanation is to be given on the over-all research design, the sampling procedures, the data collection method--both primary and secondary--the field method, and analysis procedure. The reader, of course, is warned that the given list is by no means exhaustive. If technical terms (which usually are unavoidable in describing research methodology) happen to be used, every effort of simplification will be made for the purpose of maintaining a down-to-earth clarity.

Research Design

Scholars have always recognized three (though there may be more) main classifications of research design. The reference is to whether the study is exploratory, descriptive or experimental in nature. It is understood that each of the named classes has its own ramifications.

In this work, the author is using a descriptive design. There is no necessity for discussing the strengths, weaknesses, merits or demerits of the other two. But a brief statement as to why the descriptive method is used

seems not out of place at this juncture. The topic of the paper concerns linguistic communications which are already in existence. Therefore, neither exploratory nor experimental study would be more appropriate than the descriptive.

Descriptive studies are designed to furnish a complete and accurate description of a situation. And it is this that the writer aims at. Not only is this design the most appropriate for the study at hand, but it also has some other virtues not common to the other two methods. When carefully designed, it is certain to insure a complete description of the situation, and a minimum bias in the collection of data. Unlike the other two methods, it is sure to reduce "costs to a minimum, and the error to which the interpretation is subject."[3]

To obtain a reliable result of the study, two subdivisions of the descriptive design will be employed. These are the case method and the statistical method. In the case method, the cases considered are typically studied to find three factors: (1) features which are common to all cases, (2) features which are not common to all cases, and (3) features which are unique to a specific case. Conclusions can then be formulated from comparisons of these similarities and differences.

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[3]Harper W. Boyd, Jr. and Ralph Westfall, Marketing Research (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1964), pp. 60-61.

Instead of comparing individual cases by analogy, which is the characteristic of the case method, the statistical method tends to forget about the individual case and to deal instead in classes, averages, percentages, measures of dispersion and more sophisticated statistical procedures.[4]

Sampling

The universe (all possible respondents) is made up of (1) Nigerian citizens at home or abroad; citizenship will depend on birth, marriage and naturalization; and (2) people who have lived or worked long enough in Nigeria to realize the differences in the Nigerian languages. The universe embraces men and women in all walks of life (including students at schools) from the age of 15 to 99.

Data Collection

Primary. The primary data are collected by the researcher interviewing the respondents in person here in the United States by the use of questionnaires (see Appendix for a copy).[5] The questionnaires will also be mailed to

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[4] Ibid., pp. 62-64.

[5] The questionnaire has four basic parts: (1) respondent identification in terms of nationality and ethnic affiliation; (2) experiences in social affairs; (3) experiences in business transactions, and (4) current attitudes and opinions.

respondents at home, and to those in foreign services, for instance, the Nigerian embassies and consulates. Interpreters may be hired in collecting information from those handicapped in the use of the English language.

Secondary. The secondary data come from every available piece of literature (see the section on Sources of Information).

Field Method

This may not be necessary since this study is not experimental. But a few friends—missionaries and peace corps veterans, etc.—who are somehow conversant with the ethno-cultural problems in Nigeria may form a special class of respondents to be interviewed personally by the author or through personal letters.

Analysis and Interpretation

The author must take time to categorize and analyze each answer of the respondents to find out the current trends in the native thought of both the young and the old. This will form the basis for recommendations and predictions (if any). Percentages will be based upon the universe (total answering the questions) before any projection can be made in terms of the population of a particular ethnic group and the entire population of the country.

Sources of Information

The primary sources of information have already been fully discussed under "Data Collection." What is to be added here is to note that "experience is the best teacher." The writer may, therefore, cite his personal experiences to further strengthen the discourse whenever he finds it necessary to do so.

The secondary sources will consist of: (1) books of all kinds (particularly those on Nigeria) which deal with Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Business, etc., (2) journals, eg., "Journal of the Linguistic Society," (3) magazines, eg., "Africa Report," "Drum," etc., (4) newsletters and periodicals, eg., "Nigeria Today," (5) government releases, (6) newspapers, eg., "Daily Times" of Nigeria, (7) government gazettes, and (8) personal letters and memoranda.

Problems Connected With the Study

Every research project is pregnant with at least three problem areas. These are money, time and personnel. It serves no purpose to discuss how money is important in conducting a research. Yet we cannot overlook the fact that books and other materials necessary for effective study are purchased with money. Transportation of what may be used cannot be possible without money. The services of the

typists are indispensable. And all of these require financial expenses. As a self-sponsored student, it is obvious that the writer is greatly confronted with this multi-legged character--"money."

Time can also pose a major problem. Since the contemplated study deals with a country far away from the United States where the University is situated, there is bound to be much correspondence by mail, assuming that money is available. Every passing minute becomes a crucial factor if a deadline is to be kept. Of course, it is intended to be kept. Time is needed for reading books, collecting the data, analyzing and interpreting the findings, and for writing and publishing the final copy. Is one year a long enough period for one man to do a study of this nature? The answer lies in determination and the sacrifice of every leisure moment. Although this problem can be solved by applying the above technique, the truth is still that the time factor deserves no little attention.

In respect of personnel, there is not much to be said since this is a one-man study. But it is worth noting that a common problem to a group-system is the health limitation. Inasmuch as the researcher is a single individual, the assumption is that he will be in good health (and so may God grant it) if this work must be a success.

All other problems associated with any academic work of this nature hinge upon one or all of the problem areas considered thus far.

Assumptions

Every undertaking of man is predicated on some assumption. When a builder covers his house with a roof, he assumes that rain will come. When a young couple gets married, there is an assumption that babies are forthcoming. When an employer hires workers, he assumes that such workers are capable of performing the expected duties or of being trained to do them. These are only a few examples.

In undertaking this study, the author has also assumed the following situations: (1) it is assumed that there will be sufficient relevant published materials on the subject; (2) it is also assumed that there will be sufficient cooperation from the respondents and others that may be consulted for specific reasons. Without such cooperation, this work would not be meaningful, and perhaps not possible at all; (3) some means of getting enough money for the research and for continuing in school is another important assumption; (4) good health is assumed, and (5) it is also assumed that all the ethnic groups that existed when the author was born will continue to exist while this study is conducted.

III. DEFINITION OF IMPORTANT TERMS

Some of the words and terms that may appear in this paper are likely to have no English definitions in

dictionaries, and may not even have English translations. The writer is a native of Ibibio ethnic group. A synonym of this is Efik. Whenever a word appears foreign to the reader of this work, it will be safe to conclude that it is an Efik/Ibibio word or phrase, unless otherwise indicated. For instance, some expressions in other Nigerian languages may come into the picture. In such cases their origins shall be made known.

It is not easy to try to define every word that may come into use. In fact, it does not even seem necessary. The meanings of the rather unusual or foreign words will depend on the contexts in which they are used since we cannot learn the meanings of words satisfactorily from definitions. In this regard, Hayakawa points out that we learn the meanings of practically all our words (which are, it will be remembered, merely complicated noises), not from dictionaries, not from definitions, but from hearing these noises as they accompany actual situations in life and then learning to associate certain noises with certain situations.[6]

However, the few definitions that follow are only necessary for the sake of explanation of what they mean.

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[6]S.I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), p. 57.

and how they are used in Nigeria, particularly among the members of the author's ethnic group.

Anyang. Before Christianity came to Nsit clan, the natives of this clan used to worship a God-figure called by this name. At the foot of this God flows water from a rock. At certain times of the year the water swells in volume and produces a characteristic foam. Anyang was given all the reverence that any God deserves. Perhaps, there are some people still worshipping this God today. Every clan had/has its own God, but by different names.

Clan. A group of villages worshipping a common ancestral god such as Anyang which is worshipped by Nsit clan. Another distinguishing feature, and the most significant, is that each clan has its peculiar dialect (not language). The author is a native of Nsit clan. The villages belonging to a particular clan have other minor common characteristics and observances.

Clan head. A designated chief in charge of the villages in a clan. The coronation is marked by traditional ceremonies. He rules until death unless otherwise dethroned on account of a conduct unbecoming a chief.

D.C. (District Officer). A district is made up of many clans unless the population of one clan is large

enough to warrant the clan being regarded as a district by itself. The District Officer is a civil servant in charge of government administration in the district. He works in absolute cooperation and consultation with the district council officials and the traditional rulers or chiefs.

Ebre. A cultural society, exclusively for women, which served as a supreme governing body for women in matters of native laws and customs many years ago. It seems defunct now, at least in more than 98 per cent of the original areas where it used to command sway. There is a certain species of yam also called Ebre.

Efik. This refers to a group of people in the present Southeastern State of Nigeria, particularly on the mainland of Calabar--the present administrative headquarters of the State. Efik also refers to the language of the Efik people.

Efik/Ibibio. Calabar is separated by the Cross River (about 15 miles) from the other half of the Southeast State. This other half is the land of Ibibio, which also refers to the language spoken here. But the Efik language and Ibibio are so similar that the difference becomes insignificant. There are, of course, pure Efik and pure Ibibio as languages. But since their vocabularies run so

entanglingly one into the other, it became expedient to regard (and teach) the language as Efik/Ibibio. He who understands the one understands the other.

Ibibio. See the above. Note that Efik/Ibibio refers to language; but the people are referred to as either Efik or Ibibio. The author is an Ibibio person.

Ekpo Nyoho. A cultural society exclusively for men; it is the counterpart of Ebre described above. This is still in effect in many areas.

Ekpuk. There is a usual tendency to use this word synonymously with family. This is wrong when we think of a family in terms of the Western Culture which stands for a man, his wife and their minor children. Ekpuk refers to a group of men tracing their paternal genealogy to a common ancestral father. However, strangers at their application or volition could be initiated and adopted into an ekpuk of their choice. This is usually the case if they forsake their native villages and go to live far away among other people. Women naturally belong to the ekpuk of their fathers until they are married. At marriage, they automatically become members of their husband's ekpuk. Each ekpuk has a communal land plot in perpetuity. In each financial year, each ekpuk collects the poll tax from each

member into a common purse to turn over to the government. It is this register that helps to confirm, convince and ascertain the ekpuk to which all adult males belong. The writer is from an ekpuk known as Nung Imoi.

Ethnic group. Contemporary Nigerians vehemently resent the use of the word "tribe" to describe the group of people to which they belong. Ethnic group is preferred to "tribe" and this is the phrase (but not tribe) that will appear many times in this work. It refers to a group of people having a specific or particular language (not dialect) and customs different from any other group in the country. The most outstanding distinguishing feature among the various ethnic groups is the difference in language. For instance, the author's ethnic group is Ibibio (see above). There are many ethnic groups in Nigeria.

Extended family. This, like ekpuk, also refers to people tracing their origin to a common ancestry. It widens to embrace relatives from both the father's and mother's sides. The major distinguishing feature is that all the members of an extended family don't belong to the same ekpuk. For example, the writer's maternal uncle and the writer don't belong to the same ekpuk.

Family head. A local chief in charge of an ekpuk. He settles minor disputes, collects poll tax from his

members, and presides in ekpuk meetings. Usually he is the oldest man in the group. A younger person may, of course, be appointed if there is sufficient justification for it.

Hausa. An ethnic group in the northern region of Nigeria. The word also stands for the language of this particular ethnic group.

Ibo. An ethnic group (the most populous) in the eastern region. The present East Central State is made up of only people in this group. Ibo also stands for their language.

Iman. Villages within the same clan that regard themselves as allies. There is also a clan coterminous with Nsit that bears this name.

Indirect rule. When Sir Frederick Lugard was nominated the Governor General of Nigeria in 1912 with the task of amalgamating the Northern and Southern Protectorates of the country, he first introduced this system of government in northern Nigeria. This was a system by which the northern emirs (title for a traditional native ruler in northern Nigeria) were left to rule their own subjects while the Governor ruled the emirs. In short, government orders, ordinances or laws were administered through native rulers. Finally, this system was introduced to the southern part of Nigeria.

Juju. A native god or object of popular worship; eg., Anyang described earlier in this section.

Mbobo. In ancient custom, after girls had reached puberty, they were to be fattened for about six months or more in a fatting room. During this period they would eat, drink and sleep to grow fat. No work was expected of them. Such girls were called Mbobo till the day when the episode would end in a public ceremony in the market place.

Market or market place. An open square or plot of land (at times shaded with shade trees or huts) where the natives gather to buy and sell their articles. Some markets function daily except Sundays, others function once or twice a week. However, supermarkets (by Western standards) are also available in cities.

N.A. (native administration). This was an arm of the indirect rule by which the local government functioned in a particular area through the use of the native chiefs and authorities by the colonial government.

Nsit. The name of a clan to which the author of this work belongs.

Obong. A title of a traditional chief or ruler of a group; for instance, Obong of Calabar. This is similar to

saying the "King" of England. This title is peculiar to the Efik or Ibibio ethnic group. Other ethnic groups also have their own titles for this position; eg., Oba of Benin; Oni of Ife, and Jaja of Opobo.

Obong Ikpa-Isong. Traditional title for a clan head.

Pidgin English (Una). This is the "English of the street" spoken mainly by people who have not gone to school to learn formal English grammar. It is commonly used in big cities where people from various ethnic backgrounds meet for business or social deals. Educated people, however, speak it when occasion demands because their non-literate partners or customers may not understand classroom English. Designating this language as "Una" stems from the fact that that word is used very frequently in sentences, eg., "Make Una come tomorrow," simply means telling the other fellow to come back the next day. Probably this is the commonest language used in all parts of Nigeria. Some call it "broken" English.

Regional governments. Before the civil war broke out in 1967, Nigeria was politically divided into five regions (East, North, Midwest, West and Lagos) with some degree of autonomous government, but subject to the supervision of the Federal government. There are many ethnic groups in a region.

Town crier. A village official who goes through the streets giving announcements of important events, drawing the attention of people by beating his drum. He does this usually in the evenings unless there is special reason to do so by day.

Ubon. This can be used interchangeably with ekpuk (see above).

Village. A collection or group of households and ekpuk living together in a specific geographical area, and having their own local administrative machinery just like any United States city. Ikot Nya is the native village of the writer of this paper.

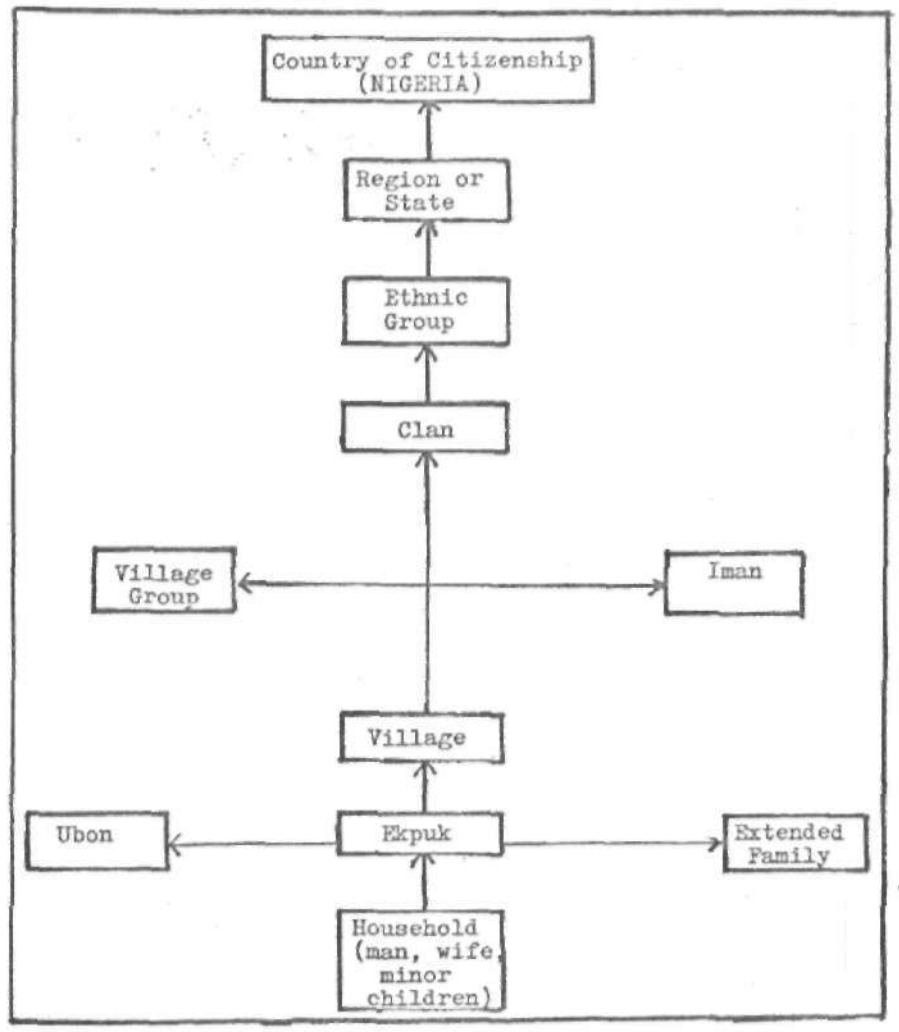
Village head. The chief or ruler of a village. He presides over village councils, and rules through consultation with the ekpuk leaders.

Village group. A group of villages (not necessarily coterminous) maintaining an unpolluted bond of alliance and friendship on the principles that the ancient founders of their villages were either blood relatives or great friends. They, at times, rate themselves as Iban (see above).

Yoruba. The largest ethnic group in Western Nigeria. Their language is also known by the same name.

Figure 1

IDENTITY CHART*



*This chart is typical of Ibibio ethnic group and indicates the various socially organized units to which any citizen belongs.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In order to deal satisfactorily on the topic of this paper, one has to read extensively from various sources and materials. It appears necessary to break down the literature into categories to indicate the special areas of concentration.

Group A

Books chosen in this group deal with the general principles and theories of human communications, psychology, semantics, sociology, linguistics, etc., which are relevant to the study of human behavior irrespective of nationality.

Group B

Books in this class are those that are exclusively on Nigeria. They embrace works in anthropology, geography, political science, history, Nigerian art, etc. (The reason for this choice is evident.) They are intended to give a comprehensive analysis of the means of communications in the country.

Group C

The literature in this area includes those writings intended to compare and contrast Nigeria with other countries of the world. No better comparison can be done than by considering other African countries. With this view in mind, the reading material in this category will focus on Africa rather extensively, but not at a total exclusion of other continents.

Group D

The materials under this classification, in the author's mind, are periodicals and magazines on current events and developments hinging on the communication systems of the world as a whole. To present the various literature classified above in a diagramatic model, the following table is formulated:

TABLE I

CATEGORIES OF READING MATERIALS

Area \ Books	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D
The World	X			X
Africa	X		X	X
Nigeria	X	X	X	X

Even though the grouping of books and other literature is done as thus shown, it must be borne in mind that in the course of writing this work, the various areas will overlap. The result is that the classification becomes arbitrary.

I. THE IMPORTANCE AND NATURE OF LANGUAGE

Man has tended to be so free with language that he seldom pauses to critically analyze the whole involvement of language. The language that we use does not only put words in our mouths but it also puts notions in our heads. It is right to say, first of all, that the human language consists of a limited number of varieties of words. Wendell Johnson agrees with this view in his book in which he points out that we do not use words "willy-nilly," but according to certain rules. While we employ these rules, we arrange words only in certain ways. Arranging words in these ways, we make only certain kinds of statements. Making only such statements, we create truth, in notable measure, in the image of our language. Our words and our rules for using them make up our language.[1]

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[1]Wendell Johnson, Your Most Enchanted Listener (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1956), p. 147.

There is no place in this work for any attempt to define language otherwise. From personal experiences we do know language in an abstract sense as nothing other than the accumulation of symbolized human experiences. Without it the world would certainly appear void to human reasoning, and man would fall short of social identification. In the words of Charles S. Steinberg, "the basic tool of communication which relates the individual to the social environment is language."[2] He further amplifies that effective human communication involves language. This means words that stand for, or represent, reality. He, however, reminds his readers that it is important to understand that words are not things, but symbols that stand for things. This is the heart of the matter for effective communication--the notable difference between language and reality or between "words and not-words."

Semanticists look at language from a rather interesting perspective. An attempt is made to equate language to science, or regard it as a special class of science.

In Science and Sanity,[3] Korzybski expresses the point that students must nowadays consider mathematics as a form

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[2]Charles S. Steinberg (Ed.), Mass Media and Communication (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1966), p. 4.

[3]Alfred Korzybski, Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics (Lancaster, Penn.: The Science Press Printing Co., 1941), pp. 247-300.

of human behavior and as a language. He explains that the unsatisfactory definition of "number" has probably been the reason that the role of mathematics has been generally misunderstood. If mathematics were a mere science like astronomy, it would be possible to define their object. But man has not been able to do this. "By definition," he adds, "whatever has symbols and propositions must be considered a language." But what kind of language does mathematics represent? The answer structurally is simple. Although mathematics appears in daily life as a most insufficient language, it seems to be the only language ever produced by man, which, "in structure is similar, or the most similar" known to the structure of the world and of our "nervous system."

It is not only in this generation that language commands the attention of scholars and great men. About a century ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson remarked that things used as language have inherent charm and attraction that remains everlastingly. In his own words he said, "Things added to things, as statistics, civil history, are inventories. Things used as language are inexhaustibly attractive."[4]

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[4]John Bartlett (Ed.), Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, 14th Edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), p. 608.

Language, of course, can serve two purposes--construction and destruction. We read in the Bible that God, accepted by theologians and Christians as the creator of all things, created or made the world with only the words of His mouth. This was language as is recorded in the Book of Genesis:

> And God said, let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. And God said, let there be firmament . . . .[5]

As an example of using language for destruction, we also read the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel.[6] The people or characters in this story were supposed to be the descendants of one father--Noah. They had only "one language and one speech." It was their unanimous decision to build a city for themselves with a high tower whose pinnacle would reach into heaven. Heaven was/is supposed to be the throne of God. However, the account continues that God did not like the idea. To prevent them from fulfilling their plan, God decided to confuse them by giving them different languages which made it impossible for one

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[5]King James Version, The Holy Bible, The Book of Genesis, Chapter I, Verses 3-7.

[6]Ibid., Chapter II, Verses 1-9.

to understand another. Thus, the construction of the city and the tower ended in a failure.

In that very passage the exact words of God are: "Go to, let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one anothers' speech." The use of the word "us" suggests that the three "God-in-one" also had a language of their own. We cannot doubt at this point that language is the major means of communication even in the realm of the supernatural.

The importance of language has been the concern of not only the scholars and students of linguistics and semantics, but also of other branches of learning including philosophy. Writing on this subject, one famous author gives the following analysis:

> Most people take language pretty much for granted, like the air we breathe. At present, however, many specialists, including philosophers who use a logical-analytic-method, see the study of meaning and the principles and rules of language as the central problem of philosophy. The philosophers of the ancient world and the Middle Ages were concerned mainly with a reality that transcended that of the temporal world. Their search was for "being." The philosophers from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century looked inward, they were interested mainly in the self, ideas in the mind, and the problem of knowledge. While these earlier interests have not disappeared from philosophy, some philosophers restrict their attention to linguistic analysis and the details and theory of discourse.[7]

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[7]Harold H. Titus, Living Issues in Philosophy (New York: American Book Company, 1964), p. 282.

In this work, the author cannot, and does not even attempt to, tell why there are so many languages in the world. But the indisputable fact is that languages differ from country to country, and from one geographical location to another even within the same country. Furthermore, the various words used in the vocabulary of one language, change their meanings in the course of time. These facts of multiplicity of languages and the elements of meaning-change often lead to misinterpretations or misunderstandings in verbal communications.

Writing on "The Falsification of Marx's Concepts," Fromm spells out this point very succinctly. He states that many people today misunderstand Marx because the language of the nineteenth century differs from today's usage. "Marx's aim, socialism, based on his theory of man, is essentially prophetic Messianism in the language of the nineteenth century."[8]

To further illustrate that the use of different languages creates misunderstanding and leads to falsification of ideas, Fromm continues:

> It did not help matters that Marx's economic and philosophical manuscripts, his main philosophical work dealing with his concept of man, of alienation,

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[8]Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1969), p. 5.

> of emancipation, etc., had not until now been translated into English,[9] and hence that some of his ideas were unknown to the English-speaking world.[10]

People generally have different and varied notions about languages that are foreign to them. The tendency is to describe foreign languages in many ways. One may think that a certain foreign language is very difficult to learn. Another may regard the same language as simple. Others still may find more descriptive words and phrases for that same language. This view is vehemently supported by the following quote:

> African languages have sometimes, in the past, been said to be so simple that they contain vocabularies of only a few hundred words or so difficult as to be unlearnable by ordinary Europeans or Americans. Obviously both statements are false. African languages are highly developed and fine instruments; they are as expressive and as explanable as their speakers care to make them.[11]

This of course is not to say that it is wrong to describe a language. In fact, it is by describing a language that the non-indigenous speakers learn of a foreign language. If the description is accurately done, certain facts reveal

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[9]The first English version was published in 1959 in Great Britain by Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd., using a recently published translation by the Foreign Language Publishing House in Moscow. The translation by T.B. Bottomore included in Marx's Concept of Man is the first by any Western scholar.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Paul Bohannan, Africa and Africans (Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1964), p. 128.

themselves that help others to learn, or at least to understand, the sentence structure of the said foreign language. This is an important step in communicating with foreigners. A good example can be drawn from the Navajo language:

> The language of the Navajo is vastly different from our own. It is primarily a language of verbs, so that what is happening is more central for the Navajo than what things are. It is difficult to say in their language that something "is" good or bad. Rather it does good or it does harm. Value judgments, like other judgments, are linked by the structure of the language to the contexts of actions and to their consequences.[12]

Even though one may be able to describe, or read and speak, a foreign language, one rarely (or never) has such a thorough mastery of the foreign language as compared with that one which is indigenous. This refers to the language in which he was brought up. It is a normal expectation that a group of persons who are in frequent daily contact speak more or less alike.

> Usually the language of the household or "mother tongue"is counted as the basic one of a person, and the group of people with whom one habitually communicates in this language is one's primary linguistic community.[13]

This point of view is unmistakably confirmed by Crocker and Eich. They reiterate the fact that human beings

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[12]Harold H. Titus and Maylon H. Hepp, The Range of Philosophy (New York: American Book Company, 1964), p. 259.

[13]Philip Wagner, The Human Use of the Earth (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, Ltd., 1964), p. 39.

are able to speak long before they learn to read. All are initiated into the realm of the language sounds while in the cradle. It is with the help of the parents that our infants gradually begin to attach significance to those sounds. In the words of these authors, "Your own first attempts to reproduce them--your mama and dada, for instance--may have been intelligible only to your family and to you, but they sufficed for a language . . . ."[14]

As development progresses, we notice that people outside our immediate families begin to come into our lives. Circumstances automatically force us to drop our familiar language for a more widely accepted set of sounds standing for things and ideas. For instance, "even though wawa plainly and unmistakably meant water to you and to your mother, you had to change it to water if you wanted the neighbors to understand you."[15]

In a very practical sense, everybody has a neighbor. But does this mean that all people understand the same language? The answer is in the negative. Observation is enough to explain why all do not speak and understand the same language. Local speech forms tend to be distinctive

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[14]Lionel Crocker and Louis M. Eich, Oral Reading (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 94.

[15]Ibid., p. 95.

but often resemble closely those of neighboring groups. Speech practices vary gradually with spatial and social distance from group to group. Philip Wagner agrees with this view. In his comment, he declares that the speech forms of many local groups, varying somewhat among themselves, may be grouped together as dialects, and dialects in turn into languages.

> Each language or dialect usually corresponds to a given territory and to a given population. Eventually because of historical circumstances, sharp spatial discontinuities between speech groups are met with which represent the boundaries of major communities of linguistic descent.[16]

Wagner goes on to illustrate his point by citing the situation in Austria and Germany where there is a gradual transition between local dialects, from Styria to the North Sea. A peasant from Tyrol might find it hard to understand an old-fashioned fisherman from the Baltic, though they speak dialects of the same stock, but each can understand the dialects neighboring on his own.

What Wagner cites about the two mentioned countries holds true within the confines of Nigeria which is but one country.

Many people may think that the speaking of a common language by a group is enough to establish a communal relationship. This is not necessarily true. In our studies

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[16]Philip Wagner, op. cit., p. 40.

in social sciences, we realize that communal relationships may rest on various types of affectual, emotional or traditional bases. Examples are a religious brotherhood, an erotic relationship, a relation of personal loyalty, a national community, the esprit de corps of a military unit. The communal type of relationship is, according to the usual interpretation of its subjective meaning, the most radical antithesis of conflict. This should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that coercion of all sorts is a very common thing in even the most intimate of such communal relationships if one party is weaker in character than the other.

Essentially, the use of a common language in a group makes social intercourse easy within a group and makes relationships associative rather than communal. No authority is more worth quoting in this respect than Max Weber. He says:

> Community of language, which arises from a similarity of tradition through the family and the surrounding social environment, facilitates mutual understanding, and thus the formation of all types of social relationships, in the highest degree. But taken by itself it is not sufficient to constitute a communal relationship, but only for the facilitation of intercourse within the groups concerned, thus for the development of associative relationships. In the first place, this takes place between individuals, not because they speak the same language, but because they have other types of interests.17

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17 Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 138.

What has thus far taxed the imagination of social scientists, linguists, anthropologists, philologists, semanticists, psychologists, philosophers, and all other classes of scholars and intellectuals is the origin of language. Many interesting theories as to the origin of language have been propounded. Stuart Chase mentions four theories characterized as: (1) the bow-wow theory: words as imitating sounds of animals, (2) the pooh-pooh theory: language as developed from exclamations, (3) the ding-dong theory: words originating from harmony between sound and sense, as in "buzz" and "crack," and (4) the yo-he-ho theory: cries in common muscular effort, as in sailors' chanteys.[18] Chase himself admits that all theories advanced thus far are probably beyond the test of operation and so remain unverified hypotheses.

Other authors on the same subject have also expressed similar concerns about the origin of language. In An Introduction to Linguistic Science, Edgar Sturtevant makes it clear that linguists have undertaken much futile discussion and have reached the conclusion that the data with which they are concerned yield little or no evidence about the origin of human speech. He adds that the recorded history

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[18]Stuart Chase, The Tyranny of Words (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1938), p. 67.

of language, even when supplemented by the prehistoric reconstructions of the comparative method, covers only a small fraction of the development to which language has been subjected since its origin. From available material, a great deal can be learned about the later stages of this development; but it does not carry us appreciably nearer the beginning. He emphasizes that we can no longer expect the study of the speech of "primitive peoples" to shed light on the origin of speech. As far as we know there is no indication that any language spoken today has had a shorter history or a slower development than any other.

Furthermore, Sturtevant points out that similarly the speech of young children has not so far yielded any clear results for our purpose. From birth children are under the influence of ordinary speech, which they proceed to imitate. If they ever strike out for themselves as the first speakers must have done, we can scarcely hope to identify these exploits.[19]

In a concentrated deliberation on the origin of language, Umoh uses a Bible approach and traces its origin to the creator of all things. He shows that God who made man in His own image was able to speak. "It is, therefore,

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[19]Edgar Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 40.

doubtless that man inherited language from his creator[20] who himself spoke a language and decided to make man just as himself."[21]

The nature of language has also formed an interesting topic for semanticists and scholars of communication. It is not surprising that this should be the case. As already pointed out in this work, there is a general tendency for people to take language for granted just as we take the air that we breathe. This is the case because we are all born into a group or society that has or uses a specific language. However, some societies use two different languages though the degree of mastery may vary.

Commenting on the nature of language, Emerson says,

> Because of this radical correspondence between visible things and human thoughts, savages, who have only what is necessary, converse in figures. As we go back in history, language becomes more picturesque, until its infancy, when it is all poetry; or all spiritual facts are presented by natural symbols. The same symbols are found to make the original elements of all languages.[22]

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[20]The use of "creator" indicates that that author does not believe in the theory of evolution.

[21]Sunday M. Umoh, "Human Communication," an unpublished term paper, U.S. International University, San Diego, California, 1969, p. 2.

[22]Ralph Waldo Emerson, Language: Nature (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), p. 35.

The statement of Whorf on the same topic presents another interesting view. He writes,

> My own studies suggest, to me, that language, for all its kingly role, is in some sense a superficial embroidery upon deeper processes of consciousness which are necessary before any communication, signaling, or symbolism whatever can occur and which also can at a pinch effect communication (though not true agreement) without languages and without symbolism's aid.[23]

Upon all that has been said, we ought not to play down the importance of language as a unique characteristic of the human race that distinguishes humans from non-humans. When we consider the history of the primitive man, the importance of language becomes very significant. In discussing this matter, Cofer and Appley point out very dramatically that it was/is only language that made man different from, and superior to, other creatures.

Like the apes, snakes, fishes, and birds, the primitive man had the property of self-induced motion. In fact, the monkeys and other primates were superior to man in matters of agility. But the most important feature or characteristic of man that gave him a total superiority and control over other creatures was/is the ability to use language which remains unique to the human kingdom.[24]

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[23] Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956), p. 239.

[24] C.N. Cofer and M.H. Appley, Motivation-Theory and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968), pp. 19-20.

II. THE IMPORTANCE, SIGNIFICANCE AND NATURE OF CULTURE

In order for us to understand human behavior in a correct perspective, we must clearly understand that every human infant is born into this world with a dual heritage. These are (1) biological, and (2) cultural. Biological inheritance is transmitted through the genes from one generation to another. Cultural inheritance represents the one into which the child grows and which he must assimilate to become a person. These cultural and social institutions form a new environment that engulfs each individual as much as does the air that he breahtes, entering into the child and nourishing him into a person rather than an animal, teaching him how to live and how to survive, as an American, a Nigerian, or a Zulu, depending on where he happens to be born.

It is safe for one to accept or regard the above paragraph as the author's brief definition of culture. As is the case with any popular subject, many authors have published several volumes on culture and its related attributes. Theodore Lidz metaphorically compares culture with a builder's or sculptor's instrument, the mold. He succinctly states:

> The culture in which the child is raised serves as a mold to shape the rough outlines of his personality, delimit his drives and provide organization to the manifold ways of adapting to the environment permitted men by his physical endowment. Although

> the repressive and limiting influences of society have been bemoaned, delimitation is essential to the realization of potential. Man cannot develop into a harmonious entity without it. Indeed, without the skills and customs provided by society, he cannot be anyone at all.[25]

Culture is actually treasured in the human kingdom as if it were a material wealth. Just as people defend their possessions and really fight a trespasser, so do people take up arms, when necessary, in defense of their culture. John Nef states it convincingly as follows:

> The only justification for war is the defense of a culture worth defending, and the states of the modern world have less and less to defend beyond their material comforts, in spite of the claims of some to represent fresh concepts of civilization.[26]

The inquisitive mind may ask how culture actually originates and the dimensions of its growth. To answer this question, some authorities have published concise statements about the cause of culture and the course it takes. Noted in this group of authors are Esther M. Lloyd-Jones and Norah Rosenau. They point out that from one point of view, culture may be said to be "the result of man's struggle with the physical environment and his attempts to understand both the nature and the meaning of that struggle."[27]

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[25]Theodore Lidz, The Person (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1968), pp. 13-14.

[26]John U. Nef, War and Human Progress (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968), p. 41.

[27]Esther M. Lloyd-Jones and Norah Rosenau (Eds.), Social and Cultural Foundations of Guidance (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 210.

In further analysis, they bring out the fact that societies and cultures are not merely aggregates of structures and symbols that cope with the problems of collective life. They are, rather, coherent systems. This means that their content and functioning are dependent on and partly determine the nature of each of their elements. The elements of a sociocultural system include its individual members; the arrangements by which their relationships are organized and regulated so that the tasks necessitated by group life are accomplished; and the beliefs, goals, values, and other symbols which give rise to and direct individual and group behavior. In summary, they affirm that "the culture as a whole provides the members of any society with an indispensable guide in all the affairs of life."[28]

When a group of people generally object to a certain practice or way of life, we tend to blame it upon the culture of the people. And when other modes of life are adopted or accepted instead, culture similarly takes the credit. A good example is seen in the current discussion on abortion and birth control. Writing about Japan in this connection, Chester Hunt says, "Japanese culture has not

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[28] Ibid., p. 213.

developed the repugnance to abortion found in many other countries, and it is a practice which offers population control with a minimum of change in family relationships."[29]

Because of diversities in culture, it makes it difficult or inequitable to judge court cases--either criminal or civil--by a single code of law. The European powers that colonized African countries realized this fact. What T.R. Batten says is an appropriate quotation in this respect:

> The provision of suitable courts for the trial of civil and criminal cases has sometimes been difficult. European law cannot properly meet the needs of people whose background is still that of the tribe, although they are temporarily living away from it. And, where the population includes people of many different tribes, there is no one body of acceptable customary law which can be enforced.[30]

One can hardly win the confidence of the people whose culture one disregards. We read in history of cases in which the colonial powers in Africa could not execute an effective administration unless and until they respected the traditional ways of life of the natives. Of course, the colonizers had the power to punish the inhabitants of the colonies. But no amount of punishment would cause a group of people to abandon their culture easily. The

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[29]Chester L. Hunt, Social Aspects of Economic Development (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 226.

[30]T.R. Batten, Problems of African Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 105.

British found this to be true in West Africa. J.D. Page explains the situation as follows:

> In Ashanti, British direct administration had never won the confidence of the people. During the 1920's the work of a government anthropologist, Captain R.S. Rattray, revealed that this failure could in large part be explained by the fact that the political life of the Ashantis could not be separated from their social customs and religious beliefs.[31]

Page's account reveals that after the British had discovered their serious encroachment upon the Ashantis Culture, they took immediate steps to set things right. This illustrates the importance of culture to a society.

Psychologists have gone all the length to link up motivational problems with culture. Investigations are thus carried out in order to fully verify such hypotheses. This is clearly illustrated in the work of two popular co-authors, Cofer and Appley, as shown in these lines:

> It is not surprising, then, that social psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists develop hypotheses concerning motivation. Their hypotheses generally tend to relate motivational process to the experiences of individuals in their particular cultures. Investigators in this tradition, while often aware of biological factors and responsive to them, are likely to emphasize cultural determination through experience rather than universal biological characteristics or biological predeterminism.[32]

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[31] J.D. Page, Introduction to the History of West Africa (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), p. 178.

[32] Cofer and Appley, op. cit., p. 17.

There is sufficient evidence that in order to bring change to a community, an attempt must first be made towards changing the culture. This means that one must first understand the culture of the people concerned because any significant change that may be proposed essentially means changing the culture. Any quick change in strongly held norms, values, and practices ordinarily requires much more than a campaign by mass media. It, in fact, usually requires a basic change in the surrounding situation. Two co-editors, Lerner and Schramm, cite a good example in their description of farming in Yucatan.

They describe that farming among these people is not simply a way of securing food. It is also a way of worshipping the gods. Before a man plants, he builds an altar in the fields and prays there. He must not speak boisterously in the cornfield; it is a sort of temple. The cornfield is planted as an incident in a "perpetual sacred contract" between supernatural beings and man. This account is narrated to confirm the statement that "if communication is going to suggest an innovation it had better explain it in terms that are acceptable to the culture where change is expected to occur."[33]

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[33]Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (Eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 21.

The word "culture" has become so significant in the minds of modern scholars that it becomes associated with, or regarded as, art or operation to be performed. Montagu stresses that the "culture" of certain essential qualities of mind should constitute a basic fulfillment of the birth-right of every human being. It is this "culture of the human mind" that he regards as "the finest of all the arts--and one of the most neglected."[34]

There is no doubt that cultural diversities impede international communications and can cause misunderstanding. It is worthy of note that a well-known semanticist, S.I. Hayakawa, shares this point of view in his book[35] in which he explains that a simple English "NO" tends to be interpreted by members of the Arab culture as meaning "YES." A real "NO" would need to be emphasized; the simple "NO" indicates merely a desire for further negotiation. He further comments that the determination of the relationship between the patterns of thought of the cultural or national group whose ideas are to be communicated, to the patterns of thought of the cultural or national group which is to receive the communication, is an integral part of

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[34]Ashley Montagu, The Cultural Man (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1958), pp. 13-14.

[35]S.I. Hayakawa (Ed.), The Use and Misuse of Language--Selected Essays from ETC (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1967), pp. 48-49.

international communication. Failure to determine such relationships, and to act in accordance with such determinations, will most unavoidably lead to misunderstandings.

Karl Polanyi[36] goes all the length to acknowledge that a social calamity is primarily a cultural not an economic phenomenon that can be measured by income figures or population statistics. "Cultural catastrophes," he says, "involving broad strata of the common people can naturally not be frequent; but neither are cataclysmic events like the Industrial Revolution--an economic earthquake which transformed within less than half a century vast masses of the English countryside from settled folk into shiftless migrants." By his further expatiation, a social class forms part of a society inhabiting the same geographical area, while culture contact occurs usually between societies settled in different geographical regions.

In an interesting analysis, he shows how culture relates to the money system of our present economic principles. "Cultural anthropology deals with money as a semantic system similar to writing, language, or weights and measures."[37]

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[36]See Essays of Karl Polanyi in George Dalton (Ed.), Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 46-47.

[37]Ibid., p. 194.

The complex nature of African[38] aboriginals tends to give African culture such dignity that induces profound excitement in many authors. In a rather dramatic account of African custom regarding family life, Max Gluckman says that African domestic life, in anthropological summaries, seems to be full of special observances, and of ceremonies to mark the advancement of individuals from birth, through weaning and puberty, to maturity and old age. These customs and taboos serve to mark out marital and parental relationships. In many tribes marital intercourse is "fraught with mystical danger" and has to be approached with ritual safeguards, while casual liaisons occur without customary inhibition. A menstruating woman is full of this mystical danger. She herself may be dangerous to things virile. From early infancy "girls taboo certain foods to protect their future children." A mother's milk has sometimes to be cleansed of ritual impurity before her child can drink it. Thus marital and maternal functions are

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[38]Africa is the second (to Asia) largest continent in the world. Various races, ethnic groups, or tribes of people that live in specific geographical areas within the continent have their peculiar ways of life. Certain customs and practices are at times not expounded to strangers. The result is that no one person, even an African, can rightly boast of being a celebrated authority on African affairs.

given a "cultural distinctiveness over and above their organic basis."[39]

William John Hanna realizes the fact that culture can be multi-based. This is basically true in Africa as a whole. "Throughout Black Africa, traditional continuity means contemporary cultural duality."[40]

Two co-editors equally recognize this feature as they convincingly call attention to the "cultural duality of all contemporary political systems."[41]

Some authors see culture as a distinguishing feature between man and other creatures:

> Culture, rather than social institutions, is what distinguishes man from the rest of the biological world. Other animals, and insects as well, have societies, but only man uses language, manufactures tools, and possesses art, religion and other aspects of culture. The concern with culture rather than with society and social institutions thus emphasizes the specifically human elements of man's behavior.[42]

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[39]Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 54.

[40]William John Hanna (Ed.), Independent Black Africa (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 20.

[41]Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (Eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 20-23.

[42]William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (Eds.), Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 1.

After reading extensively about culture, it seems right to agree with Frank Moore that cross-cultural likenesses are subcultural, the limits and conditions of culture:

> Such more or less recurrent near-regularities of form or process as have to date been formulated for culture are actually mainly sub-cultural in nature. They are limits set to culture by physical or organic factors. The so-called "cultural constants" of family, religion, war, communication,and the like appear to be biopsychological frames variably filled with cultural content, so far as they are more than categories reflecting the compartments of our own Occidental logico-verbal culture.[43]

Generally, people in any given society or institution hold so tenaciously to their culture that sociologists invent the word, "Cultural lag." Hayakawa[44] defines this phrase as "the continued existence of obsolete institutional habits and forms (like the systems of county government in many states of the Union, geographically arranged to suit the needs of a horse-drawn rural population)." He sums up "cultural lag" in a peculiarly appropriate everyday expression as "horse-and-buggy ways."

It is this institutional[45] inertia that constitutes a basic reason for insoluble problems in human societies.

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[43]Frank W. Moore (Ed.), Readings in Cross-Cultural Methodology (New Haven, Conn.: Hraf Press, 1966), p. 100.

[44]S.I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action, Second Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1964), pp. 299-300.

[45]As used in sociology, an institution is an organized pattern of group behavior, well established and accepted as a fundamental part of a culture (American College Dictionary).

When we stretch our imagination a little to analyze why a Hindu worshipper from India would not eat beef even when he is about to starve to death; why a Mohammedan woman of Northern Nigeria would never enter a public place without covering her head; or why Americans celebrate their Thanksgiving festival with turkey dinner, we can appreciably understand what culture is and what it means to the particular peoples involved.

While there is a unanimous agreement that culture also reveals itself through the works of art of the people, we find it logical to have a brief look into Nigerian culture from this perspective. Recent archaeological discoveries at the "Nok Culture" show that the "cultural heritage in some parts which now form Nigeria go back to over 2,000 years."[46]

At the National Museum in Lagos,[47] examples of works from all over the Federation present a kaleidoscope of the nation in its "diversity of crafts." Relics of local origin are preserved in smaller museums in at least ten other towns. Of the various forms of art, wood carving is probably the commonest form of artistic expression--particularly among those who live in the southern region

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[46]"Nigeria," Washington, D.C.: A publication for general information by the Embassy of Nigeria, 1968.

[47]Lagos is the capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

where nature's blessing manifests itself in abundance of luxuriant woods. All over this area sculptors have flourished since time immemorial, making figures "for shrines, for portraiture, for masks, and for representation of the spirits."

There is no doubt in the conclusion that while Nigeria's past is rich, the present is ever lively with indigenous culture.

It is not easy (and perhaps not possible) for one to read all the literature ever published on culture. And, of course, such has not been the intention of the author. But before taking up another headline, the author chooses to share Malinowski's definition of culture as quoted by Gluckman in his collected essays. "Culture is the whole body of implements, the charters of its social groups, human ideas, beliefs and customs."[48] With this understanding, it is certain that the human kingdom is never without a culture.

III. THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF COMMUNICATION

In a recent conversation with a friend, the author of this work was asked, "What are you studying in school?"

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[48] Max Gluckman, Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 221.

He replied, "Communications." That friend appeared not to understand why that subject or course should be taken. He said, "Why do you waste your time studying communications? Everybody who has ever met you knows that you are a good speaker."

The analysis of the above brief conversation reveals a layman's interpretation or understanding of what communication is. He thinks that communication simply means to talk. This type of simplistic conception has made it rather necessary for scholars in the field to define communication, even though it is realized that a precise definition is surrounded by vagueness and contradiction. In fact, some would argue that it is unnecessary to define communication--that everyone understands what it means. Others would hold that such a slippery term must have some boundaries in order to fulfill its conceptual promise. There is no doubt, of course, that there are so numerous definitions of communication in the literature that reviewing them in detail is tangential to the author's purpose. It is hoped that to cite just a few will suffice.

Barnlund says that communication has been conceived structurally (sender--message--receiver), functionally (encoding--decoding), and in terms of intent (expressive--instrumental). It has been defined with reference to source (production of messages), channel (signal transmission),

receiver (attribution of meaning), code (symbolizing), effect (evoking of response), and in ways that combine several of these criteria.[49]

To some, communication is "the process of transmitting stimuli" (Schramm), "the establishment of commonage"(Morris), "conveying meaning" (Newcomb), or "all the procedures by which one mind affects another" (Weaver).

To others, it is "interaction by means of signs and symbols"(Lundberg), "the sharing of activity, excitement, information" (Hefferline), or "the signals that individuals make to each other or which they detect in each other and which may be conscious or unconscious" (Cameron).

S.S. Stevens presents a useful point of departure in clarifying the word "communication" which communologists widely adopt. "Communication is the discriminatory response of an organism to a stimulus."[50] This definition says that communication occurs when one environmental disturbance (the stimulus) impinges on an organism and the organism does something about it (makes a discriminatory response). If the stimulus is ignored, there has been no communication.

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[49]Dean C. Barnlund, Interpersonal Communication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 5.

[50]S.S. Stevens, "A Definition of Communication," Journal of Acoustical Society of America, 1950, p. 689.

Steinberg talks of communication as a process that requires four factors in order to function. He points out that there must be: (1) the communicator, (2) the recipient, (3) the communication content, and (4) the effect of communication.[51]

Even before a human infant is able to speak, he still is imbued with a sense of communication. The fact that he cannot speak makes no difference. Desmond Morris gives an interesting account of this. He writes that at the pre-verbal stages before the massive machinery of symbolic, cultural communication has bogged us down, we rely much more on tiny movements, postural changes and tones of voice than we need to in later life. "If the mother is making tense and agitated movements, no matter how concealed, she will communicate these to her child. If at the same time she gives a strong smile, it does not fool the infant, it only confuses it."[52]

Herskovits[53] sees ability to read and write as an important factor facilitating communication. He convincingly narrates that even in pre-machine days in Europe, or in the

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[51]Charles S. Steinberg, op. cit., p. 4.

[52]Desmond Morris, The Naked Ape (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 125-126.

[53]Melville J. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology--The Economic Life of Primitive People (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1965), p. 26.

non-machine but "literate cultures" of Asia, the "range of communication and the consequent breadth of horizon" of these peoples were and are in general greater than those of an African or a North American Indian tribe, or even, for all their voyaging, of the inhabitants of the Polynesian islands.

Communication is said by Dance to have three levels in human encounters. The three that he mentions are: (1) intrapersonal, (2) interpersonal, and (3) person-to-group levels.[54]

Like any other process, communication is not void of problems but rather, it is pregnant with problems from many fronts. Shannon and Weaver have tried to identify these points or levels of problems. The three significant levels mentioned by them are "technical, semantic, and effectiveness" problems.[55]

Edward T. Hall quickly agrees with Shannon and Weaver that man faces problems in communications. He is interested in the level that Shannon and his friend label as "semantic," which clearly shows itself when people of

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[54]Frank E.X. Dance, Human Communication Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 298.

[55]Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver, The Mathematical Theory of Communication (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1949), pp. 95-97.

different cultural backgrounds meet. In eloquent terms, Hall says,

> Difficulties in intercultural communication are seldom seen for what they are. When it becomes apparent for people of different countries that they are not understanding one another, each tends to blame it on "those foreigners," on their stupidity, deceit and craziness.[56]

Everything about man focuses on communication. Bess Sondel's assertion of this fact is a convincing testimony. He says, "A human being with his unique past, present, and future is at the center of the communication process."[57] This statement also confirms that communication as earlier pointed out, is in fact a process. We know what a process implies, which is "change."

In modern schools of political thought, communication plays such a prominent role that the effectiveness of a sovereign government becomes predicated on its communication machinery. Lerner and Schramm succinctly emphasize this point:

> As the government of a country plans, executes, and supervises national development, it is assumed that the responsibility for educating the community regarding the necessity for development, and

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[56]Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (Connecticut: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 10.

[57]Bess Sondel, The Humanity of Words (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1958), p. 53.

> publicizing the targets and achievements of various national schemes, primarily rests with the government and its communication media.[58]

Between teachers and students, employers and employees--in short, in all fields of human activity--the question of communication always causes much concern. This has led to the mention of encounter or T-groups in which "barriers to communication"[59] may sometimes become the central theme. It was in such a session that one of the participants--an executive personnel of a company--was asked to prepare a report on "Ways of Failing and Succeeding in Communication." He began as follows:

> I have jotted down a number of aphorisms which are expressive of what seems to be a national disposition to discourage person-to-person communication, and this is a land where communication as a technology and way of life has reached its apogee.[60]

Experts do not only talk of the importance of communication in a learning situation, but they also suggest useful techniques of teaching the subject to pupils. This is what certain co-authors refer to as "Communication Formula."[61] This formula in simple terms includes the

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[58] Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, op. cit., p. 168.

[59] Dr. Alfred J. Morrow, Behind the Executive Mask (New York: American Management association, 1964), p. 107.

[60] Ibid.

[61] W. Ray Rucker, V.C. Arnspiger and Arthur J. Brodbeck, Human Values in Education (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, Publishers, 1969), pp. 47-49.

following categories: the communication, the message, the audience, and the effect.

Others might have tended to ignore communication systems; but Finkle and Gable have identified "two main types of public communication systems--media and oral."[62] These two types are differentiated according to the paradigmatic question of communication research: Who says what, how, to whom? The differences on these four variables are presented in tabular form as follows:

TABLE II

MEDIA AND ORAL SYSTEMS OF COMMUNICATION

	Media Systems	Oral Systems
Channel	Media (broadcast)	Oral (point to point)
Audience	Mass (heterogeneous)	Primary (homogeneous)
Source	Professional (skill)	Hierarchical (status)
Content	(Descriptive)*	(Prescriptive)*

*This indicates that the author suspects, but cannot demonstrate, that there is regularity in this variation around the world. The evidence of content variation between the two types available is confined to a study made in the Middle East several years ago.

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[62]Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, Political Development and Social Change (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968), p. 195.

Maslow[63] agrees with Dance in the principle or theory of intrapersonal communication. He talks of the effects of "peak-experiences" being communicated within an individual. And from within it can manifest itself. He declares that "expression and communication" in the "peak-experiences" tend often to become poetic, mythical and rhapsodic, as if this were the natural kind of language to express such states of being.

More interest is introduced into the subject of communication by McLuhan in his metaphorical expression: "Clothing and housing, as extensions of skin and heat control mechanicals, are media of communication, first of all, in the sense that they shape and rearrange the patterns of human association and community."[64]

Maxwell Maltz[65] agrees with McLuhan and more clearly illustrates the point that effective communication is thermostatic in nature by virtue of a feedback. He stresses that in any sort of social situation there is a constant interaction going on between speaker and listener, actor and observer. And without this constant communication,

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[63]Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being: 2nd Edition (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 109-110.

[64]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (New York: The American Library, 1964), pp. 120-121.

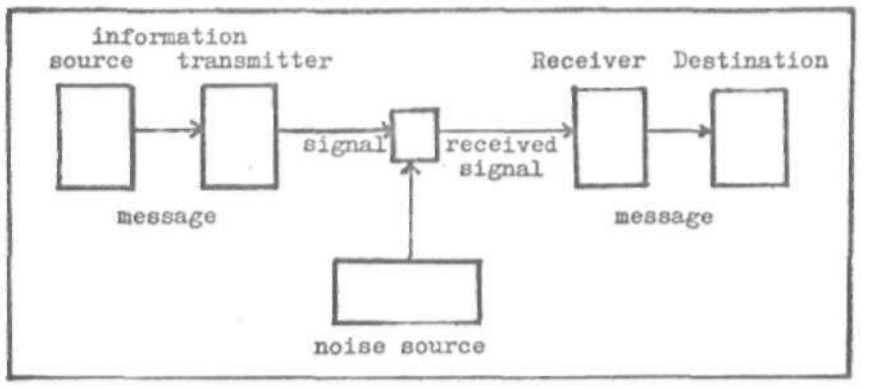
[65]Maxwell Maltz, Psycho-Cybernatics (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), p. 176.

back and forth, human relations and social activities would be virtually impossible. And if not impossible, certainly dull, boring, non-inspiring and dead, without "sparks."

It appears appropriate to present Barnlund's diagramatic model of communication here.[66]

Figure 2

MODEL OF COMMUNICATION



The weakness of this diagram as presented here is that the feedback loop is not presented. From what has been discussed, it is clear that effective communication system must involve a two-way traffic.

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[66]Dean C. Barnlund, op. cit., p. 24.

IV. SUMMARY TO THE CHAPTER

All the literature reviewed thus far in the field of communication has revealed one salient and irrefutable truism. Of all the creatures inhabiting the earth, man is the only one capable of communicating with his primeval ancestors, his contemporaries, and with his posterity. It is this significant attribute that makes man unquestionably a unique species of mortal creature.

The approach in this chapter has been to review writings in three specific areas, and that on general terms without special effort to concentrate on writings referring particularly to Nigeria. The three areas, of course, are on language, culture and communication. If it sounds a rather unusual approach to review the literature for a dissertation in such a way, a second look at the topic of the paper will signal some justification.

Language, it will be remembered, is an integral component of culture, and human communication is possible only in terms of culture. Therefore, the three main headings--language, culture and communication--remain almost inseparable as a three-in-one unit. For the purpose of laying a general groundwork for this paper, the literature is also reviewed on general principles and theories of the three identified areas. Nigeria has her culture

(many and diversified according to the multiplicity of ethnic groups), and communicates, like any other nationalities, by the medium of language. We are, therefore, certain that what has been written in general terms will be brought into focus with Nigeria in the succeeding chapters of this work.

The fact that certain books have been reviewed in this chapter does not indicate that such books will no more be quoted in this discourse nor does it imply that the whole dissertation will be limited to the works of the few authors recognized in the chapter.

For the purpose of creating a logical conclusion to this chapter which deals with review of literature, my readers are directed to regard communication as an essential social process, the means by which man achieves his individual humanity and maintains social relationships. Without the capacity to use symbols and to interact, men would be forced to live out their lives in isolation, cut off from human contact, deprived of the advantages of library and laboratory, without resources for survival or growth. In the words of Barnlund, "Communication is an effort after meaning, a creative act initiated by man in which he seeks to discriminate and organize cues so as to orient himself in his environment and satisfy his changing needs."[67]

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

CHAPTER III

OVERVIEW OF NATURAL PHYSICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL PHENOMENA

Before entering into a detailed discussion of communications in Nigeria, we have to familiarize ourselves with the natural physical features and the basic geographical conditions of the country. This is a logical approach because the type of life led by any community is generally influenced by its surrounding or underlying physical phenomena. It is the environment that provides men with the commonest communication symbols in use. The nature of business occupations is also predetermined to a large extent by these natural features. How to spend leisure hours and enjoy social life can equally be traced to the geographical factors. For instance, it would be foolish to expect people living around a desert to be experts in fishing, swimming, or surfing. Nor is there no naivete in failing to realize that farmers living in different geographical regions automatically cultivate different types of products, and attach values differently to these products.

I. INTRODUCTION TO NIGERIA

Location and Size

Between parallels 4° and 14° north of the Equator lies the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the largest single geographical unit along the west coast of Africa. The country occupies a position where the western parts of the African continent meet equatorial Africa. Its area of over 356,000 square miles lies entirely within the tropical zone, and extends northwards from the coast of the Atlantic Ocean for over 650 miles.

By comparison with the area of other nations, Nigeria is four times the size of the United Kingdom.[1] It is not only to the United Kingdom that Nigeria can be compared sizewise. It also approximates the area of California, Nevada and Oregon taken collectively. Compared with other states of the United States, Nigeria is "larger in size than Texas and Oklahoma combined."[2]

Population

By the last Nigerian census which was conducted in 1963, the country registered a total population of

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[1]Reuben K. Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 1.

[2]Luman H. Long (Ed.), The World Almanac, 1968 Centennial Edition, Herald Examiner (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc.).

55,653,821. Although another census is not yet due, it is conceivable that the population of the country has increased since then. Cited figures have always indicated that Nigeria is the most thickly populated country in the continent of Africa. With her present population of 62,650,000, the country embraces fully a fifth of the black people in Africa.[3] This gives the country a population density of 175.6 per square mile and the distribution between urban and rural statistics is 19 per cent and 81 per cent, respectively.[4]

Basic Geographical Features

The country lies entirely within the tropical zone. From the western border to the east there is a distance of 700 miles at the widest part. On the west is the Republic of Dahomey; to the north is the Niger Republic and the Sahara Desert; and along the eastern border lies the Federal Cameroun Republic. The Atlantic Ocean washes the coastline for about 500 miles, and is known by various names—the "Gulf of Guinea," the "Bight of Benin," and the "Bight of Biafra." Almost unbroken sandy beaches stretch along the coast.[5]

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[3]Seymour Kurtz (Ed.), The N.Y. Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1970, p. 845.

[4]Ibid., p. 846.

[5]"Nigeria," Information booklet supplied by the Embassy of Nigeria, Washington, D.C., 1968.

MAP I



AFRICA - POLITICAL DIVISIONS (NIGERIA SHADED)

The mouths of those rivers which do break through are masked by an apparently solid wall of green mangrove. But behind this seeming barrier calm lagoons extend from the western border into the great Niger Delta where they break up into a network of creeks and waterways that provide valuable means of communication through this part of the country. Talbot observes that these navigable creeks make the country "almost unsurpassed for facilities of water transport," and it is therefore natural "that it should form one of the most important centers of trade in Africa."[6]

Inland from the coastline the tropical rain forest takes over to a depth of between 60 and 100 miles northward. If viewed from the air this area has the appearance of "an almost unbroken carpet of green treetops with, here and there, small clearings and farms."[7] The oil palm is found in profusion and there is much valuable commercial timber. In the west are found excellent cocoa growing areas. Nowhere in this area is there any high ground until the northern limits of the forest are reached and the vegetation takes on the character of guinea savannah

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[6] P. Amaury Talbot, Tribes of the Niger Delta (New York: Barnes and Nobles, Inc., 1967), p. 2.

[7] "Nigeria," op. cit.

with high forest in the river valleys. Low hills occur in the west reaching 2,000 feet at the highest points, between the forest and the Niger River valley.

The two major rivers—the Niger and the Benue—representing the two arms of a "Y" meet at the confluence town of Lokoja and flow in one stream through the delta into the Atlantic Ocean. This "Y" shape of the river system gives Nigeria three cardinal divisions—the North, East and the West—on which the British based the regional governments in the colonial era. Beyond the valleys of the Niger and Benue Rivers, park-like savannah predominates until it merges into Sudan Savannah over the north border and into the Sahara Desert. The great plateau which rises as a steep escarpment from the riverain plains of the Niger/Benue to an average height of 2,000 feet with ranges of hills between 5,000 and 6,000 feet in the Shere Hills around Jos forms a conspicuous feature of the northern part of the country. To the north the plateau descends gently in the direction of Lake Chad in the northeast and more sharply to Zaria in the west.

Climate

Although Nigeria is wholly within the tropics, the climate varies from the typical tropic at the coast to subtropical further inland. Ademoyega says:

> Nigeria lies mainly between latitudes 4^{o} and 14^{o} north of the equator, and between longitudes 2o

> and 15° east of the Greenwich meridian. Although Nigeria lies wholly within the tropics, its geographical characteristics are not uniformly tropical. For instance, they differ greatly from the conditions that exist in the Congo basin or Brazilian lowlands. The few scattered uplands act as barriers dividing the country, and produce great climatic differences.[8]

There are two well-marked seasons. One is the rainy season which lasts from April to October. However, this season starts later and ends earlier in the North than in the South. The other is the dry season which begins from November and ends in March. Temperatures at the coast seldom rise above 90°. Humidity is high. Further north the climate is drier and extremes of temperature are more common, sometimes reaching as high as 110° and falling to 50° and even below on occasions. The annual rainfall ranges "from below 20 inches to over 140 inches."[9]

II. THE BASICS OF NIGERIAN HISTORY

One of the effective ways to prepare the minds of an audience for a study about a country or a race of peoples is to begin by acquainting them with some historical facts. The history of Nigeria has already been published in many volumes. Those interested in details will find it

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[8]Wale Ademoyega, The Federation of Nigeria (London: George G. Harrap and Company, Ltd., 1962), pp. 11-12

[9]Reuben K. Udo, op. cit., p. 2.

rewarding to glance through one of the many volumes. Not concerned with the historical details, the following paragraphs feature only the rudimentary aspects of the country's history deemed to be worthy of note by the author.

Name Origin

A good point to start this analysis is with the name. Many countries and cities of the world have interesting accounts of how their names were bestowed, and Nigeria is no exception. The name "Nigeria" is derived from an African word nigr meaning great river. Nigeria therefore means "Land of the Mighty River," or "The country of the Great Waters."[10]

It is appropriate that the country should be named after the River Niger which is its most striking physical feature and a very useful means of communication. In the early days, however, it was more useful internally than as a route for penetration from the coast into the interior. The delta greatly limited its value as a way in or a way out. Because of this condition, for many centuries the country now called "Nigeria" was enclosed in the south by a difficult coastline and an impenetrable belt of rain forest along it, and in the north by the inhospitable

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[10]"Nigeria," op. cit.

desert. The country would have been completely isolated if the Sahara Desert had really been a barrier as it seems to be today. Historically, the desert, great as it is, has not been an obstacle but the link between North Africa and the interior of the Western Sudan, including the Northern State of Nigeria.

A History of Movement and Fusion

Many of the peoples now in Nigeria came across the desert. Singleton and Shingler[11] note in their book, the story of Herodotus the famous Greek historian of the fifth century, B.C.:

> Some young men from Libya ventured across the Sahara Desert, where none of their countrymen had been before. Coming at last to a habitable region, the Libyans stopped to pick fruit from the trees. They were attacked by some little men--of less than middle height--who seized them and carried them off. The speech of these dwarfs was unintelligible, nor could they understand the Libyans. They took them captives through a vast tract of marshy country, and beyond it came to a town, all the inhabitants of which were of the same small stature, and all black. A great river with crocodiles in it flowed past the town from west to east.

One can easily see that from the dawn of history to the nineteenth century the history of the interior of West Africa was the history of the movement of different peoples and the constant process of fusion between them.

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[11] F. Seth Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Perspective (New York: Hayden Book Company, Inc., 1969), p. 29.

These movements are frequently impossible to follow in detail. In such cases, legends come to the help of history. But it is beyond every conceivable doubt that new peoples and dynamic contacts between old and new were constantly enriching the life of the Nigerian peoples from a very early date.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, these movements of peoples seem to have been part of the vast upheaval consequent on the rise of Islam in Arabia. This increased the migrations through Egypt into North and West Africa, and was combined with the scattering of older North African peoples in the desert and the Sudan. Writing about Nigeria, Crowder[12] recognizes this fact and states:

> Legends in Yorubaland frequently talk of migrations from the north or north-east, and it is possible that the growth of highly centralized kingdoms of Oyo and Benin in the forests of the south was associated with those of the north. The establishment of Oyo and Benin was certainly not the result of mass migrations from the north, since the Yoruba and Edo (Benin) languages bear no relation to Hausa or Kanuri. It could only have been the result of incursions by small groups who imposed their ways on the indigenous population but were linguistically if not culturally assimilated by them. It appears that some time during the first millenium strangers from the north-east either invaded or settled at Ile Ife, establishing a small kingdom there.

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[12]Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 46.

From this date, too, the great caravan routes across the Sahara kept the interior in touch with the historic civilizations, and permitted a valuable flow of trade. Slaves, ivory and gold were sent northwards from the inland area stretching from the Senegal River to Lake Chad; and in return salt, cloth, iron and other metals, coral and other goods were brought back by merchants from the Berbery states along the coast of North Africa.

More Than Trade

Besides trade, there is enough concrete evidence that the routes across the desert brought ideas, education, religion and culture from the Arab-Berber Moslem civilization in the North. This was a rich and fruitful tradition from which the Western Sudan greatly gained. Its own early traditions, its prosperous commercial life, and the intellectual stimuli it received, enabled the Western Sudan to produce the medieval empires, such as Bornu, all having that degree of political, economic and cultural development that entitles them to be known as states or empires.

As empires, they had diplomatic relations even with the countries of Europe. We read in Crowder's work:[13]

> The Portuguese built a factory, as trading stations on the coast were known, at Gwato, the port

[13] Ibid., p. 60.

> of Benin, to handle pepper trade and to purchase slaves. Fortunately through the establishment of this factory we have some amount of information about ancient Benin, though it is often far from accurate. Benin was quickly recognized by the Portuguese as one of the most important kingdoms on the coast and the King of Benin, sent an ambassador to Portugal in the reign of King John II (1481-95). In return Portugal sent missionaries and factors (trading agents), together with many presents for the king.

From this early period, then, came new peoples, trade, the religion of Islam, and new intellectual influences so that with the ninth century, roughly, the history of Nigeria may be said to have begun.

Early Regions of Historical Significance

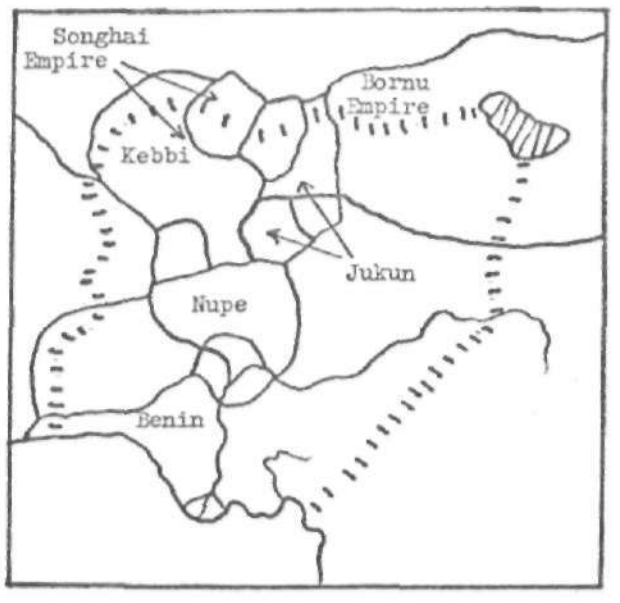
Bornu was the first part of Northern States to emerge clearly into the light of history. It was well placed geographically and strategically, for development, being a convenient settlement area for early peoples from the north through Egypt. It was also at the receiving end of one of the most ancient trade routes in the world--from Cairo, through the region known as the Fezzan, then through the oasis of Kawar, where the chief town is Bilma, famous for its salt mines, and then on to Lake Chad which borders Nigeria on the northeast.

In his history book, Crowder[14] recognizes the greatness of Bornu as a kingdom and states:

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[14]Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962), p. 19.

MAP II



NIGERIA'S STATES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Source: "A Short History of Nigeria," by Michael Crowder. By then the boundary of Nigeria as we have today was not demarcated, and the States were known as the Sudanese States.

> For this newly created country[15] contained not just a multiplicity of pagan tribes, but a number of great kingdoms that had evolved complex systems of government independent of contact with Europe. Within its frontiers were the great kingdoms of Bornu, with a known history of more than a thousand years; the Fulani Empire which for the hundred years before its conquest by Britain had ruled most of the Savannah of Northern Nigeria; the kingdoms of Ife and Benin, which had produced art recognized among the most accomplished in the world; the Yoruba Empire of Oyo which had once been the most powerful of the states of the Guinea Coast; the city States of the Niger Delta, which had grown in response to European demands for slaves and later palm oil; as well as the loosely organized Ibo peoples of the Eastern region and the small tribes of the plateau.

To the west of Bornu were the seven Hausa states—Daura, Kano, Zauzau, Gobir, Katsina, Rano and Biram—which had a history only a little less ancient than that of Bornu itself. There was very close association among them, and each had a specific duty. The great western state of Gobir had to defend the others against attack from Mali or Songhai. Other kingdoms or states similarly had their respective duties. Besides the listed seven, there were other lesser kingdoms, such as Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yelwa, Illorin, Zamfara and Kwarafara.

The Yoruba kingdoms were established on the South. The traditional early history of the Yorubas, which this

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[15]This refers to Nigeria in 1914 after the amalgamation of the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria by the British.

work explores in detail in later pages, is full of interesting legends and stories; but they are difficult to reconcile with each other and impossible to date. Further south was the kingdom of Benin--an offshoot of the Yoruba kingdom. She enjoyed a position of eminence and attracted the attention of the European merchants. The first recorded European visit to Benin was undertaken by a Portuguese adventurer in 1486, while the first English visit took place in 1553.

When the Europeans arrived they found, as recorded by Crowder, a kingdom that was "highly organized, backed by a large and efficient army, which gave it control of a large area of the coast." Its economy was such as to allow not only for sacred carvings found in small societies in Nigeria, but also for a great deal of secular art, such as superbly carved ornaments, bells, lamp holders, doors and pillars. Many of these carvings are now scattered in museums all over the world. It seems credible that Benin City, with its defensive walls, its large army, its hierarchy of chiefs, its elaborate court ceremonial, must have been based on something more than subsistence agriculture. It probably carried a considerable trade with its immediate neighbors, as well as Oyo and the northern States. Possibly it supplied slaves for the Hausa market, though we may have no definite evidence. What is remarkably

significant about Benin is that its growth was stimulated neither by contact with Islam nor Europe.

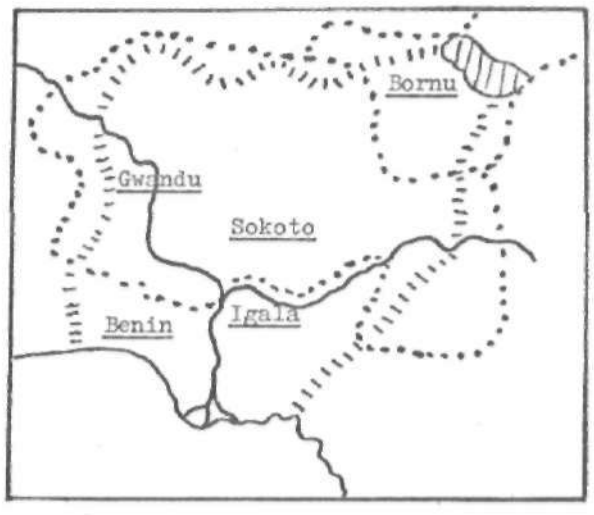
Nigeria's First Turning Point

History has borne out that the end of the sixteenth century proved a turning point for Nigeria in more ways than one. At that time, in the northeast, there was the powerful kingdom of Bornu. The Hausa States had reached a comparative level of material prosperity and cultural development. The Yoruba peoples were settling down and trade was beginning to bloom. The Nupe, Borgu,and Kwafara peoples were already in place. Benin was powerful along the coast, being in touch with Europe, and open to European influences. The Ibo and Ibibio peoples in the Eastern region were living in much the same areas as now, and they were already marked out as vigorous and thrusting. And yet the next two centuries proved "centuries of historical might."[16] This was a period of stagnation, wars, the alarming slave trade and political disintegration, ending in the early nineteenth century under the more creative, threefold influence of the Fulani wars in the North, the abolition of the European slave trade, and slavery, and the early European exploration of the interior.

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[16]"Nigeria," op. cit.

MAP III



THE FULANI EMPIRE AND BORNU BY 1850

Source: Crowder, op. cit., p. 79.

Why were the Fulani wars fought? The causes of the decline in the North were not wholly due to factors in Nigeria itself. In the last ten years of the sixteenth century, Moorish armies from Morocco descended on the Western Sudan, bringing to an end the glorious age of the Songhai empire. Moreover, the civilization of the Sudan and of the Moslem peoples between desert and forest, derived from the Moslem-Arab civilization of the north. They shared the glories of Moslem achievement in the European middle ages and they shared too its mysterious rapid decline.

This period saw also the development of the European slave trade, whose effects were unavoidably felt throughout Nigeria, and indeed throughout the entire west coast of Africa. If the demand for slaves did not in itself stimulate wars, in which captives could be sold off as slaves, the use of firearms bought from European traders greatly added to the terrors and the slaughter of such wars. Stories of deserted villages, failing crops, and then famine, are a reminder that in recording the suffering of those sold into slavery, it is necessary to remember the suffering of those left behind. And the final judgment of the slave trade may well be not that it led to cruelties, "torture, hunger, sickness, beatings,

barbarities, and sometimes death"[17] in the West Indies, but that it retarded the progress and development of civilization in West Africa for some centuries.

To confirm what the Bible says that there is time for everything, time to stop the slave trade had to come. And the British took the lead in this move, substituting trade on other products, such as palm oil and kernel, for human cargoes. Before trade could be much developed, however, it was necessary for Europe to learn something about the interior of a continent whose rim alone existed for Europeans, after centuries of contact. Prominent among the explorers[18] were Mungo Park, who "discovered" the River Niger; Denham and Clapperton, who were the first Europeans to reach the Hausa States; and the Landers brothers, who ascertained, for the benefit of Europeans, the true course of the Niger.

On the heels of the explorers came the missionaries[19] and by the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century these had reached Abeokuta, Ibadan and Calabar.

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[17]Milton J. Belasco and Harold E. Hammond, The New Africa, History, Culture, People (Bronxville, New York: Cambridge Book Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 52-53.

[18]Michael Crowder, West Africa Under Colonial Rule (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 15.

[19]Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 118.

Concurrent with the European penetration into the interior was the Fulani jihad. This was partly a religious movement, owing much to the inspiration of Islam, and partly a national political movement of the Fulani peoples seeking domination over peasants and traders. Their great national leader was Osman dan Fodio, and under him the Fulanis inflicted heavy defeats on the Hausa States and established their rule over more than 100,000 square miles of territory. Only Bornu in the northeast withstood the onslaught. But another invading power soon challenged the Fulanis—this time the British, and not Africans.

Beginning with the annexation of Lagos in 1861, and the appointment of British consuls on the coast and the Oil rivers from 1849, British influence gradually penetrated further and further into Nigeria. Moves were made from Lagos itself into the heart of Yoruba land. As trade along the Niger developed the riverain territories came under the same influence in the second half of the nine-teenth century. At the very end of the century, and at the beginning of the next, the north was brought under British control, prior to the amalgamation of the two halves (north and south) of the country under the governor-generalship of Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard in 1914.

The Second Turning Point

The Federal Republic of Nigeria which we have today as one country, only came into being in 1914 when the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated by Sir Frederick Lugard. "Sixteen years earlier," as Crowder points out, "Flora Shaw, who later married Lugard, first suggested in an article for The Times that the several British Protectorates on the Niger be known collectively as Nigeria."[20]

The history of Nigeria from the early 1920's is the history of the rise of modern nationalism and of the advance towards independent autonomy. Progress, which was at first slow, became remarkably rapid after the second World War. Between 1946 and 1951, different constitutions were introduced which gave Nigerians first representative and then responsible government. Under the 1946 constitution,[21] a federal form of government was introduced when the country was divided into three regions--the Northern, Eastern and Western Regions. A central legislature was set up to administer the whole country and regional Houses of Assembly were established to act as advisory bodies to the

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[20] Ibid., p. 19.

[21] Nigeria: The Making of a Great Nation (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office: A Central Office of Information series, July, 1960), p. 29.

central legislature on regional matters. The 1951 constitution greatly increased regional autonomy, and established larger and more representative legislatures with wider powers in the regions and at the center. It further gave Nigerians a full share in the shaping of government policy and the direction of government action.

The constitution was revised in 1954 and again in 1957, each one taking the country a step nearer independence. Regional self-government was achieved by the former Eastern and Western Nigeria in 1957, while the former Northern Nigeria attained the same status in 1959. The Federation as a single entity or sovereignty became fully independent on October 1, 1960. Three years later on October 1, 1963, the country emerged as the Federal Republic of Nigeria. And the three verses of her national anthem read as follows:

1. Nigeria we hail thee
   Our own dear native land
   Though tribe and tongue may differ
   In brotherhood we stand
   Nigerians all, and proud to serve
   Our sovereign Motherland.

2. Our flag[22] shall be a symbol
   That truth and justice reign,
   In peace or battle honour'd,
   And this we count as gain
   To hand on to our children
   A banner without stain.

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[22]The Nigerian flag is green-white-green in vertical parallels.

3. O God of all creation
Grant this our one request
Help us to build a nation
Where no man is oppressed
And so with peace and plenty
Nigeria may be blessed.

III. NIGERIAN ART AND CULTURE IN A NUTSHELL

From what has been discussed thus far, it is evident that arts and cultures are remarkably diversified in Nigeria--a country so full of people with complex heterogenesis. Since more time will be spent for cultural analysis of the different sections, the following paragraphs, void of details, are intended to give a summarized outlook.

Relics of Ancient Times

Recent archaelogical discoveries of the Nok Culture show that the cultural heritage in some areas which now form part of Nigeria go back to over 2,000 years. This fact was pointed out earlier in Chapter II of this work. There is ample evidence that some parts of Nigeria belonged to the list of the empires which came to full fruition during the medieval times. Williams[23] says: "Farther south in Nigeria, radio-carbon datings taken from pottery fragments near the village of Nok indicated that a thriving

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[23]John A. Williams, Africa--Her History, Lands, and People Told With Pictures (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 7.

civilization with highly developed art forms flourished as far back as 4,000 B.C."

The government has set up an "Antiquities Commission"[24] to restore and preserve these precious relics which manifest the country's past. These can be seen in museums all over the country. Artistic expression reveals itself in numerous forms of art of which wood carving is probably the most common in the southern states. From the early days of history, this area has seen many sculptors making figures for shrines, for portraiture, for masks, and for representation of the "spirits." Long before surrealism was an established art form of the Western world, Nigerian sculptors interpreted these spirits as they "saw" them and carved the living wood not in conventional portraiture, but in lively but serious caricature.

In addition to wood carvings, brass or bronze castings are still made but there is nothing produced now to compare with the fabulous Ife and Benin bronzes. These perfect examples of portraiture and the cire perdue method of casting, together with the equally perfect terra cottas thought to be of the same period and possibly by the same craftsmen, have no equal anywhere in Africa, if not the

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[24]"Nigeria," op. cit.

world. Nigeria today has her fair share of painters and sculptors who apply modern techniques to indigenous art forms.

A modern theater has begun to evolve, and exists side by side with the traditional (and often esoteric) dramatizations which are performed on religious and festival occasions.

IV. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

When one prepares an address to be delivered to a given audience, one does not ignore the importance of the means of getting to the destination. The audience to benefit from this presentation must also endeavor to report at the proposed place of convocation. Even in private affairs involving buying and selling, social or family meetings, entertainment trips, and the like, movement from one location to the other is a sine qua non.

Mobility forms the backbone of developing economic systems; while immobility stagnates the system, freezes the resources and aggravates poverty. Records have indicated that America developed as rapidly as she did because of many factors, one of which is transportation. In this case it was the railroad, the importance of which

is recognized by Cochran and Miller.[25] "Railway officials, free from restrictions, could make and unmake mining and manufacturing concerns in those days."

Nigeria is aware of the importance of adequate communication system. The country is well served (though more could be expected) by road, rail, sea and air transport as well as by up-to-date postal and telecommunications systems. The citizens in different states or parts are thus within easy contact of one another and the outside world.

Roads

The land road system is built on a "grid framework" of trunk "A" roads whose basic components are two roads running from the ports of Port Harcourt and Lagos to the northern boundary of the country. On the east to west system, there are two south of the Niger/Benue Rivers, and two north of it. Where the road transportation is very poor, as in some sections in the north, primitive forms of transportation such as the donkey[26] are still in use.

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[25]Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1961), p. 136.

[26]Reuben K. Udo, op. cit., p. 194.

The land road system links up the Federal and State capitals, connects these with other large towns and the ports, and facilitates communication within Nigeria and the neighboring territories of Africa. The second class of roads--Trunk "B"--connects provincial and divisional headquarters and other large towns with the Trunk "A" system, with one another, and with ports and points on the railway. There are, in all, over 50,000 miles[27] of roads throughout the Federation.

Railway

By comparison with other African countries surrounding her, Nigeria is aptly described as having an extensive railway system which connects the hinterland with the coast. The system covers over 2,000 route miles of 3 foot 6 inch gauge. While the country does not allow itself to be left out of the race for technological advance, its railway system is currently undergoing modernization, with diesels replacing steam engines.

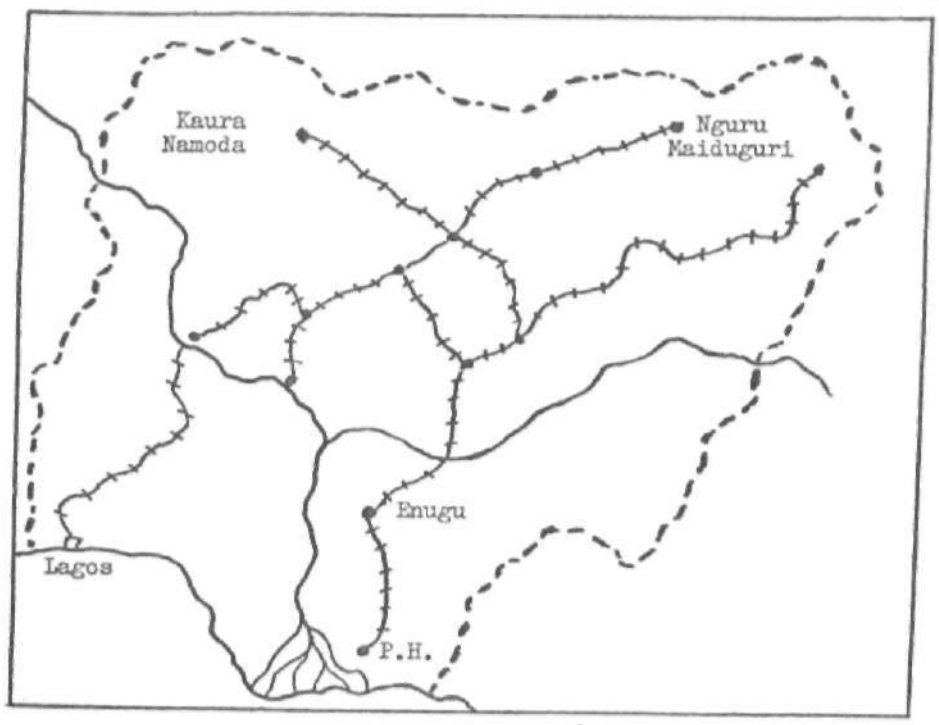
Air Transport

There are two international airports which offer passenger and freight services within and outside the

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[27]"Nigeria," op. cit.

MAP IV



NIGERIA - RAILWAY SYSTEM

country.[28] The two are located at Kano in Kano State, and at Ikeja in Lagos State. Kano is an important staging point in routes serving north, west and southern Africa as well as Europe and America. Lagos is served by international routes to Europe, America, West and equatorial Africa.

Internal services are provided by Nigeria Airways--Nigeria's national airline--which also links Nigeria with other West African countries, Europe and the United States. There are customs aerodromes at Benin, Calabar, Enugu, Gusau, Ibadan, Jos, Kaduna, Maiduguri, Port Harcourt, Sokoto, Yola and Zaria. Ten other aerodromes are used for charter flights and a further 23 landing strips are used also by light communications aircraft.

Sea Transport

Passenger and freight services are maintained by the West African Lines Conference and by several North European, North American and Far Eastern shipping lines. Owned by the Federal Government, the Nigerian National Line is among the shipping lines, and is operated by a statutory corporation.

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[28]"Nigeria--A Virile Republic," An advertisement folder of the New York Times; especially prepared on Nigeria, November 7, 1965, Section 13.

In addition to the overseas shipping, there is also plenty of traffic along the coast and on the inland waterways.

Since the coastal area is broken up by a network of tributaries and creeks, particularly in the deltas of the Niger and Cross Rivers, the thickly populated south has a system of national waterways providing cheap and ready-made communications. On these inland waterways, dug-out canoes, which are the traditional means of transportation, have been supplemented in recent years by motorboats. On the main creeks and rivers, passenger and cargo services operate between the principal ports. The craft employed varies from large, shallow-draught paddle-steamers to the modern powered barges.

Post and Telegraph Services

Nigeria is a member of the Universal Postal Union. Her post offices and postal agencies number over 300. There is a network of Very High Frequency Radio Stations running through the major centers, providing transmission paths for trunk calls. Within the towns, there is a changeover to automatic telephones. This progress is matched by similar advance in the telegraphic services, where hand-tapped Morse key and sounder has given way to teleprinters in most major centers. "Private wire" and "Telex" services are also in operation, while external

telephone and cable services are provided by a company--the Nigerian External Telecommunications, Limited. The government has the controlling interest in this company.

To complete the discussion on transportation and communications, one need not ignore the fact that the country also had four television stations or transmitters in 1965. It is safe to hope that this number may increase by the time this work is published. There are over 23 daily newspapers. Seventeen are published in English and others in bilingual editions in Hausa, Ibo or Efik.[29] The Nigerian press is virile and free; and some of them exceed a daily circulation of 100,000.

Even though this study is specifically on Nigeria, it is expedient to note what takes place in other parts of Africa since it is conceivable that the problems encountered in Nigeria--whether social, political economic, etc.--are by no means unique. Fred Burke[30] has taken a look at the whole of Africa in respect to communications:

> In Africa today, planes fly regularly between the major cities; roads, some better than others, now link the capital cities with outlying provincial towns and headquarters. Often the roads are paralleled by phone and telegraph lines and in more and more parts of Africa by high-tension electric

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[29] World Communications: Press, Radio, Television, Film (New York: UNESCO and the UNESCO Publications Center, 1964), p. 102.

[30] Fred G. Burke, Africa's Quest for Order (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 39.

power lines as well. In the new state characterized by a single major capital city all roads, phone lines and other forms of communication lead to and radiate from the capital city.

V. EDUCATION

"Nigeria has more nationals studying abroad than any other African country. Few countries in Africa, or in the world, have made such impressive economic strides as has Nigeria."[31]

The above quotation can be further strengthened or substantiated by the remark of a visitor from Europe after staying in Nigeria and observing the country's enthusiasm for education: "I have travelled in many lands but I do not think that there is anywhere I have witnessed such a consuming thirst for education as I have in this country."[32]

The government of Nigeria has always planned not only to satisfy the thirst, but also to harness the widespread passion for learning to the country's manpower needs. Since education is a very important factor in all countries' national life, the Nigerian government has devoted much of her resources to providing and expanding

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[31]George W. Shepherd, Jr., The Politics of African Nationalism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962), p. 48.

[32]"Nigeria," op. cit.

its facilities at all levels. The aim is to give every child the opportunity to develop his talent, and to create an enlightened people who would fully understand and carry out their responsibilities and obligations to their country and the world.

In 1960, a Commission on higher education was set up jointly by both the Regional and Federal governments to survey and prepare a blueprint of the educational and manpower needs of the country up to 1980. This report, often referred to as the "Ashby Report," was adopted with some modifications, and much of it was incorporated in the educational programs of the Regions. Since the report was issued, rapid expansion has taken place in all branches of education. In 1964, there were over 3.2 million children in over 17,000 primary schools in the Republic; over 700 secondary grammar and secondary modern schools with an enrollment of more than 180,000 students; 40 technical institutes and vocational schools with 8,000 trainees; and 350 teacher training colleges with an enrollment of over 35,000. In addition, schools for specialized training in business and administration as well as schools for the handicapped were established. The universities numbered up to five, including Ibadan University which has been in operation since 1948.

There are also two university medical schools and teaching hospitals, and a law school where the law graduates are called to the Nigerian Bar.

The following table is an example of one of the projected plans showing teacher requirements for a 10-year period in the Eastern region.

TABLE III

TEACHRR REQUIREMENTS 1962-72[33]

Schools	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1972
Primary	40,850	39,200	41,630	44,930	46,630	48,310
Secondary Grammar	1,075	1,757	2,153	2,289	2,309	2,319
Technical	16	52	80	93	93	93
Trade	20	25	25	30	35	40
Handicraft	60	110	125	125	125	125
Teacher Training	625	625	625	625	625	625

There are also about 10,000 students in overseas institutions. The illiteracy rate which used to be as high as 95 per cent in the country has now been slashed to an estimated low of under 60 per cent. (It is noteworthy that a lot of people with no knowledge of English are literate in Nigerian languages and, in the Northern States, in Arabic.)

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[33] Eastern Nigeria Development Plan: 1962-1968, #8 (Enugu, Nigeria: A Government Publication).

All this is the product of an annual educational budget whose percentage, in proportion to the country's entire annual expenditure, is considered to be one of the highest in the world.

As young as the country is as an independent sovereignty, it is obvious that for some years to come, Nigeria will depend largely on technical assistance from industrialized countries. On the other hand, although the country is faced with manpower needs in the fields of technology, science, agricultural engineering and entrepreneurship, Nigeria has produced so many legal and administrative experts that it now serves as a fund for their supply to other African States.

VI. THE CONGLOMERATION AND COMPLEMENTARITY OF CULTURAL DIVERSITIES

Introduction

In the previous pages of this chapter, the author has introduced his audience to Nigeria in a general way. The geographical elements, historical facts, educational commitments, and communication facilities along with other headlines, have been summarily surveyed. No sight has been lost of the fact that this chapter was to have as its central core the ethnic groupings and the characteristics

of the population inhabiting the country. And to that topic we will now turn our attention.

When we use the term "the New World," many people refer to the Americas. But the real new world of today is the old continent of Africa, little known to those who are now only beginning to read about the surging new nations which comprise about one-third of the membership of the United Nations but, alas, still pictured in the textbooks as the home of thick forests, wild life, the dark continent and underdevelopment.

Africa,[34] the continent of variety, stretches 5,000 miles from the waters of the Mediterranean, across the Tropic of Cancer, the Equator, and the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope, and 5,000 miles from the waters of the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. At the very center lies Nigeria, embracing in its 356,700 square miles the variety of the whole continent with more than 56 million people (about one-quarter of the total population of Africa) and its varied topography. It is Nigeria that is aptly termed "the giant of Africa."[35]

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[34]Edward B. Espenshade, Jr. (Ed.), Goode's World Atlas (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 163.

[35]Gerald K. Helleiner, Peasant Agriculture, Government and Economic Growth in Nigeria (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1966), p. 351.

Nigeria is undoubtedly one of the most (if not the single most) fascinating countries in the world. The complex and complementary diversities of the people, their color and vitality, their insatiable desire for pleasure and deep appreciation of beauty--all testify to this assertion. True, there are no mountains to climb like the Rockies. The River Niger is not as long as the Mississippi. Our waterfalls are petty cascades beside the mighty Niagara. There is no Grand Canyon. We have no awe-inspiring ancient ruins, and our tallest building is a mere 27 stories high--the Cocoa House at Ibadan. But there is variety of another kind.

There is variety in the landscape, from the surging surf on the white sands and mangrove swamps of the coast, through the maze of creeks and waterways of the Niger Delta and rivers, in the tall tangled forests of the south, on the rising hills and savannah country of the middle areas, on the rolling plains and the rocky outcrops of the plateau and its sharp escarpment, in the gradual drift towards the long fingers of the Sahara Desert creeping over the northern border from the Niger Republic.

These offer variety enough. But the real excitement that is Nigeria is her people, drawn from over 250 linguistic and ethnic groups. You find them in the crowded cities, towns and hamlets, in the shops, in the

stores, in the factories, in the offices, running their own big businesses. You find them on the farms producing their crops to eat and export. You find them in the villages along the rivers and the creeks, along the roads and among the rocks and hills; in the open plain sheltered behind thorny cactus hedges; in palatial modern houses; on houseboats on the rivers, out at sea in frail canoes or on the navigating bridges of ocean-going vessels. But seldom alone, for Nigerians love company; and even the smallest hamlet is a recognizable community.

Traditions, customs, dress, dancing, and masquerades are interwoven into the pattern of everyday life--for birth, marriage, death, in commemoration of the remembered figures of the past, for the observance of religious festivals and ceremonies; for success in hunting, fishing, farming, opening a new house, capping a newly crowned chief and all the activities of life. The drums beat an incessant rhythm and the life of the people expresses itself in dancing. Only the rains impose a temporary halt to the calendar of ceremonies, and even then do not obliterate the tempo to any great extent.

It is against such a background that the city of Ibadan is described:

> The city, enclosed by thick, sun-dried walls, is a restless place. When the markets are in

> session the streets are crowded. A wedding procession, or merely a parade of singing and dancing people are not uncommon sights.[36]

Each region, each area, each village has its own customs and traditions: from Lagos, the bustling modern capital, through Ibadan (the largest African city), to Kano behind its ancient walls guarding 1,500 years of tradition, the plateau with its variety of ancient people, Sokoto and Maiduguri and Lake Chad; Benin, raided for her exquisite sculpture by the Portuguese 20 years before Columbus discovered America; the continuous busy communities of the Eastern region, the great Onitsha market (the world's largest covered market), and the busy rivers. There are museums and spectacular monuments, arts and crafts, old and new entertainment. Nigeria is indeed the old and new Africa combined, with the new faces and places that make tourism in Africa a new experience.

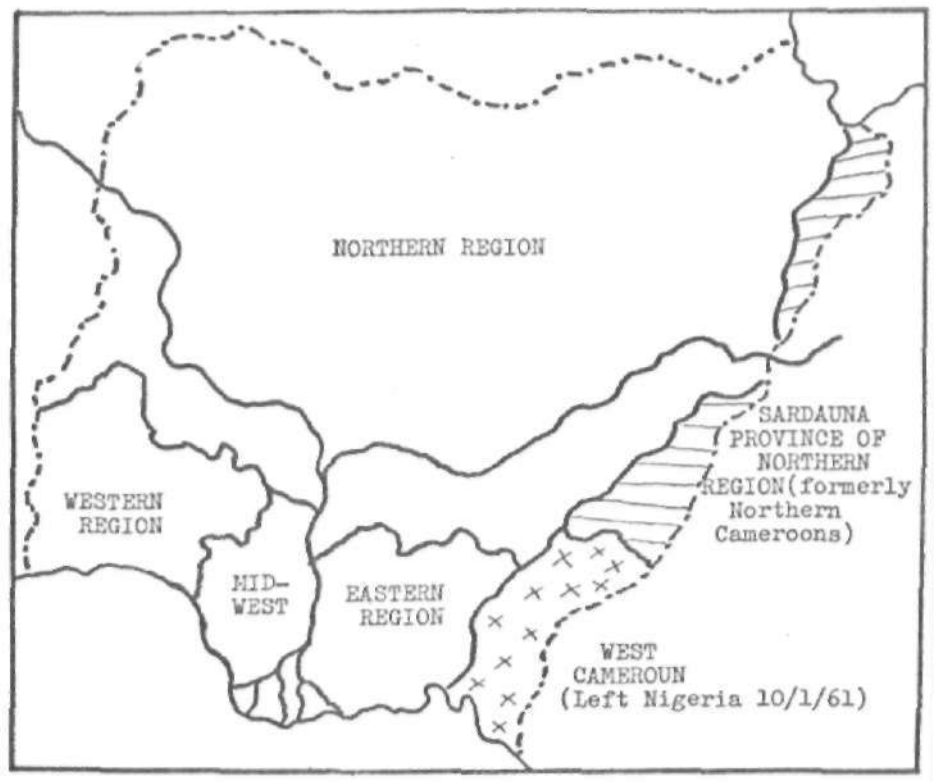
Reason for Regionalism

There are three large linguistic groups that predominate Nigeria's population. They are: (1) the Hausas in the North, (2) the Yorubas in the West, and (3) the Ibos in the East. In addition to these larger ethnic

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[36]Nelson Doubleday and C. Earl Cooley (Eds.), Encyclopedia of World Travel, Volume 2 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 1006.

MAP V



NIGERIAN POLITICAL BOUNDARIES 1964

Source: Alan Sokolski, The Establishment of Manufacturing in Nigeria (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965), p. 5.

groups in each region, there are smaller linguistic divisions. For instance, in the North there are the Fulani, Kanuri, Shuwa Arab, Nupe, Anga, Gwari, Tangale, and Birom to mention a few. In the East--the Efiks, Ibibio, Anang and Ijaw. In the West and Midwest--the Edo, Itsekiri, Urhobo, and the Ijaws.

To many casual observers it has often appeared that the superficial disparity suggested by this varied ethnic and linguistic composition would create deep-seated problems, especially in the political and social life of the people. It was this fear that justified the British in subdividing Nigeria into the three political regions during the colonial rule.

Literary Appreciation As A Unifying Force

Although Nigeria has not, and may never, become a cultural melting pot, a closer examination of its political and social life demonstrates to a degree that its national diversities have formed nothing but a complementary mosaic. Nevertheless, occasions are not rare when the citizens' unity of purpose is put to the test. Many times success blooms; and at other times failure holds sway.

Religion and art constitute conspicuous spheres in which complementary diversities of Nigeria are richly reflected. The teeming millions of Moslems in northern

and western Nigeria have lived in peace with their fellow citizens who practice Christianity and other religions. At times of festivals, either of Christians or Moslems, it is overwhelming to watch the adherents of all faiths join hands in the celebrations. Although the friendly nature of the Nigerian has much to do with this, there is no doubt that one of the motivating factors that make him a good mixer is his appreciation and love of art.

Nigerians are generally distinguished in and have an ingrained appreciation of art, be it painting, sculpture, music, dancing or oral poetry. This attitude has led many businessmen and traders in their advertising campaigns and sales promotion to incorporate poetic verses in their trades, even when such is not a necessary part of the business. The case in mind is the work of Professor E.J. Umoh[37] who specializes in publishing pocket diaries and yearbooks. In his 1963-64 edition his first few pages opened with a lovely poem in Efik language, portraying how everybody strives to get money, and yet money seems to be running away from the people.

Not only did he publish these beautiful verses, but also he had to read them aloud at market places, using a loudspeaker. This was his first experiment at this technique, and the result was that he doubled his sales during that season. Many of the people that bought his

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[37]Etim J. Umoh, National Yearbook, 1963-64 (Uyo, Nigeria: Modern Business Press), p. 1.

diary did so not because they wanted the diary, but because of how they appreciated the beauty of these verses:

OKUK MBAKARA

1. Okuk mbakara efiori fi mfin
   Mfukho ye idara oto fi, okuk!
   Ofri mfiori efioride fi mi
   Okuk, usunyun uyereke ndien.

2. Akpaimo owo eyom okuk
   Edinyene okuk oto unyime Ete
   Okuk mmidihe eno fo, ikpikpu
   Utu ke uforo atak ke ison.[38]

Throughout the history of the various linguistic groups that make up the Republic, art and the artist have always held a recognized position in the society. The Ife and Benin bronzes, akwete, adire, the brass-smiths of Bida, Atilogu dancers, Ijala poetry, wood, thorn and calabash carving--these are a few of the names with international recognition whose immediate association is with Nigeria, their home. In world-famous museums, samples of these collections stand as an eloquent testimony of the art treasures of Nigeria, a nation whose diversities have appeared complementary to a reasonable measure.

Characteristics of Specific Ethnicities

The relatively large number of the ethnic groups inhabiting Nigeria makes it prohibitive to write on each and every one of them. And, as a matter of fact, there

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[38]This poem is written in Efik language.

are no reliable written records or documents on some of the smaller groups whose basic characteristics seem absorbed among the features of the larger groups surrounding them. It is, therefore, understandable that the names of such small ethnic groups may once in a while appear in this work, but without any detailed treatment.

The present twelve-state structure of the Federation has absorbed the former regional divisions of the colonial era. Nevertheless, we can still trace the twelve states to their original regions. This tracing is illustrated in Table IV.

TABLE IV

NIGERIAN REGIONS BROKEN INTO STATES[39]

Regions	States
1. Northern Region	(1) North-Western (2) North-Central (3) Kano (4) North-Eastern (5) Benue-Plateau (6) Kwara (or West-Central)
2. Eastern Region	(7) South-Eastern (8) Rivers (9) East-Central
3. Mid-Western Region	(10) Mid-Western
4. Western Region*	(11) Western State
5. Federal Territory of Lagos	(12) Lagos State

*Unless otherwise indicated, whenever "Western Region" is used in this work, it shall refer to Regions number 3, 4 and 5 of this table.

[39]"Path to a Just and Lasting Solution," Text of the opening statement of Chief Anthony Enahoro, leader of the

MAP VI



TWELVE STATES OF NIGERIA AS OF MAY 27, 1967

1. Rivers
2. South-East
3. East-Central
4. Mid-West
5. Lagos
6. Western
7. Kwara
8. North-Western
9. North-Central
10. Kano
11. North-Eastern
12. Benue-Plateau

To make the presentation logical, effort will be exerted to complete the analysis of the characteristics of the groups in each region before taking up the next. For example, we will complete discussing the ethnic groups in the Western Region before entering the Northern or Eastern regions.

The Western Region

In discussing the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Western Region, it is necessary to subdivide the features into specific aspects. At least four major aspects can be readily discernible. These include the following: (1) brief history and origin, (2) social and political structure, (3) culture, customs and religion, and (4) development--problems, cases and progress. The same format is used in dealing with any other groups of people in other regions.

The Yorubas. "The Yoruba is the most important ethnic group west of the River Niger."[40] To explore more

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Federal Government Delegation at the Nigerian Peace Talks at Kampala; Issued by the Nigerian Embassy, Washington, D.C., May, 1968. On the last page of the address is a map showing the states in each region.

[40]Francis Archibong Etuk, "Social Organization and Political Modernization in Nigeria - A Study in Socio-Political Development," The Nigerian Students Voice: Journal of Research News and Analysis, Vol. IV, No. 4, October, 1967, Washington, D.C., Eagle Press, Inc., p. 8.

into the characteristics of these people, the format presented above will be the guide.

Brief History and Origin

Like the early history of most nations whose commonly received accounts are for the most part purely legendary, the origin of the Yoruba nation is involved in obscurity. The much that is known is from carefully handed down traditions, because the natives in the early days were unlettered and their language unwritten.

The Yorubas are believed to have sprung from Lamurudu, one of the kings of Mecca whose offspring were Oduduwa, the ancestor of the Yorubas; the kings of Gogobiri and of the Kukawa, two ethnic groups in the Hausa country. It is worthy of remark that these two nations, notwithstanding the lapse of time since their separation and in spite of the distance from each other of their respective localities, "still have the same distinctive tribal marks on their faces," and Yoruba travellers are free amongst them and vice-versa, each recognizing the other "as of one blood."[41]

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[41]Rev. Samuel Johnson, The History of the Yorubas (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1966), pp. 3-4.

Arabia is probably the "Mecca" of our tradition. History has revealed that the people of Arabia were driven by a religious persecution into Africa. Their first permanent settlement in Africa was Yarba which gives the origin of the term Yoruba. Yarba is the same as the Hausa term Yarriba for Yoruba.

It is very curious that in the history of Mahomet[42] we read of a similar flight of his first converts from Mecca to the East Coast of Africa (the first Hegira), due also to a religious persecution. This fact serves to show that there is nothing improbable in the accounts received by tradition. Again, it can be proved that they emigrated from Upper Egypt to Ile Ife because of those sculptures commonly known as the "Ife Marbles," several of which may be seen at Ile Ife today. These are said to be the handiwork of their early ancestors.

Dennet[43] maintains that the history of the Yorubas can be traced only from 1700. "It is only from this date (1700), when the decadence of the Yoruba Kingdom had set in, that the native chroniclers can give us any definite knowledge of the Yoruba history."

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[42] Ibid., p. 6.

[43] R.E. Dennet, Nigerian Studies (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1968), p. 6.

Social and Political Structure

The entire Yoruba country covers many subgroups of the Yoruba people. This calls for the application of the term "Yoruba Proper" which excludes the other smaller subgroups. These other subgroups will be treated under their respective names later on in this chapter. If we examine the native government of the whole Yoruba (which includes the Yoruba Proper and the minority groups) we can say that they have never been thoroughly organized into one complete government in a modern sense. The prevailing system could be termed Feudal, where the remoter portions have always lived more or less in a state of semi-independence, while loosely acknowledging an over-lord.

The king of Benin was one of the first to be independent of the central government, and was even better known to foreigners who frequented his ports in early times, and who knew nothing of his overlord in the then unexplored and unknown interior.[44]

The Yoruba Proper. Our description from henceforth will concentrate on the Yoruba Proper. These were completely organized. Most of the smaller governments were generally modelled after them, but with some variations in a much simpler form, and solely in domestic affairs.

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[44]Rev. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 40.

The coastal groups were less important in both population and intelligence than the interior groups because light and civilization in those early days came from the connections they had with the Arabs and Fulanis from the North. Things, however, changed since the latter half of the nineteenth century with the contact with European legitimate trade instead of slave trade; and more especially through the efforts of the missionaries[45] who entered when modern towns sprang up at Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan.

Their government is an absolute monarchy. The king[46] is more dreaded than even the gods; and the kings are of different grade corresponding somewhat to the different orders of the English peerage (dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and barons), and their order of rank is well known among them.

The Alafin. This is the supreme head of all the kings and princes of the Yoruba nation, as he is the direct lineal descendant and successor of their reputed founder.

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[45]Max Gluckman, Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 215.

[46]The king as used here refers to any distinguished chief standing at the head of a clan, or important district or province, especially those who can trace their descent from the great founders, leaders or heroes. It is a hereditary position.

The succession is by election from amongst the members of the royal family. Age and nearness to the throne are among the criteria to be considered. In the earliest days, the eldest son used to succeed the father; but later on, their constitution made a change. This can illustrate the fact that the people in Nigeria were not lacking in administrative science before the coming of the British. And Nicolson[47] agrees with this assertion: "To choose the first day of the twentieth century as the best starting point for an account of the evolution of Nigerian administration does not imply that there was nothing before then worth calling administration."

The coronation of a king takes place at the end of three months, really at the third appearance of the new moon after the late king's death. The king is generally expected to appear in public on the three great annual festivals of Ifa, Orun and the Bure. He also has his palace officials who attend to him.

Every town, village or hamlet is under a responsible head, either a provincial "king," or a Bale (mayor). In every case the title is hereditary (excepting at Ibadan) as such heads are invariably the founders or descendants

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[47]I.F. Nicolson, The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 1.

of the founders of their town. The provincial kings are styled the lords of their town or district, and from it they take their title. For example, the Onikoyi, lord of Ikoyi; Aseyin, lord of Iseyin and Aleke, lord of Ake. A provincial king is, of course, higher than a Bale as a duke or an earl is higher than a mayor. It is to be borne in mind that such positions carry due privileges.

Towns and villages. All Yoruba towns with very few exceptions are built on one uniform plan, and the origin of most of them is more or less the same. They all have identical features. A cluster of huts around the farmstead of an enterprising farmer may be the starting point; perhaps a halting place for refreshments in a long line of march between two towns. "In any case it is one individual that first attracts others to the spot."[48] If the site be on the highway to a large town, or in a caravan route, so much the better. The wives of farmers ever ready to cater refreshments for wearied travellers render the spot in time a recognized halting place.

If the spot is a popular resort, a market soon springs up. Then neighboring farmers bring their wares for sale, sometimes once a week; and market sheds are built all

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[48]Rev. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 90.

over the place to protect people from rain and sun. This agrees with Alchian's and Allen's definition of a market as "any place or institution that enables people to negotiate exchanges."[49]

As soon as houses begin to spring up and a village or hamlet is formed, the necessity for law, order and control becomes apparent. The men would thereupon assemble at the door of the principal man who attracted them to the place and formally recognize him as a Bale or mayor of the village. Then the mayoralty becomes perpetuated in the family.

Culture, Customs and Religion

The ancient Yorubas were very simple in their manners, their tastes and habits. Their houses all on the ground floor are built in compounds called Agbo Ile (a flock of houses), that is to say in the form of a hollow square, horseshoe or a circle, enclosing a large central area with one principal gateway. The house is divided into compartments to accommodate several families, all more or less related or united by ties of kinship or friendship. One piazza runs right around the whole, and is used for all

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[49]Armen A. Alchian and William R. Allen, University Economics (Belmont, California: Wadworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1967), p. 5.

ordinary purposes by day, and for the reception of visitors. The central area is used in common by all the inmates for general purposes. Usually horses, sheep and goats are tethered in it. The compartment of the head of the household is usually larger than the rest and with a loftier roof, and is generally opposite the main gateway.

Land ownership. The land laws of the Yorubas are simple and effective. Since there is enough land for each ethnic group, there is no need for any complicated or elaborate laws. Whatever land is not effectively occupied is for the common benefit. No one need own any land which he cannot utilize, except farm land left fallow for a short period.

Theoretically and traditionally, Yoruba land belongs to the Alafin of Oyo as the supreme head of the race. They have a proverb: "The land belongs to the king."[50] It must be understood, of course, that the king does not own the land as his personal property. It is only his as representing the race. Therefore, each group owns its land for the benefit of the group members.

Lands are never sold, but may be granted to outsiders for life, and to their heirs in perpetuity. But the

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[50]Rev. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 95.

fruit-bearing trees, especially the palm trees, and kola nut trees, etc., on the land at the time of the granting are not included. He has to cultivate his own fruits; and the land thus granted is never taken back except in special circumstances such as treason which renders the grantee an outlaw, fit to be excommunicated.

History shows that the non-alienation of the Yoruba land formed one of the main conditions of their admitting a European officer among them by the Ibadans at the beginning of the British Protectorate.[51] Only citizens can own land permanently. Land granted to foreigners for a specific purpose reverts to the owner or state at the expiration of the grant.

These are the general laws to be observed rather in the spirit than in the letter.

Personal appearance. Much regard is paid to personal sanitation. The men are always shaved. If one appears unshaven, unwashed, and with dirty clothes on, you may safely conclude that he is mourning, for such are the signs of it. Some men may carry their heads bald, but "the

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[51] F. Agbodeka, The Rise of the Nation States - A History of the West African Peoples 1800-1964 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1965), p. 131.

hair is the glory of the woman." Women may have their hair done up in a variety of ways dictated by the usual feminine vanity. The unmarried ones are distinguished by their hair being plaited into small strips from the right to the left ear. Married women usually commence on both sides and finish up in the middle in a sort of network running from the forehead to the occiput.

They are very virtuous in character, loving, kind, and respectful; unassuming in their manners, and submissive to their superiors. When powerless, they would submit to oppression and wrong to any extent so long as they find resistance useless; but when an opportunity comes for asserting their rights and overthrowing the oppressor, they quickly embrace it. A common proverb embodies this trait in their character: "Bi owo eni ko te eku ida a ki ibere iku ti o pa baba eni,"[52] that is, if one has not grasped the handle of his sword, he should not attempt to avenge the death of his father.

Marriage. In ancient times the Yorubas were mostly monogamic. This was not a result of enlightened views on the subject, however, but rather from necessity. Polygamy was not outlawed, but only the rich could indulge in such luxury.

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[52] Rev. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 102. (The proverb is quoted in Yoruba language.)

Secondly, the pattern of life in the community was not such that reduced the male population to the favor of the female. Therefore, a superfluous female population was hardly known. Promiscuous marriages were not allowed. The freeborn were married to the freeborn, slaves to slaves, and foreigners to foreigners. No matter how remote a consanguinous affinity could be, it was strictly prohibited.

The Yoruba marriage laws and customs have undergone a lot of inevitable changes today because of cross-cultural intercourse with other peoples and nationalities. The chief features of their marriage customs are, nevertheless, still preserved. Granted that all things are equal and normal, the following three stages are observed: (1) an early intimation, (2) a formal betrothal, and (3) the actual marriage. The details of what actually takes place at each stage are completely outside the scope of this work, but a summary of the peculiarities that mark a Yoruba wedded life as presented by Rev. Johnson makes an interesting reading: (1) women are never really married twice. They may be inherited as widows, or taken for a wife outside the late husband's family; but the marriage ceremony is never gone over again under any circumstances; (2) once married, they are attached forever to the house and family of their deceased husbands; hence, it is more usual for

widows to choose another husband from the same family; (3) no woman is without a husband, except in extreme old age; but every woman must have a male protector who is responsible for her; (4) divorce is very rare; so rare as to be practically considered non-existing. It is by no means easily obtained, especially when there are children in the union. However, adultery with the husband's blood relation, repeated insolvency, and ill-usage may constitute grounds for divorce which may not be granted until all possible means of reconciliation have been exhausted; and (5) a woman divorced can never be re-married or taken up legally by another man; hence the saying: "A ki isu opo alaye" (no one can inherit the relict of a living man).

It is certain that contact with other cultures has modified some of these rules; but under pure native laws and customs, the above rules still hold good. The Moslems hold that their religion (Koranic law) limits them to four wives and, therefore, their marriage ceremonies are never performed for the same man more than four times, although the later wives will still be duly recognized.

Occupations. The principal occupations of men are agriculture (cocoa is the chief agricultural product of this region),[53] commerce, weaving, iron-smelting, smithing,

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[53]Carl K. Eicher and Carl Liedholm (Eds.), Growth and Development of the Nigerian Economy (Michigan: State University Press, 1970), p. 16.

tanning, and leather work, carving on wood and on calabashes, music, medicine, barbering and other minor employments. The literate group are engaged in white-collar employment.

The women advanced in age seed cotton and spin thread. Other jobs within the province of women include dyeing, palm oil and kernels industry, shea butter making, beer-brewing, keeping of refreshment stalls, the manufacture of beads from the hard shells of palm nuts or cocoa nuts, pottery, small poultry or dairy farms, and hair dressing.

On the whole women seem to be far more industrious than the men. Men always continue to have leisure hours and off days from work; but the women seem to have none. However, women married by well-to-do husbands do practically nothing other than housewifery.

Boys and young men certainly have more idle hours than the girls. The care of the children also devolves almost entirely upon their mothers--an inevitable result of polygamy.

Religion. The Yorubas originally were entirely pagans. Islam which many now profess was introduced only since the close of the eighteenth century. To say that they were pagans does not imply that they had nothing to worship which they regarded as a great being. They (the so-called pagans) believe in the existence of an "Almighty God" whom they term Olurun, that is Lord of Heaven. They

acknowledge him as the maker of heaven and earth, but too exalted to concern himself directly with the affairs of men; hence, they admit the existence of many gods as intermediaries and these they term Orisas.

This type of attitude is not unique to the Yorubas or Nigerians alone. It was/is a prevailing sentiment in many parts of Africa. A recorded statement of a person who served as a guardian to a native god, Kabaka, in Uganda is an eloquent testimony to this fact:

> The religion of the Muslims appeared first and I began to practise it a little. According to them, one may commit the greatest crimes and then, just by washing oneself with water or sand, regain innocence. The Protestants arrived after the Muslims and I began to learn their words; they say, "Sin, but believe." I found nothing with either to set my heart at rest. They cannot have the truth: I believe they are wrong. That is where I stood when the Catholic priests arrived."[54]

The Yorubas also believe in a future state, hence they worship the dead. This is an invocation of spirits as observed in the Egugun festival in which masked individuals personate dead relatives. A belief in future judgment stems from this notion.

A belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls also features among the Yorubas.

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[54] J.F. Faupel, African Holocaust: The Story of the Uganda Martyrs (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1962), p. 23.

They affirm that after some time, deceased parents are born again into the family of surviving children. From this notion they name some of their children "Babatunde" (father comes again) or "Yetunde" (mother comes again). Recently, a Yoruba woman priestess, Her Grace Prophetess Captain Doctor Abiodun[55] has predicted in her prophecy:

> More children will be born this year than in any year in the past. But the pity of it is that many of the children will be odd ones. Some will be born without legs; others without ears; and others still without eyes, and so on and so forth. This is because the spirit of our dead soldiers who died during the Nigerian war will enter into pregnant mothers. The remedy is that all expectant mothers should offer special prayers to God every Monday night.

They have many traditional objects of worship to whom they at times sacrifice some creatures, such as the sheep.[56]

Along with the pagans, the Yoruba communities also comprise Christians and Moslems of high renown. Reference can here be made to Rev. Samuel Adjai Crowther.[57] He was a Yoruba ex-slave who, after having been ordained as an Anglican priest in England in 1844, served as a very prominent Christian in Nigeria. It was through his own

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[55] See Drum: Africa's Leading Magazine, June, 1970.

[56] Nigeria Magazine No. 77, June 1963 (Published by the Government of Nigeria), p. 93.

[57] F. Agbodeka, The Rise of Nation States, op. cit., p. 21.

instrumentality that Abeokuta became the center of the Yoruba mission, which spread to Lagos in 1852, Ibadan in 1853, and Oyo in 1856.

Facial marks. The ancient custom of permanently disfiguring the skin for the purposes of identification and decoration has long been practiced by the Yorubas. The purpose was not always for the attainment of increased attractiveness by the wearer. At times it was used in a protective manner, superstition being that evil spirits might be warded off by certain marks.[58] A heavily mutilated face and body could scare away enemies, or act as "camouflage whilst hunting."

When slavery was rife, facial marks were intended to make it easier for relatives to recognize their lost children should the possibility of reclaiming them occur. Individuals would know the specific groups to which they belonged. Face marks were also used to distinguish the various families within the group.

Some groups practiced rather heavy mutilation of the face with the belief that it might possibly render the subject less attractive for the slave market. On the other hand, it was considered by some that the plain-faced ones were most suitable for sacrifice. This gave rise to the use of marks where no actual "tribal" marks existed.

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[58] Nigeria Magazine, No. 81 June 1964, p. 107.

To facilitate the intended group distinctions, the marks were made in various forms. Some were in sets of three parallel lines from half an inch to one inch long. Double sets were used by the members of the Royal Family. Some marks were horizontally made, and some vertically on the face. It can be understood that they exhibited a variety of designs and combinations since beauty was also at times contemplated.

It is not only in Nigeria (or among the Yorubas) that such a tradition prevailed. Examples of such facial decorations have been recorded among other ethnicities. These include the Eskimos, Maoris, ancient Egyptians, North American Indians, Orientals and Britons.[59] As in other nations, this custom is dying out in Nigeria today. Very few babies of today are inflicted with these cuts. However, those who have already borne these marks will continue to wear them till death.

Other things that could be discussed to further show the characteristics of the Yorubas include dress, attitude towards debt and war, funerals, and basic foodstuffs. This list, of course, is by no means exhaustive. But before plunging into another major section, it is interesting to note that the Yorubas have only four days in a week as

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[59] Ibid.

opposed to seven recorded in the English names. The four days in their order are "Jakuta, Obatala, Awo or Ifa, and Odudua or Ogun."[60]

Development: Problems, Cases and Progress

The Western Region of Nigeria which is the home of the Yorubas has a geographical advantage of being bordered (on the south) by the Atlantic Ocean. It was this coast, of course, that brought European slave raiders that depopulated Africa a few centuries ago. And it is the same coast, history reminds us, that ushered the early European traders, missionaries and government representatives into the Yoruba land. Along with this came the influence of Western culture to which a great percentage of Yoruba development can be traced, at least when rated on the scale of modern civilization.

Education and social services. Elsewhere in this work, it was pointed out that the first Nigerian native priest or bishop, trained and ordained in England, was a Yoruba person. This fact concludes the assertion that the Yorubas were the first group of people in Nigeria to receive the light of Western education. Any contact with the Yorubas will prove that many highly educated and

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[60]R.E. Dennet, Nigerian Studies, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

renowned lawyers, doctors, educators, administrators and personnel in other fields of knowledge, including Political Science, of whom Nigeria is proud, come from this group. What can be a more concrete evidence than the fact that the oldest Nigerian University founded in 1948 is in the Yoruba land?

The history of Nigeria's attainment of independence from colonialism shows that when the Southern Regions (East and West) were ready and ripe for self-government in 1956, the Northern sector was not, until 1959. This can be explained by the fact that education was more advanced in the former than in the latter units.[61] And today the Yorubas are still progressing educationally.

Western Nigerian Development Corporation.[62] Created in its present form by virtue of Chapter 128 of the Laws of Western Nigeria 1959, this Corporation has not lagged behind the others in its attainment. It is attached to the Ministry of Trade and Industry and has committed its resources to establishing important industries, such as The West African Portland Cement Company, Limited, the Nigerian Textile Mills, and Asbestos Cement Products.

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[61] Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 254.

[62] Anonymous, Handbook of Commerce and Industry in Nigeria (Compiled and published by the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Lagos, 1960), p. 131.

Agricultural projects are not excluded in its scheme. More could actually be said to establish the paramount importance of a Development Corporation of this nature in a developing country.

Housing problem. As in any nation that faces a rising population, the main housing problem lies in the large towns such as Abeokuta. Building of houses by private enterprise is a favorite and profitable way of investment. The government staff are aided by loans to purchase houses for themselves.

Their local Government Law, 1953, contains provisions for the regulation of development and for the preparation of layouts and housing schemes by local government councils. Town planning authorities under the Nigeria Town and Country Planning Ordinances are established in most major urban centers.[63]

Wars and revolutions. From the fact that the Yorubas trace their origin to a race that emigrated from the north of Africa or Arabia, one need not doubt that wars were incessant in those early days. Many towns vanished (at least by name) after being defeated, and

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[63] Anonymous, Nigeria: The Making of a Nation (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), p. 27.

others sprang up in their places. Johnson[64] says, "The marauders who settled at Ibadan after the fall of Oorun and all the Gbagura towns comprised Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Egba chiefs with their men."

Without going into details, the history of the Yorubas can be viewed as one that had been notoriously punctuated with wars. To mention a few, one can cite the Krumu War, The Ipetumodu and Owiwi Wars (about AD 1819), the Oniyefun War, the Jabara and Oke Isero Wars. Any attempt at a complete list of the recorded wars would undoubtedly form a formidable reading, and may never be accomplished.

In spite of this early spirit of war, the Yorubas of today have advanced in civilization to recognize the evils and atrocities of war, and would avoid and discourage wars in all their forms. They were not responsible for the recent Nigerian Civil War (July 6, 1967 to January 12, 1970), but on the contrary, their representatives were the leaders in peaceful negotiations. Chief Obafemi Awolowo[65] was the Deputy to the Supreme Commander, General Govon, during the Organization of African Unity's Summit

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[64]Rev. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 238.

[65]Anonymous, Nigeria's War: A Diary of Events (A Daily Times Publication, Lagos), p. 17.

Conference in 1967 at Lagos to find means of a peaceful solution to the Nigerian crisis. And Chief Anthony Enahoro (both Awolowo and Enahoro are of Yoruba descent) led the Federal Government Delegation at the Nigerian Peace Talks at Kampala in 1968.[66]

The Yorubas, of course, have faced problems common in any ordinary human society. Dealing with these problems in the best possible ways known to modern civilization, they have succeeded to progress socially, politically and economically.

Minor ethnic groups among the Yorubas. Let us recall to mind that our analysis thus far was about the Yoruba Proper. Among them, and surrounding them, are other groups, possibly offshoots, of Yoruba Proper. Their ways of life are much the same as those of the larger group, but with some modifications and varieties in certain respects. The following groups can here be identified:

1. The Egbas. These are a small offshoot of the Yoruba Proper, who occupy the southeastern districts of that province. They lived in hamlets and villages for the most part independently of one another, and never under one rule. All of their principal families trace their origin from Oyo, hence the common saying, "Egbas who have

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[66]"Path to a Just and Lasting Solution," op. cit.

not their root in Oyo are slaves," that is, belong to the conquered aboriginal population.

The Egbas were on the whole few in number, and occupied a limited territory. This is proved by the fact that after a period of more than half a century, they have been compelled by stress of circumstances to live together within one wall as a single large town. Being far from the center of life and activity, they were little thought of.

2. The Ijebus. With the exception of the Ifes, the Ijebus were the most addicted "Yoruba tribe" to human sacrifices, which they still practiced until 1892 when the country was conquered by the English. Tradition claims that they descended from a victim offered in sacrifice by the king of Benin. Before the conquest by the English, they were the most exclusive and inhospitable group who never allowed strangers or visitors into their villages. Commercial transactions with outsiders were carried on in the frontiers or the borders of their towns.

3. The Ijesas. These people are described as "Stumpy, muscular, and sheepish-looking, with a marked want of intelligence." Legends have it that the Ijesas were bought and allowed to stay together in a certain section of Yoruba land to supply a sure source of supply of sacrificial victims. Others believe that they were

originally hunters who travelled from a distance and decided to settle at their present location.

4. The Ekitis. These are among the aboriginal elements of the country absorbed by the invaders from the East. The term Ekiti denotes a Mound, and is derived from the rugged mountainous feature of their land which is an extensive province and well watered, including several "tribes and families" right on to the border of the Niger, eastwards. They hold themselves quite distinct from the Ijesas, especially in political affairs.

5. The Ondos. By legends, it is said that the Ondos sprang up from a twin mother and the twins who were cast out from the inhabited area of Yoruba land. A large number of friends finally joined them and established their village.

The Ondos are sometimes classed among the Ekitis, but that is hardly correct. Although lying at the border of the Ekitis, they are really a mixture of Oyos and Idokos, and their sympathy is with all.

Summary on the Yorubas. Perhaps the ethnic groups among and around the Yorubas not mentioned heretofore outnumber those discussed. The author owes an apology to such groups if they feel unhappy over such exclusion. It is a fact that there are some groups left out in this treatise. But it will suffice to realize that their characteristics

are not very much different from those of the majority group that tends to absorb them. Also, the principal purpose of this work affords a reasonable excuse for avoiding minute details in the one region discussed, and moving into the next.

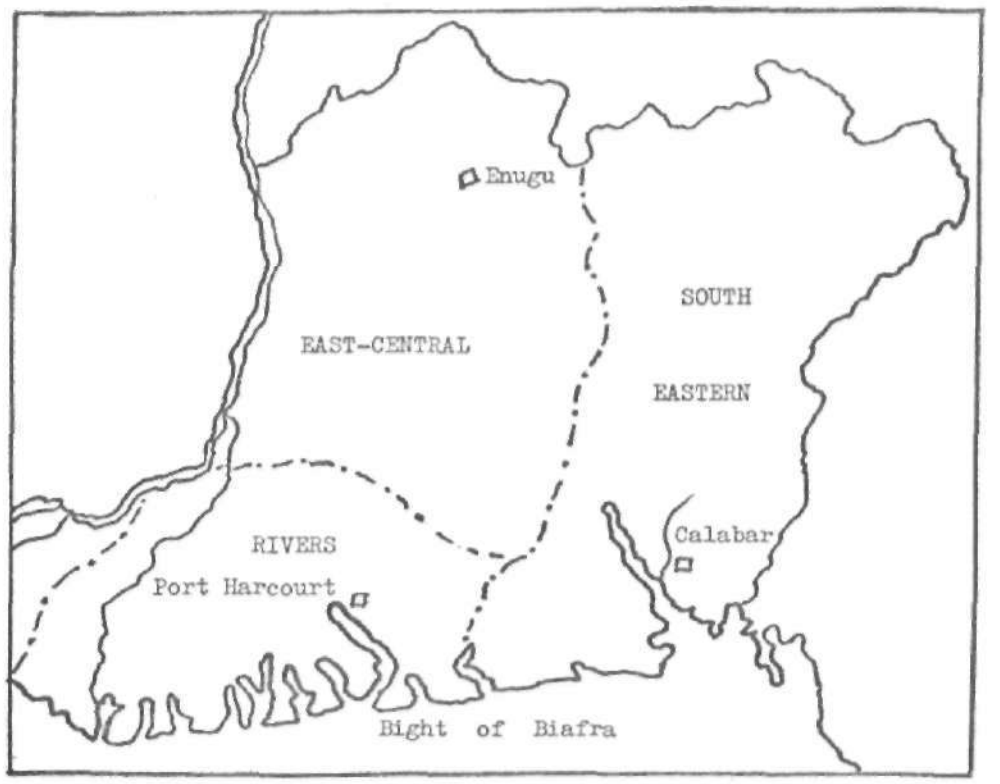
States in the Eastern Region

As already noted, the former Eastern Region of Nigeria now comprises three States--the East-Central, the Rivers, and the South-Eastern States. There are many ethnic groups inhabiting these States, of whom the Ibibios constitute a class.

The Ibibios. The Ibibios are now found wholly and solely in the present South-Eastern State of Nigeria. The name is generally accepted as an ethnic and linguistic term. Formerly the people had no name by which they referred to themselves as a whole. The name Agbisherea, used by the Europeans in the nineteenth century to describe the people and the country, appears to have completely died out. Some Ibo people call the Ibibios "Mong," while the Umani (Bony) people call them "Kwa." This should not be confused with the similar Efik name for the indigenous groups among whom the Efik settled.

The Efiks and Ibibios at times have been used synonymously. However, the slight difference that exists

MAP VII



*EASTERN REGION OF NIGERIA SUBDIVIDED INTO THREE STATES**

*The three States are Rivers, East Central, and the South-eastern State having their capitals as designated.

between the two words has been clearly brought out in Chapter I of this work under "Definition of Important Terms." It may be advisable to refer to the word "Efik/Ibibio" in that list for a clearer understanding of the usage.

Grouping. The Ibibio-speaking people, whose total population is estimated at over three million can be conveniently recognized in at least six main sub-divisions or groups as follows:[67] (1) Eastern or Ibibio Proper, (2) Western or Anang, (3) Northern or Enyong, (4) Southern or Eket, (5) Delta or Andoni-Ibeno, and (6) Riverain or Efik.

Brief History and Origin

The first two sub-divisions have obviously occupied their present habitat for a very long time. They have no tradition of migration from elsewhere. The other groups appear to have descended from Ibibio Proper.

As a result of the slave trade, direct references to the Ibibio occur comparatively early. Their later history is bound up with that of Calabar and the Efik settlements along the lower Cross River. The first

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[67] Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones (Eds.), The Ibo and Ibibio-Speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria (London: International African Institute, 1962), p. 67.

Christian Mission was established in 1846 at Calabar by the Rev. Hope Waddell. Schools were started. Various military expeditions evolved in the latter part of the nineteenth century to bring Ibibio groups under control. As a result of the Aro expedition[68] in 1901, Ikot Ekpene, Itu, and Uyo were opened as military posts in 1903. Administrative control could not, however, be established until after several years, and skirmishes were not infrequent, troops being stationed at Ikot Ekpene as lately as 1921 and again after 1929.

Language. The Ibibios speak a number of related dialects, of which Efik is the best known. This language has been classified as "Semi-Bantu" in the Sudanic group on the grounds of noun classes and noun-verb concord. However, Efik and Ibibio do not conform exactly enough to the rules to justify their inclusion among the Sudanic class, a term used in preference to Semi-Bantu, and are, therefore, labeled "pseudo-class languages."[69]

Although Efik is spoken by a smaller number of people (mainly around the district of Calabar) than the other Ibibio dialects, Efik has established itself as the

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[68] Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, op. cit., pp. 204-206.

[69] Ibid., p. 69.

literary language and is understood by all Ibibios. This has happened firstly because the Efiks have always been great traders; and secondly, because the Scottish Mission originally wrote down the Calabar dialect, translated the Bible into it and published Goldie's Dictionary. Efik is generally accepted among the Ibibios as the literary language; but the other dialects are retained in speech. In recent years, however, Efik and Ibibio have been combined to bear the name Efik-Ibibio and constitutes a literary language.

The dialects differ most in vocabulary, to a less extent in sound system and grammar, and very little in tone. Comparative vocabularies show that there is a considerable similarity between Efik and the Ibibio Proper, Oron, Eket, Anang and Ibeno dialects, which are in general mutually intelligible. The Andoni dialect is more divergent and quite unintelligible to most other Ibibio, though it is believed that the Andoni and the Ibeno can understand each other.

Main Economic Features: Agriculture

The Ibibios are primarily farmers, mainly for subsistence. The people derive the bulk of their wealth from the export of oil-palm[70] products, distributive trade among

[70]Nigeria is renowned as the world chief producer of palm oil and kernels. This area is responsible for giving the country such recognition.

themselves, and the wage labor of men employed outside their villages. The oil palm trees grow intensively all over this area and along the creeks through which sea-going vessels were (are) used for transporting these products. This gave rise to the name the "Oil Rivers."[71]

Other farm crops include yams, cocoyams, cassava, plantains, bananas, beans, maize, rice and pumpkin.

Community division of labor. The Ibibios use the short-handled hoe. Men do most of the clearing. Women weed and tend the crops other than yams. Men harvest the yams and women carry them home in baskets.

In gathering palm produce, men climb the trees to cut down the fruits. Women carry the fruits home, and extract the oil and kernels. Raffia palms are tended by men who tap them for the wine, and use the bamboo and mats for roofing houses.

Trade and crafts. Some of the people earn a living by trading, mainly in fish and the palm produce. Others take to petty bicycle trading. The Ibibios, especially the Anang, excel in wood-carving, and are the masters of a careful professional technique. Ekpo society masks, slit

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[71] C.W. Newbury, British Policy Towards West Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 13.

gongs, puppets and dolls are made out of hard and soft woods. Weaving is generally done by youths, and mat-making by women. Men make baskets and fishing traps. Pottery constitutes a good industry when clay is obtainable.

Social and Political Structure

The Ibibio settlement pattern and territorial organization are similar to what obtains among other ethnic groups. Among those widely recognized are the following groupings:

1. The family or extended family household. This occupies part or all of a single continuous compound.

2. A cluster of households, otung, may be a compound, a hamlet or a ward. It forms a part of a wider settlement in which it is represented by a secular leader, generally the most senior male member of the group. He may or may not be the ritual head of the patrilineage (Obong Ekpuk), whose male members form the dominant nucleus of the otung and have collective rights to their communal land. The leader of the otung, though distinct from Obong Ekpuk, may not take major decisions without consulting the latter.

3. The local community or village (idung or obio) embraces a number of wards sharing a common meeting place--efe. This is a traditional center of local control, and having a recognized chief--Obong.

4. The district comprising groups of villages: formerly each village within this group was largely autonomous; but it had to associate with others in some rituals and considered itself linked with them by kinship. Usually one village among the group would be recognized as the headquarters, and the oldest man in it would be recognized as the ritual leader—Okuku—for the whole.

Inter-village disputes were handled by a de facto council of elders (Mbong Isong) presided over by a chief together with some selected members of the more senior adult age sets. At times Ekpo society would handle the affair. This was usually the case in matters of grave seriousness; otherwise the several lineages were the fundamental units of law and authority, with the aged set undertaking executive matters.

5. The "town group" (Ikpa Isong) with a tradition of common ancestry but no formal organization. In a crisis and for modern needs the elders or leaders of the member villages meet as an ad hoc council.

6. The sub-group—Iman—which is a wider group with a common characteristic name and a common dialect. They have a general uniformity of custom. "The Clan of Government Reports often corresponds with this entity."[72]

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[72]Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 72.

Apart from the Anang, the Ibibios seem to have a stronger feeling of ethnic and sub-ethnic unity than the Ibo people who occupy the other section of Eastern Nigeria. Parent villages founded by a traditional ancestor are often recognized as such by surrounding communities. This implies no political authority on the part of the parent village. However, villages of different origins but which are coterminous are more apt to join together for a common purpose than those with a tradition of common origin. James Scarrit[73] observes:

> A number of villages make up a village group. Villages which belong to the same group are allies, and never go to war against each other; if any village in the group is attacked by an outside village, all villages in the group must fight with the member of their group.

Family ties. The family unit, consisting of a man, his wife and children, has a distinguishing term, Idip. There is effective cooperation and social control within the patrilineal and exogamous lineage—ekpuk. Women continue to claim the support of their own lineage head after they are married. Only one or as many as ten lineages may constitute a settlement.

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[73]James R. Scarrit, Political Change in a Traditional African Clan: A Structural Functional Analysis of the Nsits of Nigeria (Denver, Colorado: A Publication of University of Denver, 1965), p. 5.

The lineage or family head (obong ekpuk) has the moral authority and ritual obligations over a wide field. He guards the shrines of the ancestral symbols (akame ekpo). He assists in assigning farm plots to his members.

Lineage fission or migration from one village to another, though not very common, is not prohibited. This can happen where pressure on land and other resources tends to be severe. Lineages may also subdivide without a renunciation of the bond of kinship.

Dwelling homes. Settlements are dispersed. Small communities of about 300 to 5,000 people scatter their compounds over some territory. Houses are rectangular with thatched roofs of raffia palm mat. Walls are of smoothed clay on a wattle-and-daub foundation. Those who can afford the cost build houses with concrete walls and corrugated iron-sheet roofs. Women's houses are built behind their husband's houses. However, some slight variations are common in the style of building houses, depending on the prevailing custom in the surrounding environment.

Culture, Customs and Religion

The Ibibio males in the village are grouped in age sets—nka. The status increases with seniority. Adult sets in ancient times used to remain active until middle

age, serving as self-disciplinary institutions and guardians of public morality. Unseemly behavior towards older people was always punishable. They have executive power as policemen and can impose fines. They help their members in times of need. The younger sets receive instructions in morals, native laws and customs. Sets for both sexes often form recreational groups. Generally, the sets become defunct after middle age.

Cultural or Exclusive Societies

Associations that are special or restricted are widespread among the Ibibios. The titles of rank or office within them are important marks of prestige. Since outsiders are excluded, it is hard to obtain a detailed knowledge of the secret societies unless one is a member. Idiong society is a good example. It appears to have been inherited; but it is not clear how generally they were transmitted to successors and in what circumstances. Their acquisition certainly depended on wealth and kinship.

The principal exclusive clubs for men are Ekpo, Idiong, Ekong, Obon, and Ekpe. The one for women is Ebre. Ekpo carries a high social status and political authority. Their members have various grades and must be wealthy enough to foot the expenses involved. Its organization is remarkably decentralized. Each village has its own lodge.

Many years ago, initiation expenses into these secret societies used to cost so much that people became impoverished after the ceremony. Talbot's[74] comment in this respect deserves some note:

> Powerful as is the Ekpo society, with Ibibio, that of Idiong seems to hold first place, at least among old men. To raise the sum necessary for entering this cult aspirants sometimes reduce themselves to penury and even sell wives and children into slavery. Such a case was brought before me in the Native Court at Eket, when Udaw Ufet Etuk 'Nwa 'Nwa was charged with having sold his wife, Ekpo[75] Edem Eka, and daughter, Awariku, to an Opobo trader.

Some of these societies, for instance Ekpo, was believed to protect the community by magical and religious means. The name Ekpo refers to dead ancestors which members impersonate as revisiting the earth after the yams have been harvested. The members wear black wooden masks and dance in special groves. Non-members and women are supposed to hide and avoid being seen by the Ekpo masquerade. Failure to do so could result in very rough treatment and even death.

Membership in Ebre, "the only exclusive feminine guild,"[76] was open to women of all ages. It had authority

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[74]P. Amaury Talbot, Life in Southern Nigeria - The Magic, Beliefs and Customs of the Ibibio Tribe (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1923), p. 171.

[75]Ekpo also serves as a given name to a person, and can be given to both sexes.

[76]P. Amaury Talbot, op. cit., p. 77.

over unmarried girls, supervising the fatting-house (pre-marital seclusion) and other women's ceremonies. It restrained the conduct of women; for instance, if women were convicted of theft, the Ebre club would ridicule her in a song as they parade her through the streets of the village.

Distinguished personalities have special or certain titles conveyed upon them, and are recognized by the wearing of special caps[77] like the crown of the English kingdom, called Ntinya or Anyanya. They may wear other insignia consisting of a necklace of leopard's teeth and a long carved walking stick. The priest of the guardian spirit of the community is a good example in this group, and his title is Oku Ndem. This position is, of course, connected with religion. The cost involved before assuming some of these titles is at times rather prohibitive. People can also obtain wealth and influence nowadays by other means. This leads to a decline in assuming titles in many areas with the result that only very few Ntinya holders are left. This class of people were formerly important in government, and used to adjudicate in certain kinds of disputes, graded in order of importance. "Although there are now two types of courts in the Eastern Region, the composition is the

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[77]Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 74.

same, consisting of any combination of persons which might exceptionally include chiefs as ex officio members."[78]

Legal procedure. It must be noted that under colonial government, the British did not interfere with, nor destroy, the native laws and customs unless they were found to be "clearly injurious to the welfare of the natives."[79] The lineage or family head, Obong Ekpuk, and the village head or chief, Obong Idung, are regarded as the immediate sources of justice in the community. Councils of elders, however, also meet as judicial bodies to constitute the village court--Esop Idung, and the central court of the village group, Esop Ikpa Isong. This last is concerned mainly with inter-village disputes. Religious, civil, public and private offences have clear distinctions and are treated accordingly. For example, theft is regarded as a wrong done to the community as a whole and such a case would provoke spontaneous group action. Incest is believed to bring down the vengeance of the gods and ancestors upon the whole family.

Capital crimes like murder are now settled in accordance with government laws. Ritual expiation is required

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[78] B.O. Nwabueze, The Machinery of Justice in Nigeria (London: Page Bros-Norwich, Ltd., 1963), p. 100.

[79] Ibid., p. 4.

for sexual offences, such as adultery. Ntinya title-holders in some groups still try specific minor offences. Thus, among Eastern Ibibio group the Obong Urua (Chief of the Market) settles market disputes; the Obong Enang deals with cases concerning cows, skins, leather, and so on. Fees are obtained for settling these cases and this makes such privileges profitable.[80]

Trial by ordeal and consultation of oracles,[81] including resort to the Long Juju of Arochuku,[82] were frequent in the past. These practices, however, still persist in certain areas. What seems to prevail now on a wider scale is the custom of swearing on Mbiam,[83] a magically potent liquid concoction believed to harm or destroy anybody who swears falsely to it.

Inheritance right. At the death of the father, the eldest son is entitled to the personal property. Custom, however, compels sharing with the other sons. Hardly are the daughters given anything because it is believed

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[80] G.I. Jones, "The Distribution of Negro Sculpture in Southern Nigeria," Nigerian Field, Vol. 7, July 1938, p. 104.

[81] P. Amaury Talbot, Life in Southern Nigeria, op. cit., p. 16.

[82] Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 72.

[83] P. Amaury Talbot, Tribes of the Niger Delta (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), p. 32; also see M.D.W. Jeffreys, Old Calabar and Some Notes on the Ibibio (Calabar, Nigeria: 1935).

technically that they don't belong permanently to that family since they would soon be married out. If the man married many wives, the widows may choose to marry any of the surviving sons if such sons equally consent. (Marriage between mother and son is not implied here since such is not practicable.) The lineage or sub-lineage retains collective rights to land which must be allocated for farming to its members yearly. However, any plot that had been bought with personal money by the father remains an exclusive property of the sons.

Land tenure. Towns, villages and families or lineages have collective rights to control and dispose of tracts of land. Individuals have rights of use by virtue of their membership of these groups. Every piece of land has rights attached to it. At least six different categories of land are easily discernible within a local community:

1. Sacred land. This is distinguished by various names--Efak, Iso Ndem, Ikot Okpo. Land that surrounds the shrine of a cult is considered sacred (Iso Ndem); or a community burial ground (Ikot Okpo); or if it is dedicated for the use of the cultural or title societies, such as Ekpo. In each case the control is vested in the community and it is a sacrilege for a single member to deforest or

farm such a tract unless the land is officially abandoned by the owning group.

2. Family or lineage land. Generally this is regarded as ancestral land of the group founder. The eldest man in the family holds this land in trust for the members and apportions it to them each farming season. This is called Ikot Ekpuk.

3. Community land (Ikot Isong) belongs to the whole village and may not be alienated without the consent of the village council. Schools and markets are usually built on such plots.

4. Individual holdings (Okpokpo Ikot) belong to a person by right of inheritance, or purchase, or by first clearing of virgin forest or reclaiming marsh land. This is the only class of land that may be sold or transferred in perpetuity by bequest.

5. Borrowed land. This land is lent out by the owner to another person to use (usually for farming) for a stated length of time, after which title reverts to the original owner. However, the borrower can be evicted at any time by the owner if the land is not used for the purpose for which it was intended in the contract. This type of land is called Nno Nkama.

6. Pledged land (Ikot Ubiong). Recognized owners of specific plots can pledge the land for some money loan.

Mortgages are usually of a short duration. No financial interest other than the usufruct is claimed. Redemption is allowed at any time, and this right of redemption is inherited.

Under some special circumstances, land may be given away to outsiders, for example, relations by matrimonial affinity. This method of dealing with land is not by any means unique to the Ibibios. Right through the history of man land has always been of signal importance in economic activities and has generally been accorded such significance. And this truism receives a corroboration from Wagner:[84] "Land ownership and usufruct are usually hereditary rights closely linked with a stratified social order, and money or other mobile media of exchange cannot command them."

Marriage. It used to be normal for parents to make the overture on behalf of their sons when they reached the age of marriage. This knowledge was kept from the prospective couple until the parents on both sides reached agreement. This practice has now died out, leaving the young man to court whomever he chooses and to release his proposal to his parents at his will. Girls may be betrothed

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[84]Philip Wagner, The Human Use of the Earth (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 194.

at about the age of 12 to 16, depending on the area of residence. Bride price is collected from the bridegroom by his parents-in-law along with some traditional gifts meant for this purpose. The amount paid as bride price is not fixed. However, the government has tried without success to legislate this sum.

It is not necessary to perform the marriage ceremony before the judge or court magistrate. Marriage by native laws and customs is controlling. Church wedding may be performed as a church requirement, depending on the doctrine of the church one attends, but does not affect the recognition of the marriage.

Divorce. Since legislated red tapes patterned according to foreign cultures are not allowed to control Ibibio marriage system, it follows that very little social stigma is attached to divorce. A husband can divorce his wife by only telling her about it and ordering her to leave his house. Placing a wife's utensils or personal effects outside the house with the intent to send her away indicates an immediate divorce; and the woman cannot continue to live with such a husband unless a reconciliation is instituted. The divorced woman returns to her parents. The husband expects to get a refund of his bride price if the woman is married by another man, allowing some deductions per head of the children born during the marriage.

A woman cannot initiate a divorce action unless she has the whole or a part of the marriage payment ready to refund to her husband. Children are usually left with the husband unless they are below five years of age. Widows are regarded as part of the husband's estate. A man is not required, nor compelled, to show justification if he decides to divorce his wife; and very ironically, cases of divorce are rather rare or almost negligible.

Religion. The Ibibios believe in a supreme being called Abasi. Both Christians and pagans use this name. The non-Christians have different objects of worship according to the clans or village groups to which they belong. In Nsit clan the object of worship is Anyang.

Christianity is the predominant religion in Ibibio land. The Church Missionary Society started churches in Calabar in 1841,[85] and from these Christianity spread into the hinterland. The early missionaries helped in abolishing slavery and other ill practices. For example, Mary Slessor has been popularly credited with putting a stop to the killing of twins and their mothers. She was so popular and influential that first the Africans called her "the white Ma who lives alone." Then they called her "the

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[85]Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 126.

Ma who loves babies." But lastly they called her "eka kpukpru owo," "everybody's mother."[86]

Wherever churches were established, Christian schools were built. This helped to spread the influence of Western education, and thus cemented the foundation of Christianity among the Ibibios. Nevertheless, there is still some negligible fraction of the Ibibio population remaining pagans and interested in ancestral worship.

Development: Problems, Cases and Progress

As already pointed out, contact with the European traders and missionaries introduced Western culture into Ibibio land through education. Religious freedom and toleration are guaranteed in the whole country; but since the colonial government and education system were based primarily on the British system, what we regard as progress is measured by Western standards.

Today there are schools all over Ibibio land. The Christian worship takes pre-eminence over native religion and ancestral worship in about 95 per cent of the area. Modern technology has permeated the people's economic endeavors. This is evident from the fact that modern means of transportation--airplanes, ships, cars, and so on--are now in use instead of people walking through caravans in quest of trade. Letters, telegrams and

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[86] A.J. Bueltmann, White Queen of the Cannibals: The Story of Mary Slessor (Chicago: Moody Press), p. 160.

telephones carry messages instead of the use of town criers to beat their drums through the streets. Democratic rule has featured among the people instead of accepting unquestionable orders from designated village or group chiefs.

Nevertheless, the difficulty of reconciling native to foreign cultures in certain aspects of life still presents itself. A good example arises where and when some government policies tend to ignore polygamy in favor of monogamy contrary to individual choices on the ground that the country appears to judge progress and values by the Western yardsticks.

In any event, there is sufficient evidence that the Ibibios have progressed, as well as other regions of the country, educationally, politically, economically and otherwise. Recently the State Government has demonstrated this sign of progress by awarding 200 scholarships to deserving students to study in secondary schools.[87]

Summary on the Ibibios

The human groups which occupy the Eastern border of Southern Nigeria (the Efiks and the Ibibios) defy

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[87]"South-Eastern State of Nigeria--Weekly Newsletter," Vol. II, No. 4, February 23, 1970 (Issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Information, S/E State of Nigeria, Calabar).

classification. "These groups are best described as human clusters."[88] The Ekoi group includes the Akazu, Banyangi, Ezagham, Keaka, Manta, Nde, Nkumm and Obang. There are also non-Ekoi intrusive groups, like the Uwet, the Uyanga, the Akunakuna and the Ekuri. In the region north of the bend of the Cross River there are the Boki, Nkim, Iyache, Iyala and the Yakoro. Most of these groups were probably fugitives from the Jukun conquerors of the Benue Valley region to the north and so included diverse ethnic elements. These can be added to the already given six classifications of the Ibibios.

The complexity of the linguistic pattern and the diversity of origin are perhaps without parallel in any African territory.[89] The linguistic heterogeneity is so marked that neighboring villages speak languages which are mutually unintelligible. It is not without reason that this area has been aptly described as a "splinter zone."[90]

The name Efik and the name Ibibio have been used in a variety of ways. Outsiders are frequently uncertain as to which name to apply to which group of people. When

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[88] J.C. Anene, Southern Nigeria in Transition 1885-1906 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1966), p. 8.

[89] K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria (London, 1955).

[90] J.C. Anene, op. cit., p. 8.

talking among themselves, Efik-speaking people generally use the term to refer to that language spoken as a first language spoken in Calabar city and Creek town and northwest along the east side of the Cross River.

What is usually called Ibibio by outsiders is really several different languages. There are some dialectical variations within Ibibio; but all dialects of Ibibio Proper are easily, mutually intelligible. Ibibio and Efik are closely related and largely mutually intelligible. Ibibio, Efik and Annang form a cluster of at least partially mutually intelligible dialects. Of these, Ibibio has the largest number of native speakers, Efik the next largest, and Annang the smallest.[91]

Ibo Ethnic Group

The East-Central State of Nigeria is the home of the Ibo people. They are the dominant (the largest in number) ethnic group in the Eastern Region of Nigeria. Some Ibos are even found in the Western Region.

Name Origin

History reveals that the Ibo had no common name prior to the advent of the Europeans. Their village groups were generally referred to by the name of a putative

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[91]Elizabeth Dunstan (Ed.), Twelve Nigerian Languages (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1969), p. 35.

ancestral founder. Forde and Jones[92] assert that the word Ibo has been used among the peoples themselves as a term of contempt by the Riverain Ibo (Oru) for their hinterland congeners. There is a suggestion that the name may, like many African titles, mean "the people," embodying the Sudanic root -bo or -po. It may also mean "slaves," a title conferred possibly by the Igala, among whom the word for slave is onigbo (oni meaning "people," and Ibo being spelled sometimes as Igbo).

According to Jeffreys,[93] Ibo originally meant "forest-dwellers," and as a secondary or derived meaning, "slaves." It appears that the Europeans used Heebo or Ibo in the early slave trade to refer to any Ibo-speaking groups. The word was also applied at first to the Ibibio who were later distinguished as "Kwa Ibo" after the principal river in their area. Today the name "Ibo" is used primarily for the language, and secondarily for Ibo-speaking groups other than one's own, but with reference to oneself when speaking to a European.

Community groups. The Ibos occupy a continuous tract of territory, speak a number of related dialects,

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[92] Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 9.

[93] M.D.W. Jeffreys, "The Divine Umundri Kings of Igbo Land," Unpublished paper, 1934.

and have many common features of cultural and social structure. In this sense they may be regarded as a single people; but they were not formerly politically unified. Also there are some marked dialectical and cultural differences among them. Their most immediately striking characteristic is what has been aptly called their social fragmentation.[94]

Composed of numerous small territorial units or local communities, the Ibos may be aggregated into five main regional divisions based on general cultural similarity:[95] (1) Northern or Onitsha Ibo, (2) Southern or Owerri Ibo, (3) Western Ibo, (4) Eastern or Cross River Ibo, and (5) North-Eastern Ibo.

Historical Origin

The Ibos have no general traditions of origin or migration. Some particular groups may have their traditions of migration. It is, however, probable that the power of the kingdom of Benin[96] was felt among the Western and Southern Ibo by the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese appear to have

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[94]M. Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria (Oxford: University Press, 1937), p. 234.

[95]Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 10.

[96]Basil Davidson, The Lost Cities of Africa (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959), p. 210.

penetrated as far as Arochuku. One of the principal slave markets, Bonny, was largely occupied by Ibo. In 1790, according to Forde,[97] 16,000 out of the 20,000 slaves sold there annually were Ibo.

The Ibo of Bonny are said to have come down from Azumini several hundred years ago and intermarried with the earlier Ijaw settlers. The inhabitants of this general area at the end of the eighteenth century were "chiefly a mixture of the Eboe or Heebo, and the Brass tribes." It is possible that Bonny and the towns on either side of it were originally peopled from the Eboe Country before the commencement of the slave trade.[98]

Language. Ibo is one of the Kwa languages. Numerous dialects reflect the small scale of the territorial organization. There have been a few levelling factors in the past, such as the influence of Arochuku traders, the concentration of Ibo from all parts in the slave markets, as at Bende, Uzuakoli, Bonny and Akwete, and the social prestige of Onitsha town. But the most potent factor both in dialect levelling and in establishing a dominant dialect--a central political authority--is lacking. However, the Ibos

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[97] Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones, op. cit., p. 11.

[98] P. Amaury Talbot, Tribes of the Niger Delta (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), pp. 14-15.

outside their own districts tend to modify their speech by suppressing strictly local usages as a result of increased mobility generated by road construction and motor traffic.

Two dialects, Owerri Ibo and Onitsha Ibo have been generally recognized. These do not, of course, coincide with the provincial political divisions, but have been widely used for vernacular writing. Commenting on Owerri Ibo, Ladefoged[99] writes: "The Igbo dialect which is spoken in parts of Owerri Province (but not in the town of Owerri) uses the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated stops as well as the voiced/voiceless distinction."

To provide a Bible in a form which would be understood by the various speakers of the different phonetic patterns, construction and vocabulary, "Union Ibo" was constructed from material from five areas: Bonny, Owerri, Arochuku, Ngwana and Onitsha. Used by Protestant Mission Schools, but not by Roman Catholics, Union Ibo has not had much success as a literary medium, perhaps on account of its artificial mixing of different sound systems and grammatical constructions.

Means of livelihood. Subsistence agriculture is predominant. Even those classified as traders hold and

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[99]Peter Ladefoged, A Phonetic Study of West African Languages (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), p. 14.

cultivate land. The crops include yams, cassava, maize (corn), peppers, beans, gourds and okra.

The division of labor varies according to the degree of expediency. Men generally clear and prepare the land for farming, plant the yams, cut stakes and train the vines, build the barns and tie the harvest. Women plant their own varieties of yams, weed and carry home the harvest. Mixed farming is conducted at the government agricultural stations. Palm produce is the chief cash crop, particularly in Owerri Province.

Livestock is not important here because of the prevalence of tse-tse flies. Game is scarce. Fishing is of little interest away from the Niger; and in many cases it is forbidden, as fish are believed to "embody the souls of ancestors." Where there are forests, iroko and mahogany woods are exported. Those that grow surplus foodstuffs sell in their local markets. Pottery manufacture is mainly in the hands of women.

Social and Political Structure

The basic social unit is the localized patrilineage, Umunna, which often occupies a single hamlet of scattered homesteads. The size of the group varies according to the context. It may comprise a small unit of male siblings and their children. With their wives they constitute a

compound household group. When the lineage group is small it is invariably exogamous; but this is not always the case with the larger and more dispersed lineages.

All lineages are subject to the moral authority of an Okpara, the head of the senior branch in larger lineages. Holding the authority of their ancestors, he arbitrates in internal disputes, and represents the group in external relations. There is no individual to whom tribute is paid by the village or for whom work must be done. Any such conception is foreign to the minds of the people. It is therefore not surprising that the introduction of taxation by the British Government in 1927 came as a shock to the Ibo people, and has never been really understood.[100]

The territorial and kinship relations between patrilineages are not stable over long periods. A lineage of whatever scale may dissociate itself from its previous village group and join another. When exogamous lineages increase considerably in size, they tend to split into intermarrying groups. The definition and cohesion of lineages is thus relative and can only be described in terms of the wider social structure.[101] A number of

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[100] M.M. Green, Ibo Village Affairs (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 36-37.

[101] C.K. Meek, Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 88-94.

lineages with or without a common descent, occupying a cluster of hamlets, constitutes a territorial unit which may be called a village because of some considerable solidarity based on neighborhood.

Villages and communities are divided into "upper" and "lower" classes--a territorial dual organization. Jeffreys[102] reports that in Awka, Onitsha Province, 52 out of 77 communities showed some form of this. The highest political unit, at least among the Northern and Southern Ibo, is the village group. This consists of a cluster of villages sharing a common meeting place which is at once a ritual, political and marketing center.

Culture, Customs and Religion

A settlement pattern consisting of loose clusters of homesteads irregularly scattered along cleared paths radiating from a central meeting place of the village is typical of Ibo. This contains the shrines and groves of the local earth deity or other chief spirits and also serves as the market. The homestead, composed of the houses of a man, his wives, some of his sons and sometimes patrilineal cousins, is often surrounded by a mud wall and

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[102] M.D.W. Jeffreys, African Studies, "Dual Organization in Africa," June, 1946.

nearly always separated from its neighbors by undergrowth and gardens. Where the population is thick this pattern has largely broken down as belts of bush between former centers have been cleared and occupied. What remains is a continuous spread of homesteads and meeting places connected by a network of paths.

Marriage and divorce. Marriage overtures are entered into by the close kin of the man and wife, in particular by their respective lineage kin, with regard to the paternity of the wife's children. Children belong to the lineage of the man who has made, or is making, marriage payments. These payments are often made over a period of years, and each of them, like the original consent of the bride's father, must be made in the presence of the kinsmen of both parties who act as witnesses to the deal. Children born out of recognized wedlock are members of the lineage of the woman's father. At the birth of a child certain gifts and payments must be exchanged between the relatives of the husband and those of the wife.

Minor lineages are always exogamous; but major lineages where dispersed are not invariably so. Incest used to carry capital punishment before the British Government penetrated the land. Even now, the society looks upon it as one of the most grievous crimes. As already noted in

this work, Nigerians as a whole (or Africans for that matter) do not condemn polygamy. Therefore, at his own choice, an Ibo man can marry many wives since it is generally difficult for the African population to accept the position of the missions in such matters as polygamy.[103] The people tend to support their own moral convictions and to disregard those elements of Christian belief which contradict them. Thus a staunch Christian is likely to practice polygamy if prosperous enough, yet believe that his soul will go to heaven when he dies.

Adultery, loose character, laziness, sterility, witchcraft, cruelty and desertion may constitute grounds for divorce by either party. Extreme incompatibility appears to be the most common motive for returning or demanding the return of the marriage payment. If the wife initiates the divorce action the same procedure as among the Ibibios applies.

Clandestine extra-marital sex relations are very general and spouses are usually expected to ignore such affairs. Among some Ibo groups, men usually bring a mistress (Iko) to the compound if they are not likely to

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[103] William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (Eds.), Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: The University Press, 1959), p. 293.

marry again. The wife often has a hand in selecting such an iko and lives with her amicably.[104] This style of marital relationship should not, of course, be too confounding. It is to be agreed with Zelinsky[105] that cultural factors influence all marital practices.

Cultural societies. The social status is expressed by titles to which they have attained and the times at which they were conferred. Free birth, ability to make necessary payments, and good conduct are the essential qualifications. Titleholders have considerable prestige "both by reason of their wealth and because of the supernatural bearing of the title."[106] Some inferior titles can be inherited. The more important ones become vacant on the death of the holder.

Titled men, Ndi Nzi, in the past virtually monopolized authority in their village group. They made major political decisions and administered criminal justice. The initiative, including the formulation of policy and the debate in the public meetings, was controlled by the leading

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[104] C.K. Meek, op. cit., pp. 265-274.

[105] Wilbur Zelinsky, A Prologue to Population Geography (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 40-42.

[106] M.M. Green, op. cit., p. 58.

members of the title society. Ibo titles differ from those found in other parts of the country in that they are not honors or marks of rank and authority conferred by an external ruler, nor are they in principle hereditary or the privilege of particular descent groups.[107] Admission is by appropriate payments in cash and kind to the community or to an existing organization. In return, the members can also anticipate a substantial income from fees paid by later entrants.

Inheritance rights. Rights and property held by virtue of an office pass to the successor. For instance, the successor to the headship of the sublineage inherits the ofo and other insignia of office. The eldest son inherits the major share of the father's personal property, and becomes responsible for the welfare of the younger brothers. If the eldest son is a minor, a paternal brother holds such property in trust for the children.

Land tenure. Most farmland is controlled by groups of kinsmen whose members have inherited the usufruct of particular tracts. Land not used for farming, for instance, sacred lands, groves surrounding shrines, "evil bush," etc., is communally held by the village. All new personal rights

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[107] *Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones*, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

are obtained by pledge or purchase. Rights in pledged land are inherited and may be re-pledged to a third person. Alienation by outright sale of land is permitted. Short term transfers, usually for farming seasons, are widely effected for annual rentals--nominal between members of the same hamlet, but for substantial cash payments on the part of strangers.

Leases on the English model, for a fixed period with annual rentals are reported in major cities, such as Onitsha, but indefinite leases are common in the rural districts. Independent rights to land are denied to women; but a wife has a right to space for her own crops. However, women may acquire control over land outside marriage by providing money for purchase or by securing a pledge through a male proxy. Rights over productive trees generally do not pass automatically with land rights. When land is transferred trees are often allocated separately.

Religious beliefs. Many Ibos are Christians; a few are Moslems, and others may be termed pagans. The pagans believe in a supreme spirit Chuku (Chi-Uku: great spirit), also called Cineke in certain areas. Chuku sends rain, controls fertility and creation, and is the source from which men derive their chi or soul.

Ancestral spirits are impersonated by a group of masked men in the Mmo society. They appear in the public at festivals and celebrations of funeral rites. Women are

not supposed to see or know of these rites. There is a prominent belief in reincarnation of deceased persons, and in the incarnation of local spirits in children. Native doctors (dibia or dibea) use herbal remedies and magical techniques for placating spirits.

Burial. Local variations exist in burial rites. Customary wailing often begins before death. Female relatives or members of age set prepare the corpse for burial. A man is generally buried beneath the floor of his hut or compound.[108] Widows are usually secluded for one month, and are subject to various taboos, at the death of their husbands. The spirit of the dead is believed to wander about restless and homeless until the final mortuary rites, "second burial," are performed. If these rites are too long delayed, the anger of the deceased spirit is believed to cause mishaps to the family.

Development: Problems, Cases and Progress

Judging by African standard, Ibo land is one of the most advanced areas in African continent educationally,

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[108] The practice of burying dead bodies in houses where people continue to live is vehemently resented by the Ibibios. The Ibos used to be noted for this which made the Ibibios refuse to rent homes to the Ibos in Uyo Province. In the early 1940's, the Ibos who were living in rented homes in Etinan were ejected when the village discovered that a dead child was buried in one of the houses that the Ibos occupied.

culturally, politically, economically and otherwise. Even though the early missionaries did not originally set foot on Ibo land, the Ibos wasted not much time in having missionaries and schools in their area. The Christian Missionary Society (C.M.S.) established churches in Nigeria on the coast by 1841; and by 1856, Christianity reached Ibo land and Onitsha became one of the bases for the *Niger Mission*.[109]

The Ibos have also been noted very conspicuously for the relentless struggle for Nigeria's political independence from the British imperial colonialism. It is worthy of note that an Ibo man, Dr. Azikiwe, was the first African Governor-General of the country. In his inaugural address on November 16, 1960, he said, "It is with humility mingled with joy that I thank this grand concourse of patriots and friends of Nigeria for congregating here, today, on the occasion of my inauguration as the first African Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Federation of Nigeria."[110]

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[109] Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 131.

[110] Anonymous, President Azikiwe: Selected Speeches 1960-1964 (Published by the Daily Times Press of Nigeria). Dr. Azikiwe was also the first President of Nigeria until the military coup overthrew the civilian government on January 15, 1966.

Economically, Ibo land is rich with industrial plants where various goods are manufactured, starting from industrial gas to soap; and Onitsha market has been described as "the world's largest covered market."[111]

Summary on the Eastern Region

It will be extremely difficult and time-consuming to attempt writing a detailed analysis of each and every group of ethnicities in this region. The fact that the author has not mentioned some of the ethnic groups inhabiting this area of the country is not indicative of their less importance. Certainly such groups do have their specific or unique cultural contributions to the historiography of the country. Before this work is completed, there is hope that some of these groups (if not all) and their significant roles will be mentioned; for instance, the Ijaws,[112] Aros, Okobas, Kalabari and Ikwerri.

What is said thus far, it must be borne in mind, is equally applicable to the Western region. In that case it was principally the Yoruba ethnic group that was discussed. The encouraging note in this type of affair is the fact that the ethnicities not treated in detail in this analysis have more common characteristics than dissimilarities with the

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[111] The New York Times, November 7, 1965, Section 13, p. 12.

[112] P. Amaury Talbot, Tribes of the Niger Delta, op. cit., p. 5.

major groups that have occupied much of the author's attention. Cultural differences exist to some extent, but we cannot ignore the fact that "people are people irrespective of nationality, color or creed."[113]

The Northern Region

As in the other two regions, there are quite a few ethnic groups living in the North which is now made up of six of the twelve States.[114] The two largest groups among them are the Hausa and the Fulani. It is, therefore, reasonable that these two groups be first discussed before any other.

The Hausas. In the whole of Nigeria, the Hausas constitute the largest single ethnic group numbering more than ten million people. They inhabit almost the entire northern half of the Northern Region. Their particular provinces include Kano, Zaria, Sokoto and Katsina. The Hausas are of the negroid physical stock, but yet speak a Hamitic language.[115] Specifically, they belong to the

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[113] Sunday M. Umoh, The Influence of Music in a Nigerian Community (San Diego, Calif.: Unpublished paper, July 1970), p. 5.

[114] See Table II of this work that breaks down the regions into States.

[115] Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 22. See also Joseph H. Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification (U.S.A., 1955).

Chadic sub-family of the Hamitic or Afro-Asian linguistic family.

Historical origin. There is no better way to understand the people of Northern Nigeria than against the background of history. These people belong inseparably to the Sudan, the savannah lands lying to the South of the great Sahara Desert, and their distinctive characteristics and culture derive inescapably from contacts with their neighbors, particularly those on the north and west. This explains why Sudanese history merges with Nigerian down to the twentieth century.[116]

The Hausa States originally consisted of Daura, Kano, Zaria, Gobir, Katsina, Rano, and Biram (identified by some with Garin Gabas, north of Hadejia). These were known as the Hausa Bakwai, the "legitimate seven."[117] Each State had its own traditions and legends of origin; for example, those in the Kano Chronicle. There is no doubt that some two thousand years ago a number of nomad Berbers were finding their way into the grasslands bordering the desert, settling alongside the local Sudanese peasants and

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[116] S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of Their Historical Traditions (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 3-5.

[117] Ibid., p. 82.

eventually gaining ascendancy over them. They maintained a typically Sudanic civilization, and got mixed under the control of their legendary heroes till their descendants began to crystallize into small city states in the area now known as Northern Nigeria and the Niger Republic.[118] They were mainly engaged in farming and trade, and built walled cities for protection. Their efficient system of law and administration owed much to the influence of Islam. Their language is the most widely spoken African language in the continent. Belasco[119] shows that more than fourteen million Africans speak Hausa as against eleven million that speak Swahili.

Ways of life. The extended family system is their basic social structure. C.K. Meek[120] states that the membership in these units is "contingent upon consanguinity instead of affinity." Generally, a typical Hausa family is made up of a man who is the head of the household, his brothers, immediate cousins, and their children and grand-children. Since marriages are patrilocal, descent is corollarily patrilineal. Influenced by their early

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[118] Ibid.

[119] M.J. Belasco and H.E. Hammond, The New Africa: History, Culture, People (Bronxville, N.Y.: Cambridge Book Company, Inc., 1969), p. 23.

[120] C.K. Meek, The Northern Tribes of Nigeria (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 59.

history, they are noted as artisans and interested in nomadic life. The geographical factors of Northern Nigeria make the cultivation of groundnuts (peanuts) more productive than in the southern part of the country, thus making a great fraction of the Hausa population "dependent on groundnuts."[121] It must be noted at this point that Nigeria is the world's largest exporter of groundnuts accounting for about 30 per cent of the country's total international trade.[122]

Although Christianity has in recent years gained much grounds in the North as a whole, the Hausas are basically Moslems tempering many spheres of their social life and cultural heritage with Islamic dogmas and injunctions. The Busa, Tienga and Dendi are the minor ethnic groups co-existing with the Hausas. They appear, however, to be totally absorbed by their majority neighbors, the Hausas. But they still cling tenaciously to their distinct cultural identity in many respects. The first two of the three groups belong to the Mande subfamily of the Nigritic or Niger-Congo linguistic unit.

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[121] K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria, "The Human Geography of Nigeria and its Environmental Background" (Warwick Square, London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1955), p. 139.

[122] "The Nigerian Students Voice," op. cit., p. 26.

Although the various ethnic groups of Northern Nigeria would prefer separate and distinct identification, they have many general or common characteristics. This fact makes it unreasonable to detail the analysis on each group at this point. A plausible alternative, therefore, is to write brief paragraphs on the major groups, and finally, to give a concluding summary on the Northern Region as a whole instead of on each subgroup. The author now considers this alternative as his working formula.

The Fulanis. Although many classes of the Fulanis may be identified, and rightly so because the original stocks have spread into various groups, yet the Fulanis themselves recognize only two types: wodabe (red) and balebe (black).[123] Many authorities express the view that the Fulanis are non-negroid. Meek and others believe the Fulani to be physically of Asiatic stock.[124] Though not perhaps entirely homogeneous as a type, the red Fulani shows fundamental differences from the Negro. His hair is sometimes wavy, but never wooly; his nose is straight or aquiline, but never flat; his limbs are slender; his body usually lean, his features small and sharp. He can be known

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[123] S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, op. cit., p. 112.

[124] C.K. Meek, Man, October 1959, p. 182.

to blush, and his eyes, according to some accounts, can even be blue.[125] C.E. Hopen[126] states categorically that "unlike the Hausa the Fulbe (i.e., Fulani) are non-negroid."

Today we recognize three main types of the Fulanis: (1) the nomadic or cow Fulani who wander from place to place with their cattle; (2) the settled or town Fulani who are principally agriculturalists. These are adapted to a "sedentary village existence" and are fanatic Moslems on the conversion of their faith and Islamic expansionism; and (3) the dynastic Fulanis constitute the ruling class--the families of Emirs including the various officials of the Emirates.

At the early dawn of history (about the sixteenth century) the Fulanis were not powerful in the North. The Hausas were actually ruling. But incessant wars against the surrounding groups finally weakened the Hausas while the Fulanis gained strength. The Fulanis hated to see the Hausa monarchs practice a "calculated syncretism" whereby their authority as Moslem monarchs was boosted by, and depended on, their respect for their indigenous religious

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[125]Charles Monteil, Journal de la Societe Africanistes, "Les Peuls Rouges," 1950, pp. 158-159.

[126]Africa, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, January 1964, p. 21.

(not Islamic) rites and social practices. Hating to see this sacreligious reversion to paganism, the fanatic Fulani Moslems had a good excuse to stage a holy war--the Jihad--led by Usman dan Fodio against the Hausas. Most of the Hausa kings were swept off their thrones and the Fulani hegemony was established throughout all Northern Nigeria with the exception of Bornu and certain pagan areas inaccessible to the Fulani Cavalry.[127]

Just as the Hausas, the Fulanis have a complex system of political organization. The basic unit of provincial administration is the village, and a typical Hausa or Fulani State is invariably unitaristic in character. The people have or maintain class ranks and recognize hereditary titles based on lines of descent. Age groups or sets have no place in their social or political structure. It is safe to say that caste system features among them. Social stratification follows three major categories as pointed out by Mabogunje.[128] These include: (1) a privileged nobility which is often headed by a royal

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[127]Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., pp. 78-82.

[128]A.L. Mabogunje, Yoruba Towns (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1929), p. 37. Also see F.W. Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria (Lagos, Nigeria: Government Printer, 1945).

lineage; (2) the next group or class are the free commoners who are often subdivided into wealthy merchants and artisans; and (3) peasant farmers and, until recently, slaves.

In 1930, a British administrative officer, Captain J.R. Wilson-Haffenden,[129] who enjoyed a lengthy residence among the Fulani whom he termed the "red men," made the following observation:

> The Fulani emirs, although nominally still recognizing the headship of the Sultan of Sokoto, had in practice become a law unto themselves. They, like the English barons in the twelfth century, had secured themselves in walled fortresses, which they defended against all who might attempt to subdue them. They greatly oppressed the wretched peasantry whom they forced to work at their mud palaces and ramparts. They confiscated the property of merchants and traders; as also the belongings of rich men on their death. They were continually levying exactions on the villages, and when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give they plundered and burned their dwellings, and seized both men and women as slaves.

Marriage and Family Conventions

The "Town" and the "Cow" Fulani are divided into numerous clans; but, with very minor exceptions, their essential beliefs and customs do not differ within the clans of the same group. Some of these clans include the Keffi, Wangara, Beriberi, Shuwalbe, Borroro, the Kwottos, and many others.[130]

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[129]Captain J.R. Wilson-Haffenden, The Red Men of Nigeria (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1930), p. 19.

[130]Ibid., pp. 103-104.

The dwellings of the Shuwalbe are of the usual grass-and-stick shelter type common to cattle nomads, of beehive shape, from about ten to twenty huts forming an average-sized camp, ruga. They herd their cattle at night into enclosures of a fence of thorns as a protection against wild animals. This clan favors endogamous marriages, or marriages inside the clan or group; but the Kwottos uphold exogamy or marriage outside the clan. Marriages between the Cow Fulani and the Town Fulani are looked on with disfavor. It is argued that, since the latter put the love of fine clothing and town luxuries before the love of cattle, the infiltration of these ideas among the exclusively cattle-loving groups through the agency of mixed marriages might tend to wean the minds of the weak away from the practice of the time-honored customs of their forefathers.

That form of marriage known as the senior levirate is practiced by both "Town" and "Cow" Fulani--a man normally inherits the wives[131] of his elder brother. But marriage with the wives of a deceased younger brother is prohibited. Soronate marriage, or marriage of sisters, is also permitted by both groups. On the death of a wife who had been

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[131] As is the case in the Southern regions, polygamy flourishes in the North particularly through the influence of Islam religion which entitles a man to as many as four wives.

on good terms with her husband, her relatives will usually agree that her younger sister, if unmarried, should marry the bereaved husband. Marriage with a deceased wife's elder sister is illegal.

The most favored type of marriage among the Shuwalbe is that of patrilineal cross-cousins (i.e., of a man or woman with his or her father's sister's child). Next in favor comes marriage between patrilineal ortho-cousins (i.e., of a man or woman with his or her father's brother's child). But, although not forbidden, the cross-cousin marriage by which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother is highly disfavored. In this respect, they contrastingly differ from the Keffi Yegomawa Fulani, among whom the "best marriage" for a man is considered to be one with his mother's brother's daughter.

Among the Shuwalbe, it is only the actual father that can custody and punish his children; but among the Keffi Yegomawa Fulani, the father's brother has this responsibility. Interference with children by the mother's relatives is not allowed. While boys of the Keffi clan are brought up by their paternal uncles, the girls are also brought up by their paternal aunts. These relatives also arrange their marriages.[132]

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[132] Ibid., p. 256.

The Fulani divorce is regulated by the Moslem law which gives the husband the right to divorce his wife with practically no ceremony and for no cause. The only check is that he has to pay her her dowry, which, possibly, he may still owe. The wife can obtain divorce if she is denied her marital rights, which include the right of sexual congress and the provision of adequate food and clothing.

From seven to twelve "head of cattle" may be demanded of a man who wants to marry a divorcee, as compared with only two "head of cattle" demanded at the marriage of an unattached virgin. This custom is designed to deter potential wife-stealers from seeking the hand of girls already espoused.

Group associations. It is the sociological relationship that the Fulanis bear to each other that determines the part played by their chief actors in their festivals. Among the Shuwalbe, for example, the principal type of associations are of three kinds: (1) those based on purely kinship factors, (2) those of "age-mates," ssoi, and (3) those of "comrades-in-sport," abokanem wasa. The Kwottos highly esteem the form of association between strangers known as "blood-brotherhood." The Fulanis have many public and private social ceremonies; and age-mate association is of great importance in determining the relations between the sexes.

The Kanuri. The Kanuri is the dominant ethnic group of the "kingdom of Bornu." Unlike many other kingdoms in Africa, Bornu has an ancient and well-documented history. Indeed, one of the most salient facts about the Kanuri culture is the pride they feel in their history. They believe that one cannot know them unless one understands their past.

Kanuri legends all take the Bornu kingdom back to the north and northeast of Lake Chad to the ancient kingdom of Kanem and before that to Yemen. Their traditions suggest that they as a people came originally from Yemen. It is believed that a migrant Yemenite noble named Sef founded the royal dynasty of the Magumi Sefuwa. This dynasty, in fact, has been the ruling line in Kanem-Bornu for over a thousand years. Today the Kanuris are subdivided into four main groups--"the Beriberi, Kanuri, Koyan and Manga--together with the intrusive Shuwa, an Arab people, speaking a language of the Semitic subfamily of the Hamitic or Afroasian linguistic family."[133]

Settlements. As already noted, they live principally in Bornu Province, hence the usual term, "The Kanuri of Bornu." They spread out over the entire area of the

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[133]"The Nigerian Students Voice," Vol. IV, No. 4, October-December, 1967, op. cit., p. 7.

emirate, in 306 named and variously sized settlements, ranging from Maiduguri, the capital, down to tiny hamlets of three or four households. About two-thirds of them live in 248 named village units ranging in size from 1,000 to over 5,000. The other fraction lives in eleven cities with a population of 10,000 or over.

The settlements are all made up of walled compounds, and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. Their compound is rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. A house with two doors constitutes the entrance into the compound so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U" shape with the open end towards the West and the closed end on the East. The arms of the "U" then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of the town take place. And this marks the location of the house of the senior political leader of the group.[134]

Parenthetically, this means that when they pray and bow down toward the East in the open plaza, which they

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[134]Ronald Cohen, The Kanuri of Bornu (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), pp. 5-6.

often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

Livelihood. The staple food is millet and guinea corn whose fields surround the villages. The major cash crop is the groundnuts (peanuts). They also cultivate numerous specialized crops and vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending on local conditions. Cohen[135] points out that almost everybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

P.A. Benton[136] observes that even during the many centuries that passed, the Kanuris, under the king at Bornu, traded to a great extent with the Buddumas of Lake Chad whose chieftains stood in a "loose sort of relationship as dependents of the king of Bornu."

Culture, Customs and Religion

The Kanuri ideologies of religion, social organization and subsistence are not much different from those of many other peoples of the Western Sudan. "Even esoteric

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[135] Ibid.

[136] P.A. Benton, The Languages and Peoples of Bornu, Vol. I (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1968), p. 59.

items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco."[137] Their patterns of dress, and their love of horses as a prestige for men identify them boldly with the surrounding peoples. Their graceful language, Kanuri, in which the verb comes at the end of the sentence as in Latin, is not related to other Nigerian languages. But rather, it is shared and is related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti Highlands in Northern Chad to Bornu in the Southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of Sudan,[138] in the Southeast.

As an example of the Kanuri, if I wish to say that a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his obligations to others. There are many greetings adjusted to social rank, so that one can say "Hello" to a social inferior, to an equal, or to a respected superior, and receive a proper reply recognizing the same distinction. Other Nigerians and Europeans claim

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[137]Ronald Cohen, op. cit., p. 6.

[138]See Andrew Boyd and Patrick van Rensburg, An Atlas of African Affairs, Revised Edition (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966), pp. 66-67.

it is a difficult language to learn. This, probably, is due to the fact that Hausa is the most widespread language in Northern Nigeria with which one can get along in the cities without effort to learn Kanuri. Today most Kanuri children are taught Hausa in schools.

Cultural features that are of unique Kanuri origin are not necessarily vitally important things. But they are diagnostic features which indicate Bornuness in contrast to the cultures of other closely related ethnic groups in the Sudan. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature is the women's hair style. At its most resplendent, it resembles a Trojan helmet made out of an enormous braided ponytail that begins as a crest at the front center of the head and curves up over the head to end in a slight upward curl of the tail at the back.

Other features unique to Bornu are their knives and calabash carvings.[139] These items have the same ethnic distinguishing effect as are tribal marks on the face. But the inside of a Kanuri gentleman's household is not significantly different from the household of a man of similar rank, wealth, occupation and education, who lives in the Hausa country seven or eight hundred miles to the

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[139]Rev. Samuel Johnson, The History of the Yorubas, op. cit., p. 117.

west of Bornu. Their manner of dressing is very similar. They eat similar food, and share many of the same beliefs and attitudes about what is the best way to live, make decisions, treat one's family, friends, superiors and worship one's God. Thus, although there are some clear-cut diagnostic features representative of Kanuri culture, the people share in a way of life practiced by millions in the Sudan, or southern savannah land border of the Sahara Desert.[140]

The Kanuri kinship system. Any societal kinship system involves three categories of behavior that may overlap but are always different. They are: (1) genealogical relations--the links between individuals based upon biological reproduction; (2) descent relations--the links between individuals which are based upon the allocation of members in a genealogy to a socially and culturally recognized kin group. This may include the same persons as a genealogical group, or it may include only a part of them; and (3) affinal relations--the links between individuals which are based upon socially recognized marriage.[141]

The Kanuri genealogical relations are kept separate from those of descent just as some nations speak of distant

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[140]Ronald Cohen, op. cit., p. 7.

[141]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

your mother, if everything else is equal, such as the amount of wealth to be inherited. If any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably goes to the court, the court normally takes 10 per cent for its adjudication services.

Marriage. Unlike the Fulani, most Kanuris do not marry girls who have never been married before. They generally like to marry a divorcee, zower, because this is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. As Moslems, they think of marriage as a relationship involving purdah--wifely confinement within the household. Generally the husband makes quite clear how much constraint he expects before the marriage actually begins. The higher the status of the husband, the greater the probability of almost total confinement of the wife. Men never cook. A bachelor must eat in the household of a married relative or neighbor. Cooking, child-bearing and food-producing lie exclusively within the province of women, who sometimes clamor for more freedom and power in the marriage than their culture dictates.

The Kanuri Economic Life

Most households contain three to ten people. The division of labor depends on age and sex. As already mentioned, women cook, draw water, work on the farm if they

are not in seclusion, raise garden crops, thresh, pound and grind grains, sweep and clean the compounds, take care of children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots and baskets. A few are professional entertainers working with male drummers and praise-singers. Young boys and girls also help out in whatever they can do under the authority and supervision of adults.

The economy is controlled almost totally by men. They engage in politics, farm, dye, build metal work, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell, slaughter cattle, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs that follow modern civilization, and pay the tax. The head of the household handles the income in cash or kind that results from craft or farm work. Women, of course, may use the proceeds of their small backyard gardens as they please.[143]

Other Ethnic Groups of Northern Nigeria

It has already been pointed out that there is no expediency in attempting to write elaborately on each and

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[143] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

every group of the numerous inhabitants of this country. The best to be expected at this point is, perhaps, a brief mention of some more groups with the understanding that there shall still remain some that will not be listed.

The Nupe. The Nupe live in the low basin formed by the valleys of the Niger and Kaduna Rivers, in an area roughly 7,000 square miles in extent.[144] They speak a number of related dialects. Even though they form the great majority of the population in the Bida and Agaie Emirates of Niger Province and in the Pategi-Lafingi Emirate of Ilorin Province, they do not form a territorially united group and, although every Nupe should extend hospitality to his fellow tribesmen, they are not "characterized by close internal cohesion."

There is considerable variety of custom among the various sub-tribes. Their outstanding common features are:[145] the cycle of myths of the culture-hero Tsoede, the observation of the gunnu ritual, belief in the supreme sky-god Soko, and the general structure of political ranks, age-sets, kinship system, and marriage.[146] They call themselves

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[144] Daryll Forde (Ed), Peoples of the Niger-Benue Confluence (London: International African Institute; Hazell Watson and Viney, Ltd., 1958), p. 17.

[145] Ibid.

[146] S.F. Nadel, "Nupe State and Community," Africa, VIII, No. 3, 1935, p. 258.

Nupecizi or Nupencizi (singular Nupeci or Nupenci). Their language is Nupe or Ezi Nupe.

Most of them participate in a complex exchange-economy. Before the introduction of British money, cowrie shells were used as currency and are still used at funerals, and in reckoning marriage and other traditional payments. The traditional political offices are no longer inseparably linked with wealth, though high social status still attaches to them. Members of the elite can maintain their prestige cheaply. As symbols of status glazed turban or silver sword are either heirlooms or not costly. The inherited house shows status even if in disrepair. Polygamy is facilitated by the low marriage payment for "marriage in the family." "Woman marriage" is practiced. Here a rich woman goes through a form of marriage with a girl, and allows men to have access to her. Any children born belong to the "female husband."[147]

The Igbira. The Igbira, speaking the Igbira language, live in the areas north and east of the Niger-Benue confluence. They are known by different names among their neighboring groups; for example, the Igala call them

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[147]O. Temple, Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria (Cape Town: Argus Printing and Publishing Company, 1919), p. 324.

Egburra; the Yoruba call them Kotokori; and the Hausa and Fulani call them Kwotto, Koto or Kwotto-Gara. They are the dominant group, politically but not numerically, in the chiefdoms of Panda and Koton Karifi, which share a myth of common origin with local variations. It is difficult to estimate density for the Igbira since they live among members of other ethnic groups.[148]

Their dialect is a cluster of the Nupe language group. Their main occupation is agriculture, while some of them do fishing.[149] Their exogamous totemic clans are mainly named after wild animals—lion, crocodile, leopard, python, monitor. The goat clan is the only one with the name of a domestic animal.

Descent is patrilineal for inheritance and for clan membership. A wife generally, but not always, joins her husband's paternal household and bears her children there. Girls are commonly adopted by the father's sister, and boys by the father's brother. Formerly, when no bride-price was paid, a young man had to work on his future father-in-law's farm for three years before marriage. Fathers give their sons separate farms at marriage. In the

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[148]D. Cator, "Notes on the Egbira District," Unpublished material, 1917.

[149]D.F.H. MacBride, "Notes on the Chiefdom of Koton Karifi, Kabba Province," Unpublished material, 1935.

Panda area, land is said to be held in trust by the political chief for the community, and leased out to families by tribal custom.[150]

In every community the chief is responsible to an executive council of title-holders. The chief is controlled in his choice of councilors by public opinion, and a title once given cannot be revoked, "except for the gravest public reasons."[151] Many years ago a murderer was usually executed locally. Adultery was settled by a fine and a purificatory offering, but wife abduction could lead to feud. Theft called for admonition by the chief, restitution, and a feast and libation. The most common disputes were over land, However, manslaughter in self-defense or in prevention of a crime was justifiable.

In the Okene area, theft and adultery are tried by ordeal. The use of "tribal marks" is dying out, as is tooth chipping. But scarification of the face (in the case of girls) and of the body is undertaken for decorative purposes.[152]

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[150]Captain J.R. Wilson-Haffenden, op. cit., p. 175.

[151]Daryll Forde, op. cit., p. 63.

[152]Captain J.R. Wilson-Haffenden, op. cit., p. 247.

Religion and village cults. They believe that their supreme god, Hinegba or Ihinegba, resides in the sky, creates and controls the universe, gives rain and sunshine, and punishes evil by sickness. He is approached through intermediaries such as the ghosts of animals or persons, other spirits, and non-human spiritual beings animating many natural objects and magico-religious objects. They have various cults, the priesthoods being for the most part handed down within a family. Rain-making is very important. Villagers sometimes pray at the grave of the village founder.

The ritual officials derive their supernatural power from spirits controlling the rites they perform. This power is transmitted by heredity or by gift. Witchcraft is responsible for all deaths, except from old age. However, many people today are Moslems and Christianity is gaining some grounds also.

The Igala. Like other groups, the name Igala designates both the people and the language. "Igara" was found in earlier literature. They are fortunate in not being deeply divided by dialect differences. Their only two dialects are Idah and Ankpa. Hausa is also used and English also follows modern education. Allison[153] says

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[153] P.A. Allison, "Notes on Igala," Unpublished material, 1944.

that Igala system of agriculture is very similar to the Northern Yoruba farming practice. The collection and marketing of palm produce is largely the work of women. Little has been known about their social organization. Clifford says:

> The country was divided into "fiefs": microcosms of the Idah chieftaincy, the fief-holder (onu) receiving a title and an official salutation from the Ata, together with a gift of bead bracelets which were--and they are still today—the outward and visible sign of his authority.[154]

No difference is found between the palace and the poor man's hut; the former being in fact but an assemblage of the latter, proportioned to the number of wives. The Igala seem to progress (in terms of modern civilization) more than their surrounding neighbors. "In 1951 there were 35 Native Authority schools in addition to a vigorous system of Mission schools."[155] There are some Moslems and pagans also who continue to uphold their traditions by observing their principal annual religious ceremonies.

Marriage is not permitted between closer relatives than first cousins, but a man (many years ago) could marry

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[154]Miles Clifford, "A Nigerian Chiefdom," Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, LXVI, 1936, p. 393.

[155]Daryll Forde, op. cit., p. 88. It is worthy of note that the Qua Iboe Mission, headquartered at Etinan in the S/E Nigeria used to be sending Nigerian Missionaries and money to help spread Christianity in Igala in the 1940's. Today Igala is a headquarters for that Mission in the North.

his wife's sister. Perhaps this practice still prevails in some remote areas of the district without compunction.

The Idoma-speaking peoples. The Idoma-speaking peoples are spread over a wide arc flanked by more than three groups of people speaking closely related languages. The unity of these peoples is linguistic and only to a lesser extent cultural. There is no evidence that they had ever formed a political unity. On the contrary, political fragmentation is one of their most characteristic features.

The Tivs. The Tivs constitute a group among the Idoma-speaking peoples. "At the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers live the Tiv."[156] Their basic social unit is the extended family; their descent is patrilineal and the compound is their fundamental administrative unit. Etuk points out that "this tribe is organized on the basis of a segmentary lineage system."[157] Among the Tivs the age-group system exists for the purpose of social and economic functions.

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[156]Wale Ademoyega, The Federation of Nigeria From Earliest Times to Independence (London: George G. Harrap and Company, Ltd., 1962), p. 182.

[157]"The Nigerian Students Voice," op. cit., p. 9.

Striving for some political strength like the other ethnic groups in the Eastern and Western regions, the Tivs also organized themselves into the "Tiv Central Council" to be able to speak for the Tivs as a whole.[158]

The Idoma Proper. In 1952, about sixteen districts of Idoma Division were regarded as Idoma Proper. Their linguistic unity is a conscious cultural reality and is paralleled by traditional ties, expressed in kinship terms, between the various lands. Four (and perhaps five) dialects can be distinguished among them. The people are farmers and hunters. Markets, large and small, are ubiquitous. Their crops include most of those typical of both Northern and Southern Nigeria, but in varying proportions.

They weave and dye cotton. Their fundamental house-type is the round mud hut with conical thatched roof. The basic unit of social structure is the compound family, consisting of a man, his wives, their children, and the wives and children of his sons. Age-sets are found among them functioning mainly as mutual-aid clubs for funerals. Their dance-guilds are semi-secret societies with a continuous distribution from central Idoma into Ibo country and Ogoja.

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[158] Wale Ademoyega, op. cit., p. 146.

Boys undergo circumcision; but clitoridectomy, practiced in some parts of Nigeria, is unpopular. The position of women is relatively high.[159] They are, however, excluded from the ojira (council) and from most phases of the mask and ancestral cults.[160] As elsewhere, petty trade is conducted by women, and they, like the Ibos, have four names for the days of the week (a four-day week). These are, of course, names for market days.

The Idoma distinguish two kinds of law, ine and uta. Ine were ordinances and regulations proclaimed by the chief or other constituted authorities. Uta is customary criminal law.

Other Idoma-speaking groups. Apart from the Tivs and Idoma Proper above described, there are also other groups of Idoma-speaking peoples having almost the same characteristics, but with local variations and modifications. Some of the groups included here are the Arago, the Iyala, Nkum, Nkim, Etulo, Afu, Egede, Akweya-Yachi and the Utonkon-Effirum.[161] This last group call themselves Ufia.

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[159] Daryll Forde, op. cit., p. 99.

[160] The exclusion of women from mask-cultural societies is traditional all over Nigeria.

[161] Daryll Forde, op. cit., pp. 125-152.

Others. Much effort has already been exerted in distinguishing each ethnic group in Nigeria. Yet very many are still left out of our discussion; nor are we likely to discuss all of them in this work. It may suffice to mention in passing some of the significant ethnicities in this category:

1. Riverain peoples of Yauri and Borgu. These would include the Gungawa and Yaurawa (Bareshe), the Bakarawa, Lopawa and Larawa.

2. Peoples of Kontagora and Zuru. This group will include the Kambari, Dakakari, and Dukawa.

3. Peoples of the North-eastern hinterland of the middle Niger. In this classification will be counted the Achipawa, Peoples of the Kamuku group, Basa (or Bassa), Gbari and Koro.

Collectively, all the above three divisions lie in the Northern Region of the country and are, therefore, bound to share the common characteristics of the peoples of the North, such as the Hausas and the Fulanis or other surrounding ethnic groups.[162]

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[162]Harold D. Gunn and F.P. Conant, Peoples of the Middle Niger Region: Northern Nigeria. Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Western Africa, Part XV, edited by Daryll Forde (London: International African Institute, 1960).

Summary on the Northern Region

It has been clearly pointed out that the Hausa and the Fulani are the dominant groups in the Northern Region of Nigeria. From this vantage position, whatever they do carries an all-embracing attribute for the whole of the region. A good example is in matters of religion. In talking of each region of Nigeria, people generally use the term "the Moslem North," and the "Christian South," thus giving the impression that all the northerners are Moslems, and the southerners Christians. This illustrates the magic power that the name of a majority group carries. One should, therefore, be cognizant of the fact that while generalizations are valid, the possibilities of variations and exceptions are always inherent.

What lesson does this impart? Man must always be aware of diversities so intricately woven into human life and existence. "The fallacy[163] of composition"[164] continuously threatens human reasoning. What is required, therefore, is wisdom in formulating intelligent decisions

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[163]This is the fallacy of contending that "what is true for the individual or part is necessarily also true for the group or whole."

[164]Campbell R. McConnell, Economics: Principles Problems and Policies (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), p. 14.

that will not fit every Easterner, Westerner or Northerner into the same keyhole, and label some cultures with either "good" or "bad."

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITIONAL PHASES OF COMMUNICATIONS IN NIGERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

Let us not lose sight of the fact that this work, by and large, is concerned with man's communicative behavior as it influences and affects, or is influenced and affected, by other humans. Cultural or social behavior is essentially an action oriented towards others. This sets a stage for two classes of "dramatis personae"--the actor and his subject. The actor regards his behavior as a stimulus capable of eliciting some response from his subject. Such a response in turn becomes another stimulus with the capacity to generate a further response. It is on this exchange of stimuli and responses in the human kingdom that the mainstay of human existence is cemented.

Using "social" and "cultural" interchangeably in this context, one can aptly describe the above phenomenon as "cultural interaction"--a term increasingly common in the tongues of social scientists. When the stimuli elicit anticipated responses reasonably accurately, cultural (or social) interaction no more remains a hit-or-miss

proposition. Among members of the same cultural or ethnic group, this is much more likely to be the case than among members of different groups. Why is it so? The explanatory reason is that natives or members of the same ethnic, cultural or social group can, almost without any misinterpretation, communicate through a common system of symbols. All of the symbols, of course, are not necessarily verbal. Nevertheless, verbal symbols top the list in importance over all others in the world of human interactions. The author's concern in the pages that follow is the amplification or elucidation of this introductory comment.

II. THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA BEFORE 1860

It has been established in the preceding pages of this work that various ethnicities have lived in our present Nigeria in their respective groups long before history was recorded. These groups spoke their peculiar languages, managed their own affairs, and interacted intra-culturally in isolation from other groups or subgroups. This view is reflected by Joseph Bram: "The typical alternatives of the pre-industrial age placed the individual between solitude and isolation, on the one hand, and social interaction with a small circle of intimates, on the other."[1]

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[1]Joseph Bram, Language and Society (New York: Random House, Inc., 1955), p. 5.

Nigerians of a few centuries ago fitted perfectly well into the above quotation. Such processes as increased social mobility were not known among them. Kinship ties were left intact and unbroken. The growing instrumental character of complex human relations was not even in the realm of imagination; and the ever-widening circle of less direct and less intimate contacts was not dreamed of. To them the alternatives were open. The exchange of verbal stimuli and responses between two or among many members of a cultural group called for a "face-to-face confrontation" of all concerned. It was possible on some occasions to rely on the services of a messenger or a go-between; but most social interactions were direct, personal and unmediated.

It is interesting to realize that they (in their separate ethnic groups) regarded themselves a world by itself. They had little or no knowledge of others since contacts with others were improbable. They did not regard their system of disseminating information inadequate since they knew of no better substitutes. However, the increase of population in the lapse of time brought the frontiers between various ethnic groups closer and closer together till intercultural interactions became inevitable. Inter-culturally, communication became an insurmountable problem from the fact that different groups had different languages

and different systems of symbols. But rather antithetically, each group regarded its intracultural communication system as perfect by virtue of their special language and a common system of symbols which they used for informing, teaching, warning, tracing or recording historical incidents. This could be accomplished in various ways including the use of man-made instruments such as the drum, and natural physical elements, such as branches of trees.

It is safe to bear in mind that no group could read and write (in terms of Western education) at this time. Let us, therefore, examine their communication techniques that prevailed in this "pre-colonial" era.

Instruments of Non-Verbal Communication

It is not the author's intention at this point to treat man's capability of verbal expression which, as already understood, performs a "time-binding"[2] function. All members of the human race inherit the unique gift of language, though all the languages cannot be understood by

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[2]The term "time-binding" was coined by Alfred Korzybski, the founder of the school of thought known as "General Semantics." (See his book, Science and Sanity, 4th Edition. Lakeville, Conn.: The International Non-Aristotelian Library Publishing Company, 1958). "Time-binding" denotes the function of language in transmitting beliefs, techniques, and attitudes from one generation to another--the past, the present, and the future.

all humans. The present concern here is the analysis of communication without direct verbal orders or lecturing. This implies that the use of certain communicative instruments about to be considered may be deeply rooted in understanding the language involved. For example, a talking drum may use the language of a particular nationality. Without understanding the applicable language, it is not possible for one to despatch the message nor understand it when despatched by another. Let this illustration sound a warning to the audience that the term "non-verbal" as used in this text does not imply a complete absence of verbal expressions.

The Drum as a Communication Instrument

In addition to despatching messages verbally through messengers, the drum was the next outstanding means of sending messages. Drums are of various kinds and sizes. Some are made by carving out trunks of special trees. Obodom (wooden gong) is an example in this group, which is carved out from the trunk of the red iron wood (ukpa). Ntakrok is another instrument of this class. It is made out of the Indian bamboo (Nyanyaha). If obodom is sounded it can be heard at a distance of more than five miles, depending on how hard it is beaten. Ntakrok, being a smaller instrument, can be heard within a two (or more) mile radius.

Other forms of drums include those prepared with wood, skins of animals, hemp, etc. Ibit is an example in this group. Akang-kang and ekere can also be represented among the drums.

It was possible to use drums for various kinds of messages. The importance of some drums and the purposes for which they were used were determined by the types of materials, for example, skins, used in making the drum. There is a preponderance of stories that human skins and bones were used for preparing or making some drums. Whenever such drums sounded, they carried unpleasant messages to the people of the community.

Messages could be carried by drums from one village group to another. The second village would also transmit the same information to the third, and so forth, till all the members of the same clan would get the message. If the message pertained to a particular clan, this restriction or exclusion would also be spelled out. In any particular village, the drum was used to summon regular village councils, respective family meetings, and exclusive cultural society assemblies. If emergency meetings of any groups were necessary, the drum would also relay the message.

Drums were (and still are) very important in native plays and dances. Every dancer or participant in the play

must know how to interpret the message that the drum carries because that is the only means by which the drummer-in-chief must communicate with his teamsters. They are called by their names with the drum to exhibit individual or group dances. The drum would announce the dance, praise, flatter, rebuke or correct the dancers as they perform.

Each exclusive cultural society could be indentified from the sound of their drum. If a member of the particular organization died, his death would be reported by the drum which had to be played from the top of the roof. All the members of that society would be called upon to assemble and perform the necessary rites for the deceased.

If a dance involved the two sexes dancing together, women had also to understand the drum before they could participate. But women were not allowed to play the drum except one kind of instrument specifically designated for use in their exclusive cultural society. Whenever that instrument (ekøre) sounded it was clear that women were having their meeting, and no uninvited men would dare approach their meeting place.

Only special people—qualified in accordance with the native laws and customs—could handle certain drums. For example, drums prepared with the human skin and bones were custodied in a special closet in the chief's palace

or court. Only the chief or a duly delegated official could touch or sound such drums. Whenever such a drum was beaten (which was rather infrequent), it meant a grave situation for the village community. Such occasions could be either to report an attack from a neighboring hostile group of invaders, or when a criminal was due for capital punishment. To tamper with such a drum without due authorization carried very stiff penalties.

To show how important the drum was in the pre-colonial era, some ethnic groups deified some of their drums. Talbot[3] describes how the people of Okrika used or handled their "tall" drum, of the kind called Ommaw:

> This (drum) is rubbed over with camwood and swathed round the base with white cloth. It may not be set on the ground but must be put up on a small platform of sticks. The drum itself is a kind of juju, and to it are offered dishes of money and food.

It must, of course, go without mention that in singing or dancing the participants must keep time with the drum beats. They must accept, recognize and respect the dictatorship or integrity of their drummer-in-chief as an army of soldiers treats its commander-in-chief.

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[3]P. Amaury Talbot, Tribes of the Niger Delta (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), p. 174. Okrika is one of the Nigerian ethnic groups.

Membership in Cultural Societies

It has already been pointed out that most (if not all) cultural societies were exclusive in nature and scope. All organizations of modern civilization have what is today referred to as articles of incorporation, Constitution or by-laws. In the same way, the early cultural societies had their constitutions and by-laws. They had their codes of conduct for their respective clubs, and their sworn-in or initiated members were expected to live up to them.

In the United States today, if a person is noted as a "Ku Klux Klan" member, it is crystal clear to the community that such an individual is an avowed hater or enemy of the black race. If a lawyer from California meets a New York lawyer in the subway at Chicago, as soon as they identify themselves, they both are conscious of their professional code of ethics or experiences that can easily bind them together. This statement,in fact, is applicable to any profession, organization, or club with a national identification.

From the above examples, it is not at all difficult to see how the early inhabitants of the various ethnic groups could relate with people as soon as they knew the cultural societies in which they held membership. For example, a man initiated into Ekpo Nyoho cultural society would not eat the "new yam" prior to a certain period in

the year. Therefore, the host or hostess would not attempt to serve such a visitor with the "new yam" until the due season as observed by members of that society.

A woman's membership in Ebre society was also enough to let other women decide the type of relationship to be contemplated between them, depending on whether or not all of them were members in the same secret society. Without listing other societies, the conclusion is evident that membership in the native cultural societies was a means of communicating one's ideals and philosophy to the community; and could serve as either an advantage or a disadvantage according to the group of people met and the circumstances of their interaction.

Music as a Means of Communication

Closely related to the drum is music. People often use the drum in conjunction with singing or music. However, people can sing without drums. Umoh[4] points out that music serves as a major means of communication among the literates and the illiterates, the old and the young, the believers and infidels, the rich and the poor, and men and women.

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[4]Sunday Umoh, "The Influence of Music in a Nigerian Community," Unpublished paper, 1970, p. 5.

Our forefathers used music in many ways to transmit messages instead of delivering them in personal face-to-face discussions. Just as a modern drama scholar uses inflections and different tones of voice to give his audience an impression of sorrow, laughter, happiness or command, the pre-colonial Nigerians could use songs to convey their happiness, a reprimand to law breakers, religious rituals, recognition of heroes, lamenting the dead, and a lot of other things as shown in the following paragraphs.

Religious chants. Although this account of religious communication by means of singing was peculiarly true among the Ibibios, it can safely be regarded truly representative of what was the Nigerian way of life in general. Before Christianity reached Nigeria, the natives were already worshippers of one form of god or another. In the practice of the various religious rituals, singing or chanting of some lines was the major activity. All races, tribes or ethnic groups in Africa are noted for this tradition. Singleton and Shingler[5] bring out this fact vividly in the following lines: "Bushmen were also musicians. One favorite instrument was a simple bow of stick and string. Another was like a lyre, with several strings.

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[5]Seth Singleton and John Shingler, Africa in Perspective (New York: Hayden Book Company, Inc., 1967), p. 10.

Surprisingly, the Bushmen had no drums, and danced to song and chant alone."

It was the religious duty of the clan chiefs or leaders to go to whatever object of worship they had--a rock, river, a tree, etc.--according to a stipulated calendar to worship at its face. Some selected native doctors or family priests were allowed in the team. They would offer libations to the god, pray with their eyes open, and remain there (at the shrine) for about two hours, singing and chanting special verses meant for that occasion. Ordinary people chanting such songs meaninglessly were cited and punished for sacrilege. This class of songs was such that it could be easily identified. As soon as people heard the reverberation from the woods, they knew what was taking place.

In the Christian worship, we allot some minutes for Bible reading, giving announcements, praying (with closed or open eyes), preaching, dedicating infants, collecting tithes and offerings, giving communion to members, and doing many other things. The result is that the actual time for religious music is relatively short. But in the Nigerian traditional worship, much of the time was spent in singing. In the actual offering of whatever sacrifice, the god was invoked with a song to accept the offering. This reveals one conclusion, that music was a more

important aspect of the Nigerian cultural religious rituals than it is in the Western culture.

Recognition of heroes. In the world today, people depend on historical books to know of great heroes. A good example in the United States is the spectacular achievement of Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins who were the first mortals to set foot on the moon, July 20, 1969.[6] We have to admit that there were no authors or editors to keep documented journals of events in Nigeria prior to 1860. But this did not mean that Nigerians could not transmit news of historical significance from one generation to another. Instead of writing which they were incapable of doing, they chose the alternative which was easier, namely, singing. They composed songs (not by writing) and sang about their heroes as soon as a memorable event occurred.

To give an example, reference can here be made to a man who once lived in the village of Ikot Nya[7] in the Southeast State of Nigeria. There is a popular native song which indicates that that man whose name was Udo Ndikop had the loudest voice in the community. According to the song, he could shout and relay a message to people more than a

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[6]Seymour Kurtz (Ed.), The New York Times Encyclopedia Almanac, 1970, p. 21.

[7]Ikot Nya is the native village of the author of this work.

mile away in clear understandable voice. Because of this rare gift of nature, he was made the chief of the guards for the village in those early days when tribal rivalry and wars were common. He could shout in the night and wake up the whole village which is more than three miles in diameter if he noticed any sign of invaders.

The use of songs for noting historical events was not limited to one ethnic group. It was a common practice in the whole country, and has continued till today.

In the Nigerian Civil War which lasted from July 6, 1967 to January 12, 1970, songs about their heroes came from the two factions. The rebels were singing gloriously of Emeka Ojukwu who led the rebellion against the Federal Government. Music from the other side, to state the corollary, was about the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria's Armed Forces--Major General Yakubu Gowon. The song was built from the letters of his name, and this made up the first line of the song: "Go On With One Nigeria."

It is, however, to be observed that in those days many of the historical messages did not last long. Every passing generation carried away most of its "song history." Nevertheless, it was possible by the use of songs to communicate events from one generation to another.

For reprimand. Since we cannot forget the popular saying that there are two sides to everything, we have to recognize that malefaction is at the opposite end of benefaction. Just as songs were used to reward good deeds, it is therefore not surprising that songs were equally used for reprimanding socially unacceptable behaviors of individuals, groups or organizations. It did not take long for the names of convicted criminals to ring through every ear in a song.

Those who never before knew the convicted criminal, or who perhaps would never have known him, would hear of him and his evil deeds. One may ask whether innocent people were not sung about or ridiculed falsely. The answer is "No." Before anything became a topic of a song, it had to be ascertained beyond every reasonable doubt by the top executives of the community before they granted authority to the youths or songsters to sing. Whenever a case was dubious, it was not sung about. One thing must be significant here, namely, that the individuals or groups whose deeds became songs always realized that they deserved such popularization.

This is not to say that such songs had no effect on the subject people. They really did. Many evildoers confessedly repented after experiencing this type of humiliating reprimand. Thus the Nigerians of years ago

succeeded by means of songs to perform or fulfill the purposes for which prisons are built today.

For self-comfort and spiritual elevation. Songs that were for self-comfort and spiritual elevation are not to be confused with religious rituals and chants. Seldom (if ever) were such songs sung by many people at the same time. People do not generally have similar emotional experiences at the same time, even if they live under the same roof. Therefore, songs of this class could not be expected to be sung by many people at the same time.

The following verse which is written in Efik language is typical of such a song: "Udono kudon mi aba, koro eyen esibara ikan man eka ana udono. Edieke akade iso odon mi, nyekpa Nka obio ekpo nkobiok nkom nte ubong."

In the above song, the singer is communicating with the god of sickness to keep sickness away from him because he has no children to care for him. If, however, he becomes ill, he is happy that when he dies he will experience no more bodily pain in the grave.

We know, of course, that "religion is concerned with warding off both the dangers in nature and within the individual."[8] But as the song stands, it is not a

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[8]Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1967), p. 57.

religious ritual. Nevertheless, it would not be difficult for the natives to understand the mood in which the singer is engulfed.

For work. Singing while working is a significant characteristic of African life as a whole. Songs functioned in economic lives of our early people as an aid to cooperative labor. They had songs for nearly all kinds of work. It was not only in Nigeria that this pattern of life was noticeable.

In speaking of the people of Dahomey, Herskovits[9] notes that the members of the cooperative work group "are led to the field where they are to work by a flutist whose shrill notes they can easily follow, for the distance is often great and perhaps not known to some of them. They have drums, gongs and rattles and use these to accompany the songs they sing. The songs themselves are in turn used to emphasize a work rhythm."

An example of work for which musical rhythm was necessary was paddling a canoe. Rhythmic songs were also heard when people were preparing the palm fruits for oil extraction. In fact, history has followed the music of

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[9]William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (Eds.), Continuity and Change in African Cultures (Chicago: The University Press, 1962), pp. 51-52.

Africa into the United States through the slaves. It is reported that the slaves who were brought from Africa used to sing along while working on the plantations. If, on any occasion, the slave master or white taskmaster did not hear them sing while working, he would inquire as to why.[10]

As is the case today, whenever the Nigerians of many years ago worked in their farms—whether it was clearing the field, planting the crops or harvesting—singing was usually heard. And the type of work done could be determined from the type of song echoed through the woods. They had music for all types of work, whether at home or out in the field; songs for hunting and songs for tilling the earth; for paddling the canoe upstream, and following the current downstream; songs for walking and songs for running.

Strange as it may sound, Nigerian (or African culture as a whole) would be void without drums, songs and dance.

For dance and entertainment. "A wedding procession, or merely a parade of singing and dancing people are not uncommon sights."[11] Although this quotation is a present

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[10]William L. Katz, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1968), p. 114.

[11]Nelson Doubleday, et al (Eds.), Encyclopedia of World Travel, Vol. II, p. 1006.

day testimonial description of a city in Nigeria by expatriate eye-witnesses, it is safe to accept that statement to have applied to any Nigerian community a few centuries ago. Without much elaboration, music and dancing have always been inseparably intertwined by all cultures. If we ask the question, "On what occasions did the Nigerians entertain themselves with music and dancing?" then we have a long list to make.

Weddings are already mentioned above, and were usually celebrated with much singing and dancing. Ceremonial songs and dances constituted the central theme of our ancient marriages which were purely and strictly according to traditional native laws and customs.

The birth of a child was also communicated to the community by means of songs and dances. Some of the Ibibio names were (are) derived from songs. Those names (still common today) expressed the importance the parents had attached to music or songs at the time the baby was in the mother's womb, or at the time of birth. The names "Asuquo" or "Asukwo" (male) and "Ikwo" or "Iquo" (female) have this association or meaning.

If by the time the young couple is married, or during the pregnancy period, either the husband or the wife did something that caused his/her name to be sung, the baby automatically gets the above given name when it is born.

Of course, the parents' natural love for music was also a sufficient reason by itself for giving such a name to the baby.

We cannot forget that important traditional festivals were celebrated with songs and dances in the market places, streets and village squares. The feast or festival of the new yam was one such occasion. Deaths and burials were also celebrated with songs and dances. The significant thing here to be borne in mind is that these special songs and dances carried special messages. A member of the group that heard the nature of the songs from a distance did not need to hear or understand the words before realizing exactly what the occasion was.

One cannot honestly talk of music and entertainment without reference to nightclubs. Let us mention at this point that most of the dances--whether of the secret societies or not--were generally practiced during the night in the moonlight. This clearly illustrates that night club entertainment is not a twentieth century phenomenon in Nigeria.

Some of the native plays and dances were exclusively for men. But women and non-members were allowed as spectators during public displays. In certain cases even the men participants had to undergo initiation rites. These types of plays were common among the Efik/Ibibio

group as well as among other linguistic ethnic groups. A partial list of such native plays includes Ekpo Ndem Isong, Eka Ekong, Udo Akan, Ekpo Nyoho, Ibom, Ekpe Obon, Nkakat, Uturekpe and Uqua.

Some of these native dances are still practiced. Talbot[12] mentions one of these—Uturekpe—in his work and calls it "The Sacred Bird Dance."

There are many other plays also in which both sexes participated. Some of them were Oyo, Afiak Eyit and Offiong. Those exclusively for women were Ebre and Ndok Ufok Ebe. It is not the concern of this work to describe these plays or dances. The important thing is to note that each play had its particular types of songs which were easily distinguishable. Each song had some story to tell, an event to describe, or an admonition to impart. At times the dancers were instructed on how to dance by the songs the participants sang. All this goes to strengthen the argument that songs were used as important means of communication.

For lamenting the dead. Experience has taught us that very rarely is the worth of a person outstandingly significant when he is yet alive. As soon as he is dead

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[12]P. Amaury Talbot, Life in Southern Nigeria, op. cit., p. 80.

there is a lot of reflection over his past life, activities, performances, and achievements. In reminiscence of such individual's remarkable contributions toward the welfare and progress of his society, the people would lament his loss by songs that recant his achievements and successes.

To strengthen the memory. Another significant use of songs was to enable the natives to remember a set of many things or events that had a specific order. Since the people could neither read nor write, and perhaps never saw nor had any idea of a book, they had to keep order of things by singing. Generally people tend to remember more when they sing than when they simply try to commit dry verses to memory. The following lines confirm that statement:

> Songs were and are the prime carriers of history among this non-literate folk. In recounting the ritual associated with the giving of offerings to the souls of those who were transported into slavery, this function of song came out with great clarity. The informant at one point could not recall the sequence of important names in the series he was giving. Under his breath, to the accompaniment of clicking finger-nails, he began to sing, continuing his song for some moments. When he stopped, he had the names clearly in mind once more . . . .[13]

From that account, it is easy to see why the non-literate communities depended heavily on songs as a means of both intrapersonal and interpersonal communications.

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[13] William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

Other uses. As we continue to list the uses of songs, we notice many areas of overlapping. For example, a song that ridiculed a thief into repentance was at the same time relaying information about the person guilty of the crime, the nature of the crime itself, where and when it was committed, and sometimes the surrounding circumstances that led to the crime, and how it was discovered.

Songs were also used to warn people against impending danger and to admonish the less thoughtful ones. Such songs were based on previous experiences and past incidents. Group cohesiveness and unflinching patriotic unity was advocated by means of songs. Confession and repentance were made manifest through songs. It was even possible to contract love deals by the use of music and songs. Some types of songs signalled the approach of a new season in their traditional calendar. There were songs for describing the desirable features and characteristics of a model woman, and for condemning flagrant irrationality in a man.

Songs were used for communicating even with the supernatural deities in the belief that songs were capable of driving away the death angel. "Dancing and music are a regular accompaniment (i.e., of pagan funeral feasts in Northern Nigeria), with the intention, no doubt, of driving away death."[14]

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[14]Captain J.R. Wilson-Haffenden, The Red Men of Nigeria, op. cit., p. 305.

It would make a rather unending list to try to enumerate the various communicative uses of music and songs in the pre-colonial days in Nigeria. But one fact must be well noted here, namely, that music had been given such an accentuated importance (and rightly so) that every aspect of a Nigerian culture is fixedly imbedded in music and dancing.

Religion as a Means of Communication

Man's concept of religion is in its entirety a dangerous field for definition. The principal interest of many people in religion is personal and rather individualistic in scope. Thoughts on religion are often bent upon the intellectual and emotional aspects of ethics, values and beliefs. William James[15] asserts in his definition that people are concerned with the feelings, acts and experiences of individual men in their solitude in relation to whatever they consider the divine.

There is, however, some error of omission in that definition. He failed to consider the aspects of religion dealing with the universe, institutions and the society which constitute the major concern of the sociologist whose interest in essence differs from that of the philosopher,

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[15]William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1937), p. 31.

the theologian and the individual psychologist. The sociologist looks at religion as a universal function of the human kingdom. He views religion as an aspect of group behavior, and its role in either advancing or degenerating the existence and survival of human societies.

Man cannot help assuming the universality of religious behavior wherever human lives exist. In fact, time-worn relics of the Neanderthal man have been interpreted by scholars to reveal evidences of religious activities. Ethnology has not yet been able to discover a human group unassociated with one form of religious practices or another. Even though it is not easy to define the universality of religion, it is still an anthropological and an historical truism.

From the above premise, the natives of Nigeria some centuries ago were able to distinguish between sacred and secular things just as we do today. But the degree of emphasis placed upon the various sacred objects varied enormously from group to group. This gave rise to the fact that some groups were noted for worshipping two objects, for example a rock and a tree. An example of a group that worshipped a rock is the clan of Nsit among the Ibibios of South-East State of Nigeria. Their object of worship (or god) was Anyang.

Like any preliterate society, their society was predominated by sacred values. The major features of the preliterate societies of this nature, according to Redfield,[16] were smallness and isolatedness. With a negligible level of technical development and equally little division of labor, the family was their most important institution. With a slow rate of social change, and absence of inter-cultural interaction, specialization of the organization of governmental and economic life was rudimentary.

One thing, however, succeeded to bind the people together. This was religion. All of the members of a particular group shared the only religion of the total group. It therefore followed that membership in the society and in the religious group was synonymous. One can further conclude that their religious organization did not in itself constitute so much a separate institution as an aspect of the total and overall activities of the group as a unit. It was religion that pervaded all other group activities--whether economic, political, recreational or familial.

Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," American Journal of Sociology, January, 1947, pp. 293-308.

In her book, Nottingham[17] comments that a society fitting into this type of description was bound to be sufficiently small in size for most of its customs to be known, at least by hearsay, to all its members. It followed that, *first, religion was in a position to place its sacred* imprint on the value system of the society in a total way.

Second, in the relatively undeveloped state of the other institutions, except the family, religion was likely to provide the principal focus for the integration and cohesion of the society as a whole.

The effect of religion as a means of communication was, therefore, very evident in Nigeria's pre-colonial era. It was religion that put its stamp on the entire socialization process of individuals. And socialization was marked by "religious rituals" at birth, puberty, marriage, other crucial times in the life cycle, and even at death.

Another fact that is easy to realize is that personality organization was closely related to religious values which were directly transmitted to the developing individual by his family and community. Riesman[18] contends

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[17]Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Religion and Society (New York: Random House, Inc., 1954), p. 20.

[18]David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 6. Reprinted as an Anchor Book, 1954.

that this type of society gives rise to the "tradition-directed" character type. In the absence of a variety of possibly competing personality models, especially secular models, religion remained unrivalled as an integrating focus for the personality of individuals in the total group.

Since religion thus far succeeded to give meaning and cohesion to the value system, there is no wisdom in doubting its effectiveness as a communication system in pre-colonial Nigeria.

Clothing and Apparel

The type of material worn and the style of wearing was enough and sufficient to tell an accurate story about the wearer. How the people dressed in preparation for a fight was different from the style used while going to work, and when going to a dance or cultural club meeting. Yet it was the same one piece of dressing material.

Members of a bereaved family had to put on black dresses till the mourning period was over. And the mourning period varied according to how important the deceased was (for example, a chief), and the type of cultural society in which he held membership. It was, of course, very common for a man to belong to more than one cultural society. While performing the funeral rites for

the dead, the other members had to appear in special costumes.

The style of hair cut (for the males) and knitting (for the females) was also a means of relaying information. For example, long hair and long beard on Ibibio men symbolized grief and mourning. Among the Yorubas, married women knitted their hair in a different style from unmarried ones.

Body Marks, Decorations and Make-Up

The early Nigerians were not lacking in sense of beauty. But every type of body beautification had its special message that could not be interpreted by strangers to the group. For example, a young mother within the first six months after giving birth had to use a special ointment or native lotion all over her body all the time. When the baby was over six months old, a different type of lotion would be used.

We are all familiar with the facial marks of some ethnic groups. Of course, strangers to the culture simply see the cut marks on the faces. They don't know that each model of the face cuts tells a different story about the individual, his birth and the cultural group to which he belongs.

It was also common for unmarried girls to decorate their bodies with some chemical substance prepared from the

barks of trees, clay and roots. With this substance their special artists would make or draw certain diagrams or pictures on the bodies of the girls who would ordinarily allow this wet decoration substance to remain on their bodies for one or two days before washing it off. By the time they would wash it off, their bodies would swell along the lines of the decoration design. The Ibibios called this "Okukin" or "Odung."

The point one has to note is that the native members of these communities knew exactly the implications of all these make-ups. This, in effect, was a perfect type of communication without using words. Various examples can be cited from different ethnicities.

Kinetics

Every society has its conventional arm, hand or body signals that they employ in communications when verbal expressions are not used. Some of these signals seem to be standard for all the nations. But, of course, variations still exist when we cross cultural boundaries.

The pre-colonial Nigerians had their kinetic communications which they handed on to posterity. We seem to be all familiar with how to draw somebody's attention or call him to come near if he were at some distance but near enough to see and interpret the hand signal that may be despatched. However, as already hinted, some of these

signals may be confusing to strangers in a particular group. For example, in the United States, it is a common practice for people (particularly the fair sex) to smile at the people with whom greetings are exchanged. To Nigerians (and perhaps many other cultures) such smiles are often misinterpreted to mean an old acquaintance that is really familiar and wants to hold a brief conference with the person she is greeting. There is sufficient preponderance of reports that many times the strangers thus greeted would pause in some amazement or surprise, and believing that the girl is a familiar person, would ask her "Where did we meet before?"[19] This means that the early Nigerians did not use such a system of greetings or salutation, and therefore the present day Nigerians are not familiar with it.

Another instance of variation arises when an American would beckon at a person with one finger to get near to him. To a Nigerian this one-finger signal means calling a dog or any creature less than human. But rather,

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[19]In the first few months of the author's stay in the United States, he asked more than six girls this or a similar question before he realized that it was the custom of the U.S. girls to smile while exchanging greetings. Another friend who was from Liberia (another country in West Africa) was in the United States for the first time to attend the same school and also reported asking girls similar questions.

a Nigerian would beckon at the subject with the whole hand instead of one finger.

The Nigerians do not prefer calling or drawing the attention of a person by whistling at him which is common and acceptable in American society, and perhaps in many other cultures. To Nigerians this would imply that the subject is deaf. And, in fact, he would not respond unless he intends to retaliate for such indignity by fighting.

It is possible to prolong the list of similar or other kinetic signals likely to be misinterpreted by different cultures. This establishes a fact that our forefathers in Nigeria had their conventional kinetic signals which they transmitted from one generation to another.

The last of kinetic signals worthy of mention here is how they expressed fits of violent anger against their equals. An angry person abusing, humiliating, and challenging his antagonist to a duel in the public to determine the stronger of the two would accomplish that purpose by simply shaking and stretching both fists towards his opponent. He did not have to touch the opponent, nor say anything to him. Such a gesture was enough to explode into a bitter or fierce fight, depending on how the other side responded to the invitation.

Physical Elements

It was not unusual to use natural or physical elements for communications. Things commonly used in this group were leaves and branches of the oil palm tree. For example, the leaves of the oil palm tree were used to serve summons to accused people in very serious offenses, just as the courts today serve summons papers to accused persons. However, the difference is that nothing was written on those leaves.

If a young man from a household was accused of a very serious offense, the village chief or duly authorized executives would despatch a special messenger with those leaves (at times one) to the father or household head with explanation that he was ordered to bring his young man for trial on a specified day. This signified that the elders in the family groups were actually serving as overseers of conduct for the youths, and were held as their bailees in cases of grave misconduct.

Certain leaves tied around the foot of a fruit tree, the coconut palm, or a tapped palm wine tree signified that an ally had visited the compound and had used or plucked some of the fruits in the absence of the legal owner. As soon as the occupants of the compound would be back home to notice that sign, they would immediately understand what had happened and would not be offended in any way.

It was equally possible to forbid the public from entering a certain section of the public woods and arable land, or tampering with certain fruit trees, by simply displaying branches and leaves of certain bushes in some special manner along the forbidden area, or at the foot of the forbidden tree. A stiff penalty for civil disobedience was the fate of anybody who would dare ignore such warnings.

In modern traffic we have "Stop" signs, "One Way," "Do Not Enter," etc. Similarly, our early Nigerians used available physical natural elements to warn people about where to stand or sit when assembling in the market places, village squares and other public places. They could even use these materials to announce to the passers-by that certain specific meetings were to be held at designated spots.

From the above analysis, it is not hard to realize how seriously the children at their early age studied the names and uses of certain trees, grass or shrubs, just as the young Americans would take pains in learning to read their freeway maps.

Other Symbolic Gestures

There were many other ways by which the people could express their wishes, desires, intentions or minds without using words. A glaring example was in domestic

affairs. In many cases, a man who was extremely angry with his wife, would refuse to eat the food prepared by such a wife. If the offense alleged to be committed by the wife was such that divorce was contemplated—and cases of divorce were unbelievably rare—the man could follow up his anger by symbolically breaking any of her cooking utensils or household belongings. It could be a spoon,[20] a pot or anything.

More examples of symbolic gestures can be cited. But let it suffice that Nigerians of centuries ago were very successful in communicating within their isolated enclaves. Since travelling and diffusion with other cultures were relatively non-existent, communication problems were neither magnified nor alarming.

III. COMMUNICATIONS DURING THE COLONIAL REGIME: 1860 - 1960

Had the slave trade not ushered the Europeans into the interior of Africa, it should have taken much longer for cultural mix and integration to show itself in Nigeria. As it was brought out in the preceding pages, the natives were contented and satisfied with how each culture existed in isolation and unadulterated with foreignism. But when

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[20]Spoons of those days were made of wood; and wooden spoons are not even difficult to be found today.

the foreign explorers, exploiters,[21] and scrambling colonizers invaded the continent, the "dismantlement of traditional society occurred in different ways, military, political, social and economic."[22]

As various circumstances drove people across their native cultural boundaries, there was an inescapable need for a multi-cultural communication system to develop. Some natives followed the course of inter-tribal wars and wound up living among strangers. Others accompanied the early Europeans--the merchants, missionaries, and mercenaries (the three M's)[23]--across their cultural boundaries. Yet a third group undertook personal expeditions on their own into other regions. In all these and many other instances, one could not avoid cross-cultural relationship whose foundation was communication.

Use of Language

The first and most important connecting instrument was the spoken language. All the parties involved had to start learning the foreign language applicable in their lines of transaction. Some would obviously exert more

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[21] Sunday Umoh, "The Disenchantment of African Countries over the Attitude of the Super-Powers," Unpublished paper, 1970, pp. 21-22.

[22] Basil Davidson, Which Way Africa? (Great Britain: C. Nicholls and Company, Ltd., 1964), p. 37.

[23] Sunday Umoh, op. cit., p. 13.

effort in learning the foreign tongue than others, depending on who is in the minority. For instance, if a Yoruba man happened to find himself living among the Hausaa, it became necessary for him to learn the Hausa, while the Hausas on their land would not bother about the Yoruba language.

In his frantic effort to make himself understood, the learner would interject his native language into the foreign one in instances where he did not know the right word in the foreign language. In fact, some sentences would be completely in his native language, thus making it absolutely impossible for the host natives to understand except by inference or association. If an individual continued to use the same unintelligible expression repeatedly, it eventually became his nickname. This phenomenon was rather significant in respect of the early Europeans.

Among the Efiks and Ibibios, the nickname for the European merchants who tried to communicate directly with the natives was "Me-ni-co-sy."[24] It was not only between

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[24]This nickname was coined from the question that the Europeans liked to ask the illiterate natives whenever they went out for petty shopping. If they wanted to buy something like fruits, they would try to simplify matters by asking, "How many: cost?" The natives would imitate them until they finally used the expression as a nickname to identify the European merchants.

the natives and the "white man" that nicknames based on the language evolved. Also between one ethnic group and the next, similar situations evolved. The Ibos referred to the Efiks and Ibibios as "Mongho"; and the Ibibios in turn referred to the Ibos as "uneghe." All these nicknames evolved from how the language of one group sounded to the other. The same pattern applies to all other ethnic groups.

However, travelling across regional and cultural boundaries increased with each passing day. The need to understand each others' languages grew also in intensity as means of transportation improved. The British Government representatives, traders and missionaries quartered themselves in all parts of Nigeria. Various treaties were signed with the prominent political heads in the various regions until Nigeria officially became a British colony in 1861, although the amalgamation of the "Northern and Southern Protectorates" into a single unit as we have today did not take place until 1914.[25]

Partial List of Native Languages

In order to justifiably accept or reject the allegation that there are about 250 languages spoken in the

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[25]See Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria, op. cit., Chapters 8-10; also C.R. Niven, A Short History of Nigeria (London: 1937).

country, it was necessary to contact[26] the twelve states for an official list of languages and dialects in each. If all the states had complied with this request, it should be possible to present a complete list of the languages in this research. But unfortunately, only eight of the states supplied the desired information.

The following table shows the names of the eight states and the number of languages and dialects in each. The names of the different languages are shown in the Appendix, orderly tabulated according to the states.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS[27]
(PARTIAL LIST) IN EACH STATE

States	No. of Languages	No. of Dialects
South-eastern	3	43
Rivers	4	19
East Central	1	3
North Central	8	11
Western	6	16
Kwara	5	15
Northwestern	15	27
Northeastern	15	26
8 States	57	160

[26]A letter requesting this information was initially mailed out to the states in October, 1970 (see the copy in the Appendix). Some of the states responded in time while others did not. Early in January, 1971, a reminder was sent to all those states that did not respond before; a few more replies came. It is rather disappointing that up till now, March 29, 1971, four states still have not responded. That is why this list is partial.

[27]In columns where languages were shown without dialects, a dialect was accounted for in respect of each

Some of the eight states represented in the above table have admitted in their explanatory letters that their lists are not exhaustive. Nevertheless, it is easy to conclude that Nigeria certainly has about 250 dialects but less than 100 languages. The audience is now reminded that language and dialect are different things.

Some Nigerian Languages Classified by Renowned Authors[28]

The diversities of the numerous languages spoken in Nigeria tend to confuse not only the native speakers but also many renowned scholars of Linguistics from foreign lands. The fact that they seldom agree in how they classify these languages testifies convincingly to this assertion. To show their position in this respect, the following table is presented as illustrated in the work of Pierre Alexandre.[29]

Since these languages belong to certain groups, our table also shows some other West African countries that share the same language groups.

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language thus indicated because every language by itself is automatically a dialect. English--whether grammatical or pidgin--is excluded from this list because English is not a Nigerian native language.

[28]These authors are Delafosse, Greenberg and Westermann. In the table they are designated by the Letters D, G, and W, respectively.

[29]Pierre Alexandre, Langues et Langage en Afrique Noire (Payot, Paris: 1967), pp. 16-24.

TABLE VI

LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Language Group	Where Spoken	Classification by Scholars
Bini-Edo (Benin-Edo)	West African Guinea (Nigeria-Midwest)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Kwa W: Kwa
Efik/Ibibio (Calabar)	W.A. Guinea (Eastern Nigeria)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Benue-Congo W: Isolated: non-classified
Hausa (haoussa)	W.A. Sudan (Northern Nigeria, Niger)	D: Niger-Tchad G: Afro-Asiatic W: Tchad-hamitic
Ibgo (Ibo)	W.A. Guinea (Eastern Nigeria)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Kwa W: Kwa
Kanuri (Kanouri, Bornouan)	Central Africa (Northern Nigeria, Niger and Tchad)	D: Nilo-Tchad G: Nilo-Saharan W: Interior Sudan
Nupe (Noupe)	W.A. Sudan (Northern Nigeria)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Kwa W: Kwa
Peul (ful, fula, falani, tor)	Central W.A. (Eastern Sudan, Central Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, N. Nigeria, Cameroun)	D: Senegal-Guinea G: West Atlantic W: West Atlantic
Songhai (Sonray, Songhai, dial, Jerma, dendi)	W.A. (Eastern Sudan, Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Northern Dahomey, N. Nigeria)	D: Niger-Senegal G: Nilo-Saharan W: Songhai

TABLE VI (Continued)

Language Group	Where Spoken	Classification by Scholars
Tiv (Munshi)	W.A. (Sudan-Guinea, N. Nigeria, round the Benue River)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Benue-Congo W: Isolated class language
Yoruba (Yorouba, Yoruba)	W.A. Guinea (W. Nigeria, Dahomey, Togo)	D: Niger-Camerounian G: Kwa W. Kwa

The above table,[30] of course, does not treat all the languages in Nigeria; but it has succeeded in tabulating the major groups. It may be here noted that in The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of Southeast Nigeria, Daryll Forde and G.I. Jones class Efik/Ibibio as Sudanic of the semi-Bantu group.

English as Official Language

Before the British officially undertook the administration of Nigeria as their colony, they realized the multiplicity of languages and the cultural diversities

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[30]See also Joseph Greenberg, Languages of Africa (La Haye, 1963); Essays in Linguistics (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957); M. Delafosse in Meillet A. et Cohen M., Les Langes du Monde, 2nd Edition (Paris, 1948); D. Westermann et M.A. Bryan, Languages of West Africa (London: International African Institute, 1952); D. Westermann and Ida Ward, Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages (London: International African Institute, Oxford University Press, 1964).

in the country. As their first step in unifying the country, they decided that there must be only one official language--English. Although the choice of English has been logical and defensible on many grounds, it has not been totally accepted without criticism.

One point of view is that the British were rather reluctant and lazy to learn a foreign language. This typifies a case in which the minority (colonizers) imposes its will upon the majority (the colonized) without any opposition. A second view holds that the British aimed at a complete annihilation of Nigerianism and its bedrock culture.

On the other hand, the adoption of English has been defended on many grounds, even by Nigerians as we shall see in the Appendix. One support upholds the theory that the master is always greater than the servant. Since the British were the "masters" over the colonies, things had to go their way. A second view points out that no Nigerian language was in a technical publication in those days. Nobody was adequately competent to teach any of the languages. Therefore, it was logical to use English which had already fulfilled the above requirements. Thirdly, if any native language were to be chosen in preference to the rest, it would have raised vehement resentment among the citizens. Nevertheless, irrespective of the "pros or cons"

arguments, English has been used as the official language ever since the colonization of the country.

Grammar or Pidgin?

Needless reiterating that the use of English as official language does not imply that every citizen automatically becomes an English speaker. As a foreign language, English is taught in the school. This is the English spoken according to the rules of grammar as opposed to Pidgin English (see definitions). Those who were not fortunate enough to go to school would prefer to communicate in their native languages. But travelling had facilitated contact with strangers. Therefore, the use of English became inescapable; and the Pidgin English came into effect.

Whether grammatical English or Pidgin, the important thing is understanding. And this has not been very easy. These two forms of English are so different that a university graduate who has never lived in a crowded city where Pidgin English is the trade language[31] would find it difficult to communicate with the petty traders and non-literate associates. Even though we may think of English

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[31]Trade language in this context refers to the popular Pidgin English in the streets, and in the markets and local stores operated by private entrepreneurs.

as the official language, we can clearly understand that this situation had added not one, but two, additional languages to the list already prevalent. The only technical reason that may exclude pidgin from the list is the fact that "every language (perhaps with the exception of ex-novo creations like standard Norwegian or modern Hebrew, but apparently not excluding the pidgins) has an infinite ancestry of earlier and earlier stages."[32] Pidgin in Nigeria has no history earlier than the arrival of the "white man."

Paradoxically, only grammatical English, but not pidgin, is the country's official language, even though both of them trace their origin to the arrival of, and contact with, the English speaking colonial westocrats.

One cannot, of course, help admiring how fluently the non-literate folks (both male and female) speak the pidgin. A classical example was registered when a magazine correspondent interviewed a certain woman at Aba a few months after the end of the Nigerian Civil War. "With tears pouring down her face," Veronica convinced the correspondent of her bitterness towards the educated people (she calls them the book people) for having caused the war for which the innocent poor people suffered the most.

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[32]Joseph H. Greenberg, Universals of Language (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 33.

> Look at me at 24. My husband done die. I get his pickin for hand and I no know how I go feed am, not to talk say How I go sen'am go school. The thing been say that all these book people with big big talk, na them they cause us trouble for this country. Na them tell us say be one Nigeria. Na them talk, talk, so te, them begin fight. Then they come tell us again say not to be one Nigeria again. Then we begin follow them. For me, I done tire for everything. The thing been say this Nigeria no go better until all the book people begin think of we poor people and not of them own alone. All the one when them talk for radio say no Ojukwu cause war na nonsense. Na the book people, na them cause war--the book people for Lagos and Enugu. But look who done suffer. Na we poor people when no know book, when all we want na be make we get little chop to chop and make we take care of our pickin.[33]

There is no doubt that if "Veronica" suddenly found herself in the company of a college graduate who has never lived in a crowded city where pidgin is the commonest language, both of them would face an acute communication problem for one would not understand the other. Such is the relationship between the official English and the pidgin English. Needless to stress that the literate class is not as fluent with pidgin as the non-literate city dwellers.

The Schools

If the colonial regime brought anything good, it was the school. To establish and maintain an efficient system of communication the colonial masters were quick to realize

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[33]Anonymous, "Was It All Ojukwu's Fault?" Drum: Africa's Leading Magazine, June 1970, p. 5.

the necessity of teaching their language to their subjects. Schools were built. Nigerians began to study not only the English language, but also the grammar of the native languages. It was also quite feasible for the students to study the languages of other ethnic groups. The Nigerians soon incorporated a strange cultural means of communication, namely writing, into the systems that already existed prior to colonization.

Instead of waiting at a destination to verbally deliver a message, a little written note left at the door was enough. Instead of relaying a message by the drum from one village to another, the postal service did the job. It was possible to have representatives from various ethnic groups confer at a designated location by a given time through writing. But how these delegates would act and react among themselves was another question. Writing and reading the same type of letters, or attending the same conference, would not blend the cultural diversities into oblivion. Rather, it can be observed that the drawing of people nearer together across cultural boundaries as a consequence of education helped to accentuate the differences and cultural problems. The more familiar one is with a group of people, the more one knows of their peculiar characteristics and points of differences. This situation can lead to problems which could have been otherwise avoided.

The colonization of all the peoples of Nigeria in the name of one country can be seen to have demonstrated this situation to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it introduced a foreign system of communication into the country. Those learned in the art of speaking English served as a connecting link between the colonial masters and the masses of the people.

The Non-Verbals

The colonial era did not set out to destroy the primitive ways of communication. All it did was to introduce a new system and facilitated cross-cultural mixing on a wide scale. There was no calculated advocacy of doing away with the peculiar systems that existed in the various sections. However, some features were really common, for instance, the drum which could be used for various purposes, including maintenance of order in a public gathering.[34]

With various languages, of course, things were not known by the same names. The variegated geographical factors added to this complication. As can be expected, the vegetation changes as the land stretches from the Atlantic Coast towards the great Sahara. This implies that a traveler from one region to another would often

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[34]Chinua Achebe, Things Fall Apart (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1970), pp. 72-82.

find himself in a precarious position of not knowing the messages transmitted through the use of local, natural physical elements; for instance, the leaves and branches of certain trees. He, in fact, would not even realize what is actually taking place unless informed of it. And how could he get the information if he could not understand the language of the informant?

Influence of Colonialism

Was it only in the opening of schools and in the teaching of the English language that the "white" influence was felt? The answer is "No!" It is very easy to pin point at least four lines of influence of colonialism upon the natives' communication system: (1) certain customs were completely obliterated; (2) foreign ideas, customs (including religion), and utensils (material culture) of European origin were introduced; (3) many ethnic groups that never before had contact with one another were brought into face-to-face confrontation; and (4) to a great extent, the little cross-cultural contact that might have existed in some areas was greatly stimulated through political and governmental theories.

These situations, of course, were not unique to Nigeria. Writing about the "influence of the whites on

Winnebago culture," Herskovits[35] observes similar situations. Even though changes were rejected in some aspects of the native laws and customs, the people, however, were not too slow in incorporating the newly learned foreign signs and symbols into their communication system. A glaring example could be seen in the painting, drawing or marking of the sign of the cross at the foot (or on the stem) of a fruit tree to indicate that nobody should tamper with the fruits of the tree thus marked until that sign was removed. The cross sign, no doubt, was introduced by Christianity.

Similarly, entering a certain section of the public land could be prohibited by exhibiting little crosses made of local materials along the forbidden area. We have to recall that these prohibitions were communicated by the use of certain leaves and branches of trees before the advent of Christianity. It is, therefore, interesting to note that the "Cross" which came with the colonial religion did not only communicate a place or house of worship, but also a law or an order not to do certain things. Definitely, it was not the white man that taught his colonial converts this use of the cross. But how it evolved remains to be explored.

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[35] M.J. Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1938), pp. 53-54.

In the practice of regional governments, one group had the opportunity to confront the other. The attendance would comprise people speaking more than one or two native languages, and having different cultural sets of values. English would be the official language for recorded deliberations; but in private consultations, each group would flock together to discuss their proposals and solutions. Soon what was discussed in small sectional groups would feature in a majority-minority vote. Many times a rather brilliant proposal or motion would die in favor of its less brilliant alternative, depending on the count of the majority votes.

This sounds sophisticated enough for the theory of democratic government. But as one analyzes the votes, something noteworthy stands out. Nearly all the delegates speaking the same language would vote one way, while the other group speaking a different native language (representative of a different cultural background) would vote the other. The majority, therefore, is nothing other than the linguistic group majority in the assembly. In this respect, the communication by a foreign political theory accentuates internal majority-minority problems which led to the incorporation of the word "minorities" in the *Nigerian Constitution.*[36]

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[36]Oluwole I. Odumosu, The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1963), p. 4.

While colonialism still prevailed, each linguistic group jealously preserved its total identity. Great resentment would erupt at any suggestion of having the smaller groups absorbed, or administered, by a larger group. The fear of domination increased so much tension that a Minorities Commission was set up by the British in 1957 to study the situation, give a report and make recommendations. The Commission found in each region minorities who were apprehensive of the future under the rule of the majority groups.[37]

Effects on Native Laws and Customs

In a direct way, colonialism and colonization was not to interfere with the native laws and customs. Rather, they were really upheld by the medium of "Indirect Rule" government in which the chiefs, emirs or local authorities served as a go-between for the masses and the government. But on the other hand, the schools were founded on Christian principles—a fact already elucidated in the early portion of this work. Even though the government agencies and the Christian religion were separate and distinct establishments, their relationship was not hard to find. At least the

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[37] Ibid., p. 241. Also see Report by the Resumed Nigeria Constitutional Conference, held in London in September and October, 1958 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office).

representatives of both organizations shared the same cultural heritage and background.

Looking at the natives as "heathens and pagans," the Christian churches and schools taught them to "repent" and forsake "idolatory and superstition" of their forefathers. Marriage ceremonies conducted only according to native laws and customs—though recognized by the natives—were not recognized by the churches. To gain the church's approval, one had to wed in the church. Polygamy which was an acceptable practice was condemned by these foreign churches. Even though the government law was directly silent in this respect (not interfering with native laws and customs), yet the government records would in many cases recognize one wife for a man. This was a direct government collaboration with the religionists. Religious communication, therefore, had to take the form approved by these foreigners, at least in theory.

This is not to say that there was no resistance. As a matter of fact, some resistance to this foreign principle of morality (both in marriages and other aspects of life) is still evident today, perhaps in a rather hypocritical way. Awolowo[38] frankly makes this assertion:

> Indigenous religious beliefs and practices, which, to a great extent, are still resistant to the

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[38]Obafemi Awolowo, Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution (Ibadan: The Caxton Press (West Africa), Ltd., 1966), p. 24.

> proselytizing influences of Christianity and Mohammedanism, vary not only from one ethnic group to another, but also sometimes within each national group. In this connexion, it must be confessed that Christian and Moslem beliefs and practices are, with many a Nigerian, nothing but veneers and social facades: at heart and in the privacy of their lives, most Nigerian Christians and Moslems are heathens and animists.

The heterogeneity of the peoples and cultures in Nigeria tended to induce in the various ethnic groups a gargantuan desire for a separate existence from one another. These are the factors which, according to Awolowo,[39] "if they had not been restrained and skilfully canalized by the British, would have led to the emergence of several independent sovereign states[40] in the place of the one Nigeria we now have."

Let us not deny the British the credit for having sublimated these natural desires and tendencies towards separate existence and showering the various ethnic groups with the concept of peaceful co-existence under the canopy of ONE NIGERIA. Perhaps they were committed to the proposition that "it is by the intermingling of cultures that

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[39] Ibid., p. 25.

[40] Awolowo wrote this book before the Nigerian Civil War broke out in which the rebel leader, Ojukwu, advocated the secession of "Biafra" from Nigeria. And even the solution of the conflict rested in the creation of many states in the country following, more or less, their cultural boundaries.

civilization develops."[41] Regarding the imperialist motives here as irrelevant, we can see in this perspective how the work of Christianizing and civilizing the natives was accomplished.

IV. THE INDEPENDENCE ERA: 1960 - 1971

With the attainment of independence on the first day of October, 1960, Nigeria has just completed its first decade of independent sovereignty. This is a fact already adumbrated in the early pages of this work.

The right to formulate and carry out governmental policies, to make and execute laws, to penalize the guilty and exonerate the unculpables, and to unify all the cultures in their diversities without the dictates of strangers or outsiders raises a few important questions. What has become of the numerous sectional communication systems that existed prior to this period? Which groups have salvaged (or are willing to salvage) their linguistic or cultural birthrights in favor of others? How have the present ruling elites and the intellectuals utilized these diversities to an optimum advantage? What improvements or set-backs have been perceived in the field of communications?

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[41] Peter Judd, African Independence (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1963), p. 169.

And what criteria are used for measuring the progress or lack of it? The author addresses himself to a critical analysis of these and similar or related questions in the paragraphs that follow.

The Fate of the Numerous Systems

The attainment of independence did not limit, but rather expanded, the systems already in existence. More contact with surrounding cultures resulted in incorporation of other systems into the indigenous ones, depending on the degree of appreciation by the individuals concerned. Perhaps a few illustrations and examples will make this expansion clearer.

Let us consider the death rituals and funeral ceremonies. Prior to Western influence, the death of a chief or an important man was communicated by the use of drums as already discussed. When the white man came with his guns, it was possible, and regarded more dignifying, to fire gun shots in the midst of drumming to announce the death of a great man. Of course, the guns came in the colonial era. After independence, it became used more extensively. Gun salutes, instead of drums, continue to be more widely used today.

After burying the dead man, all that could be done was to build a mud hut over the grave. The thatched roof and the mud walls of the hut were to be kept in constant

repairs, otherwise the huts would vanish with heavy rains. These huts in Ibibio were called Nnwommo. Today it is possible to identify where anybody had been buried by the use of a cement funeral sculpture[42] which requires no yearly repairs. This shows an advancement in a non-verbal communication machinery.

It is not only in funeral affairs that one notices this sophistication in cultural communication expansion. Marriages are also affected by modernization. Many years ago, marriage ceremonies were culturally inflexible. What was expected of the bridegroom remained a sine qua non within each culture concerned. Today there is a change. The bride price can now be settled in terms of money. On the front page of a recent Nigerian newspaper[43] we find written in block capitals, "BRIDE PRICE CONTROLLED: Spinster—£10."[44] This publication, however, does not refer to the country as a whole.[45]

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[42]Vincent P. Butler, "Cement Funeral Sculpture in Eastern Nigeria," Nigeria Magazine, No. 77, June 1963, p. 117.

[43]Sunday Times, November 1, 1970.

[44]£1 (one pound of Nigerian money) equals $2.80. Therefore, ten pounds (£10) is approximately $28.00 by U.S. money.

[45]The newspaper went on to explain it as a law enacted, and having effect only in Daura Emirate in the North Central State. By that law, the dowry to be paid on behalf of a widow or a divorcee is five pounds ($14.00), one-half of what is paid to marry a spinster.

How could this information or notice be relayed to the general public many years ago? Probably by a town-crier beating his little loud drum or gong through the streets. Certainly, he would be broadcasting in their native language, and the non-natives would be at sea as to this cultural change or modification. But today, by the use of writing and a widely used language, the people of that constituency have succeeded to communicate with people who have never been in any part of Africa.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the psychological questions raised by this law. How does a woman (spinster, widow or divorcee) from the Daura Emirate compare herself with her counterparts in other parts of the Federation where either no such laws are passed, or the bride price is traditionally much higher? Are these girls to be regarded outside this province as inferior breeds to other girls? What has happened to their ego? If the parents of this jurisdiction expect more money from their sons-in-law, do they have to move out and live elsewhere? Generally, the Nigerian culture tends to bind people--particularly men--to their places of birth. Even if one's place of employment is hundreds of miles away, one is still a registered member of his native community or village.

Once again it is easy to conjecture that cultural diversities, though tempered with modernization, may in some cases still be pregnant with unpleasant effects.

The transition from colonialism to independence did not, and was not intended to, destroy the native laws and customs. Even when Nigerians apply modern apparatuses, tools and equipment in the course of their traditional employment, they still communicate their activities in accordance with traditional decorum. Dr. Ene[46] makes this observation:

> Certain taboos are associated with the silk degumming process. In Ondo area, a woman cooking silk must not sleep with a man that night. Again, visiting adult males are not allowed near the pot, as they might have had sexual intercourse, which must not be associated with the process in any way.

Cultural modernization has also featured prominently in clothing materials, costumes and fashion. "Among the Owerri, Ngwa, Bende, and Arochukwu people, an attire which is a cross between the traditional and Western has been evolved and is popular with the modern young man."[47] In practising war dances today, guns are used along with bows and arrows and clubs. The use of guns, in short, signifies a cultural modernization. While the Nigerians are admittedly clinging fast to their traditional cultures, they have significantly adulterated them with what was imbibed from the colonial lords.

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[46]Dr. J. Chunwike Ene, "Indigenous Silk-Weaving in Nigeria," Nigeria Magazine, No. 81, June 1964 (Lagos, Nigeria), p. 128.

[47]Nigeria Magazine, No. 78, September 1963, p. 168.

In his eloquent assertion, Mphahlele[48] amplifies that "the educated man in Nigeria and Ghana, for all his possessive pride in native dress, foods, and customary behavior patters, and years of indirect rule through chiefs notwithstanding, is Westernized." In spite of the high standard of diffusing the native with Western or other foreign culture, there is every evidence that the indigenous cultures still survive the one hundred years of colonial tutelage and the past decade of independent autonomy.

Which Groups Have Fallen Victims?

There have always been talks of the minorities in all regions resisting majority domination. Sometimes such cases tend to magnify themselves into national alarms in support of the thesis that "the territorial nature of man is genetic and ineradicable."[49]

The occasional struggles, disputes, disagreements and conflicts between the minorities and the majorities, minorities and minorities, or majorities and majorities, cannot, of course, be ruthlessly interpreted as an attempt by one group to completely exterminate the other. There is

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[48]Ezekiel Mphahlele, The African Image (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962), p. 63.

[49]Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative, op. cit., p. 116.

nothing truer about human nature than the fact of greed and selfishness. Between a husband and his wife, one brother and the next, between a woman and her daughter, or in whatever situation of intimate relationships—acts of selfishness are not uncommon. It is, therefore, not inconceivable that this frailty in humanity should once in a while manifest itself in group sentiments.

At the other end of the spectrum is jealousy which is always swift to impeach selfishness. Thus the human society must periodically face problems involving the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, or the majority and the minority. This is not to say that he that is oppressed should not struggle for his right. Everybody has that inalienable right to happiness, freedom, liberty and self-determination; and above all, the right to be heard. When the minority groups in Nigeria struggle or hold a heated dispute against their majority neighbors it is because they feel that the majorities, by virtue of their number, are about to deprive them of their rights. If such deprivations were allowed or ignored, then the minorities would see it as a prelude to a complete and deliberate majority domination.

However, instances are not rare when the minorities cannot always get what they rightly deserve. After all, that is an inescapable weakness of democratic rule. Take the system of broadcasting the national news in Nigeria,

for example. After giving the news in English, further broadcasts are done in the three dominant languages--Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo. But the national revenue for operating the radio system comes from every taxable person. It is this type of a situation that tends to make the minority groups victims of advanced civilization.

Collectively and in principles the present era emphasizes complete accommodation of all ethnic groups on equal basis in all matters pertaining to effective government and general welfare of the entire citizenry. But when matters reach the state of being voted upon as emphasized by democracy, it is the individuals that vote. And these individuals represent their groups--both the majority and the minority. Suppose a proposition or a motion is such that would favor the minority area more than the majority. The outcome of the vote is obvious. The motion will die.

It is not unreasonable to expect that appointments to high offices of the land occasionally undergo this process. The obvious result is the dissatisfaction of the minorities. One may not, of course, limit this pattern of life to only Nigeria. It exists everywhere including the United States where votes in the legislature favor equal opportunities for all, including, but not limited to, the rights of the black people (or minorities) to rent houses and live where they choose. Yet very paradoxically, the

same people that voted favorably for the motion would rarely (if ever) agree to have a minority neighbor. To them integration of the races is all right provided it starts "across the street."

In this connection, it takes no pains for a critic to see how certain laws and modes of life are simply good and feasible only in theory and principles but not in practice. Those who experience this type of social wrong done to them cannot help generating strong anti sentiments against the oppressing or dominating majorities. Thus group cohesion and unflinching allegiance to one's ethnicity seems an automatic means of redress or escape for the minorities thus affected, and as an instrument of political power for the fortunate majority.

An example will probably help to make this point clearer. During the Regional Government in Eastern Nigeria, the location of "Modern Ceramics Factory"[50] at Umuahia, and the fishery industry at Aba[51] caused a heated argument between the Ibos (majority) and the non-Ibos (minorities). The two cities cited above are in Ibo land; but the bulk

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[50] Facts About Nigeria: Industrial Development (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information, 1963), p. 11.

[51] Industrial Directory, 4th Edition (Lagos: Published for the Federal Ministry of Industries by the Federal Ministry of Information, Nigerian National Press, Ltd., Apapa, 1967).

of the raw materials necessary for these industries come from the minorities who claimed that the two sites were selected on the basis of Ibo majority votes in the legislature. They claimed that in justice and in fariness, the factories should have been located as close as possible to the sources of raw material. It does not, therefore, require any verbal magic to let the audience realize how unbridled commitment to ethnic group solidarity can freeze common sense and derail the path of justice.

Many have asked whether it would not be advisable for the minority group members to learn the language and the culture of the majority group and get completely acculterated so as to reap the benefits (if any) of belonging to the majority class. Since the color of the skin is not the basis of differentiation in Nigeria, some outsiders are inclined to hold this view. However, it must be emphasized that the geographical situs of where each group inhabits is immovable. This implies that the above recommendation would be an exercise in futility.

In fact, some people refuse to participate in any affinal relationship that is cross-cultural in demonstration of their loyalty and dedication to their ethnicity. Dr. Odumosu[52] was equally cognizant of this fact when he

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[52]O.I. Odumosu, The Nigerian Constitution, op. cit., p. 4.

wrote: "Intermarriage among the various groups is by no means frequent." After all, very rarely and in extreme circumstances do human beings forego their birthrights. This includes cultural heritage. In such a perspective we can see how tenaciously each group has clung fast to, is clinging to, and will continue to cling to its cultural birthrights even if bitterness is experienced from the majority neighbors.

The stage for this separateness was actually consolidated, not without justifiable reasons, by the colonial regime. The policy of the colonial rule, it must be remembered, was that of non-interference with native laws and customs. This atmosphere was basically instrumental to the Northern Region desiring not to have any dealings with the Southern Region. Ezera[53] reminds us of the fact that the two administrations--northern and southern--were so antagonistic that they, in fact, carried their separateness even to the point of building competing railway systems. The southern administration had earlier built the Lagos-Minna railway line in order to attract the trade of what it considered its northern hinterland to Lagos. But the northern administration, ostensibly to put the Lagos-Minna

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[53]Kalu Ezera, Constitutional Developments in Nigeria (Cambridge: The University Press, 1960), p. 16.

railway line out of business, built the Minna-Baro railway line in order to use the Niger waterway for carrying the produce of the north to the sea.[54]

While one rejoices at the success of amalgamating the north and the south, one has to pay tribute to Sir Bernard Bourdillon.[55] He was the one who successfully convinced the Emirs of Northern Nigeria of the desirability, expediency and advisability of joining the southerners in a Legislative Council.[56]

Nevertheless, irrespective of our present unity in diversity, the identities of the various ethnic groups that existed prior to the era of colonization, and during the colonial period, are still recognized today in this age of independence.

To What Extent Have the Diversities Been Utilized?

To answer this question, attention must be turned to the activities and policies of the social, political and economic elites. As a group they constitute what may aptly

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[54]The details of this railway competition can be read from E.D. Morel, Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems, 3rd Edition (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1968).

[55]Bourdillon 1883-1948; Served in Indian Civil Service 1908-1917; Iraq, 1921-1927; Colonial and Chief Secretary Ceylon 1929-1932; Governor of Uganda 1932-1935; Governor of Nigeria 1935-1943.

[56]Sir Bernard Bourdillon, "Nigeria's New Constitution," United Empire, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 78.

be termed the "ruling class." The ruling class in this respect has no reference to the caste system--a term which applies to only a small (or no) percentage of the population in some African societies; but in others, it encompasses the entire society as the major system of organization.[57] Irrespective of their heredities, the elites of today are those responsible for the formulation of the policies by which the governed are governed. It is in this light that this work refers to them as the ruling class in Nigeria.

Attempts to accommodate and utilize all the cultures in their diversities to an optimum advantage have overshadowed Nigeria's recent social history and political thought. The instrument looked upon as the most effective is education. Education is not limited to only the calculation of mathematical figures, the quoting of the complete works of Shakespeare, the studying of the solar bodies or the heavenly planets in the high ethereal region, or the cramming of history of one revolution to another. It covers more grounds and extends to the study of the cultures of our neighbors. Schools afford one of the (if not the only) best places for informal understanding of others' cultures.

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[57]Arthur Tuden and Leonard Plotnicov (Eds.), Social Stratification in Africa (New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 3-11.

As students attend schools in other regions, they learn to appreciate the cultures of the host region. The educational policy is, therefore, geared to facilitate and encourage school attendance in any region of one's choice. The opportunity of Christians and Moslems to study together convinces each of the other's abilities and virtues. This results in the consolidation of the faith in the proposition that freedom of worship and religious tolerance are necessary ingredients for the happiness of a nation. Statistically presented, the following table shows the picture of how the population is distributed in terms of religion.

TABLE VII

NIGERIAN POPULATION BY RELIGION - 1963 CENSUS*

Region	Christians	Moslems	Others
North	2,881,437(9.7%)	21,386,450(71.7%)	5,540,773(18.6%)
West	4,995,691(48.7%)	4,458,531(43.4%)	811,625(7.9%)
East	9,573,622(77.2%)	49,964(0.3%)	2,790,876(22.5%)
Lagos	363,384(54.6%)	294,694(44.3%)	7,168(1.1%)
Mid-West	1,393,009(54.9%)	106,857(4.2%)	1,035,973(40.9%)
			Total = 55,670,039(100%)

*Source: Unity in Diversity (Published by the Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, 1968).

It may be noted in this context that the first government after the attainment of independence was formed by a Northerner who was a Moslem, Alhaji Sir Abubakar

Tafawa Balewa. This was a coalition government of two parties--Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) (which was based in the North), and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.) which was based in the East. Out of 23 Ministers of Cabinet rank, 12 were Christians, and 11 Moslems.

Informal education about the cultures of others has always been encouraged not only through the gateway of a classroom building but also by living together as room-mates or next-door neighbors in cities. Plotnicov[58] presents a statistical information of the population distribution in a typical city of Northern Nigeria, Jos.

TABLE VIII

TOWNSHIP (JOS) POPULATION BY ETHNIC GROUPS
1952 CENSUS*

Northern			Southern		
Birom	125	1.8%	Edo	128	1.8%
Fulani	164	2.3	Ibibio	144	2.0
Hausa	436	6.2	Ibo	3,794	53.8
Nupe	27	0.4	Other	752	10.6
Tiv	44	0.6	Yoruba	835	11.8
Kanuri	23	0.3		5,653	
Other	384	5.4	Non-Nigerians	214	3.0
				5,867	83.0%
			Total =	7,070	(100%)

*This census count was taken about 20 years ago.

[58]Leonard Plotnicov, Strangers to the City: Urban Man in Jos, Nigeria (Pittsburgh: The University Press, 1967), p. 63.

Although the figures in the above table would show a tremendous increase if the census were taken today, the statistics thus compiled are significant in illustrating the fact that cultural co-existence has always been symptomatic of the country's effort at unity.

It would be rather unwise to ignore the importance of schools in bridging the cultural gap. In the schools, the students are encouraged to learn the languages of the other cultural groups. Apart from the ability to speak and understand the other languages, the study is made more rewarding by including the Nigerian languages in the curriculum of popular examinations to be taken internationally. In the same way that students are taught the English language for examination or diploma purposes, the major Nigerian languages are also offered. Success in such examinations[59] is used as an evidence of higher education and a basis for employment security or promotion.

Our schools, therefore, constitute one major avenue by which our ruling elites have tried to integrate the diverse cultures in order to achieve an optimum benefit.

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[59]Some of these examinations include West African School Certificate (an equivalent of the former Cambridge School Certificate of the colonial era), General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.), which can be used as a basis for admitting students into Universities; and also for certificates in Teacher Training Colleges. Some of these languages are *Ibo, Efik, Hausa and Yoruba.*

A Significant Investment in Education

Reason suggests the beginning of this paragraph with a statistical table.

TABLE IX

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS IN NIGERIA: 1967[60]

Type of School	Number of Establishments	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
Primary*	14,976	85,394	2,849,488
Secondary	1,327	10,753	205,012
Technical	35	460	7,702
Teacher Training	268	1,910	32,008
University	5	1,141	7,717

*The Primary School is equivalent to the Grade School in the United States; and the Secondary is the High School.

Rapid expansion of education has taken place notably at the secondary school level in all the regions, and at the primary school level in Northern Provinces and the Federal Territory of Lagos. By the end of 1963, about three million pupils were attending primary schools and this figure increased by over 100,000 at the beginning of 1964. Higher education has also received a great impetus

[60] One Hundred Facts About Nigeria (A National Ministry of Information Publication, 1967), p. 20. See also the Annual Statistical Digest for each regional breakdown of the figures.

with the establishment and expansion of the universities. This interest has equally increased even in the recently created States. The Rivers State, for instance, is now in the process of offering a free secondary school education in that State.[61]

The 1966 National Register of High Level Manpower indicated that a total of 4,532 graduated that year in the faculties shown in the following table.

TABLE X

HIGH LEVEL MANPOWER - 1966*

Faculties	Graduates
Humanities	311
Education	600
Fine Arts	109
Social Sciences	1,228
Natural Sciences	242
Engineering (Including Technology)	321
Agriculture	573
Languages	376
Law	161
Others	28

*Source: Nigerian Labour Market (Published by the Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, Nigeria, The Nigerian National Press, Ltd., Apapa).

[61] L.G.J. Koko, "Free Education in Rivers State," West Africa, No. 2796 for week 9th-15th January, 1971.

Public theaters, entertainment facilities and museums have also helped to educate the general public of the cultures of their neighbors. "In museums throughout the country are preserved all that is best in Nigerian culture."[62] While the traditional art forms are still practised, the past few years have witnessed a cultural resurgence producing modern artists, sculptors and writers, many of whom are world renowned in their fields. National ceremonies like the "Festival of the Arts,"[63] also afford opportunities for many to learn of the cultures of others as expressed in songs, dances, and exhibition in crafts.

Education has also taught the people of the relatedness of their various languages which psychologically convinces the literates that they are not absolutely without a genealogical link. Greenberg[64] mentions five Western languages (Twi, Ga, Ewe, Yoruba and Efik) that form a part of some real unity while the Eastern languages, if related at all, display a connection of a more remote nature. He

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[62] One Hundred Facts About Nigeria, op. cit., p. 27.

[63] When the author of this work was a student at the Teachers College, he led a vocal choir, singing the song he composed in his native language, to the Festival of the Arts at Enugu and won the first prize award for the school. This was in 1958.

[64] Joseph H. Greenberg, Languages of Africa (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1966), p. 6.

lumps these five languages among the "Niger-Congo" group--"from the two great rivers in whose basins these languages predominate."[65]

The educated elites have also demonstrated some cultural pride by offering to teach Nigerian languages in overseas universities, for which London provides a ready example. "London's Africa Center has introduced into its teaching programme a beginner's course in Hausa."[66] The report further stresses that such is the first time a West African language has been included in the curriculum.

Furthermore, some Nigerian authors use their works or novels as a means of introducing their cultures to the general public which includes both Nigerians and non-Nigerians. *No Longer at Ease*[67] is a good Example. Ekwensi's book[68] equally portrays the ethnic culture of his group when he depicts a situation of seven wives rushing to the aid of their husband who is believed to have drunk a love potion from one of his wives. He actually was visited by the ghost of one of his wives who died. In this short

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[65] Ibid., p. 7.

[66] "Hausa for Beginners," West Africa, No. 2797 for week 16th-22nd January, 1971, p. 63.

[67] Chinua Achebe, No Longer at Ease (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1969).

[68] Cyprian Ekwensi, People of the City (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1969), pp. 121-122.

narration, one sees how Ekwensi's culture shows itself— polygamy, a belief in love potion given by a woman to secure more love from the husband, and the appearance of ghosts in human form to visit those they loved.

Transportation

Even though there may be the tendency of some individuals to stay in their groups aloof of others in order to preserve their cultures, the government policy encourages integration of cultures. Not only are schools provided, and religious toleration practiced, the government also makes it easy for people to travel freely to any region of their choice by providing modern means of transportation. While we equally recognize the importance of air, road and water transportation, we shall here briefly analyze the services of the railway system which makes it easy for people to travel between the North and the South with whatever loads, luggage or goods.

The post-independence years are considered in this analysis which, for clarity, is presented in a statistical table.

TABLE XI

SERVICES OF THE NIGERIAN RAILWAY CORPORATION[69]

Year	No. of Passengers	Tonnage* Handled	Passenger Miles	Goods Net
		000 tons	000	ton miles
1963	12,066,000	2,760	515,905	1,410,590
1964	11,288,000	2,591	526,213	1,554,793
1965	10,630,000	2,321	484,830	1,221,025

*For July, 1966, a record tonnage of produce freight carried by the N.R.C. was 104,458 tons.

A careful observation shows that the figures in the above table (on the basis of the three years surveyed) tend to decrease as we advance in the years of independence. How can one explain this phenomenon? Obviously, there are certain factors or conditions that cause the decline. The population figure cannot be the cause because there is no evidence of a decline in those years. Perhaps a logical explanation is the fact of improvement in other means of transportation—by air, road and by water.

Other reasons could include improvement in economic positions of individuals causing them to travel by other means deemed more convenient even though they may cost more than the train; or the railway increasing its rate

[69] One Hundred Facts About Nigeria, op. cit., p. 20.

which could cause travelers to look for alternative means. More reasons can still be advanced; but our interest in this work is not focused there. But what matters is the fact that our policy makers have been quite cognizant of the fact that without adequate means of transportation, cultural integration would prove very difficult and almost impossible to attain.

While cross-cultural relationships have been encouraged and practiced, it must be emphasized that it is extremely difficult (if not impossible) for one to get indistinguishably absorbed in a strange culture. Language alone is enough to create the distinction. Take English, for example:

> However close a Nigerian speaker approximates to consonant and vowel qualities, if he uses syllable-timing when speaking English (and most Nigerian languages are syllable-timed), he may well be faced by total incomprehension on the part of any listener who is a native speaker of English.[70]

It is in the same way that everybody faces problems in speaking any non-indigenous language. Since linguistic distinctions can be so readily made, people seem to have a general psychological and emotional satisfaction by sticking to their cultural groups.

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[70]Elizabeth Dunstan (Ed.), Twelve Nigerian Languages (New York: Africana Publishing Corp., 1969), p. 50.

Plotnicov[71] amplifies that the African himself has a strong attachment to the tribe of his birth, which determines in varying degree his political and religious affiliations, style of life, occupational and business opportunities, and directions, dress, diet, and other life habits. "The Nigerians in Jos cannot conceive that one may be both black and detribalized."

There is no doubt that the reasons for publishing newspapers in various native languages include ethnic group rivalry.

With the understanding that communication is the central tenet of this work, we may appreciate what the ruling class has done up to a point in order to facilitate cross-cultural communication and to fully utilize our diversities. In all parts of the country there are schools, religious freedom, land, water and air transportation, Post Offices, and telecommunication systems, and no interference with native laws and customs. The essential elements in communicating as summarized by Willard Merrihue[72] are at least theoretically reflected in their policy. These

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[71] Leonard Plotnicov, Strangers to the City, op. cit., p. 61.

[72] Willard V. Merrihue, Managing by Communication (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 23-24.

include the following: (1) knowing the objective, (2) identifying the audience, (3) determining the medium (or media), (4) tailoring the communication to fit the relationship between sender and receiver, (5) establishing a mutuality of interest, (6) watching for timing, and (7) measuring the results.

Though not capsulated in identifiable order presented above, the first six points have been adumbrated in the preceding paragraphs. We shall now move on to the last point which is essentially the last of the questions posed at the beginning of this sub-section.

What are the Criteria for Measuring the Results?

Before now one should be cognizant of the fact that effective communication, at whatever level, is not a simple process. It is more complex than has been thought. At least two things are responsible for this complexity. The first is the difficulty of conveying one's true meaning--from the communicator to the receiver of the message. The other is the fact that communication is a two-way traffic punctuated with numerous blockades. Here blockades may refer to a myriad of things--outside noises, sentiments, emotions, physical and mental health, preconceived biases, human relationships, and so on.

To measure the success of a communication between two people (interpersonal) is easier and less complex than

to do the same for two or more groups of people (inter-group). In a person-to-person relationship one can easily control the will of the other about a subject that the other has an imperfect knowledge. An acceptance can be communicated by an immediate performance of the contemplated act. Then the beneficiary can prove (or is convinced) that there is an understanding or an effective communication.

But a cross-cultural communication represents a communication with "the soul" and not "the body." It becomes an ideological warfare whose fighters are armored with an historical panorama and a concept of a continuing tradition. Victory is only likely when one group can be convinced of both the past and the future. And this is not an easy task.

No example may illustrate the difficulty of cross-cultural communication better than the introduction of Christianity into Africa. The Western world practices Christianity under the names of various denominations--Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist, The Church of Religious Science, The Lutherans, and the Church of Satan, to mention a few. The African traditionalist finds this rather confusing and puzzling.

Westermann[73] in his brilliant observation remarks that it is unfortunate that Christianity comes to Africa split. There are to be found, often in the same place and practically always in the same tribe, communities of several denominations, making another rift in the communal life and providing the African with an object lesson in intolerance, which is quite alien to his nature. It may happen all too easily that the missionary warns his flock against intercourse with those of another creed because they might be weakened in their own belief; and thus he sows the seed of mistrust and estrangement.

The native has by nature broad and liberal sympathies, and one can imagine the irritation he may feel when the missionary teaches him in the name of Christianity to segregate himself from his own Christian compatriots because they belong to another church. A West African, who is a faithful Christian, expressed himself on this point as follows:

> Our gods lived peacefully with one another. No priest competes with one another, but they consider it as a matter of course that one should serve one divinity, another man another. Christianity pretends to be a religion of peace, and yet its teachers

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[73]Diedrich Westermann, The African Today and Tomorrow (London: International African Institute, The Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 110-112.

bring discord to us. They separate[74] the inhabitants of a place, even a whole people, into two or more camps. That we cannot understand.[75]

In human relationships, intellectuals are lacking in controlled experiments with which to predict human behavior. Instead of looking to dumb machines and mechanical instruments, we must turn to the crucible of human interactions for our answers. It is against this background that we have to examine and evaluate the multi-cultural communications in Nigeria.

The first and overriding criterion is the degree of receptivity between cultural groups. Very often, man is naturally inclined to find fault with another instead of himself. We find good reasons to attribute the failures of a society to the malefaction of others instead of ourselves. This is not a study in which one group can be held responsible for the failures or successes of multi-cultural relationships in Nigeria. However, in illustrating a case, it may be necessary to mention a particular ethnic group by name. Whatever the case, the whole country bears the blame or praise.

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[74]In our table on "Nigerian Population by Religion" one finds quite a large percentage who are neither Christians nor Moslems. It may be this type of sentiment that prevents them from going to the Church. Let no missionary deceive himself by thinking that all Nigerians have not had the chance to listen to, or associate with, the practitioners of Christianity and Islam.

[75]Diedrich Westermann, op. cit.

An eloquent indication of a poor, inadequate, or ineffective relationship between groups reveals itself generally by the tendency of one group to stick together exclusively even when they are in a strange region. This group association may not necessarily be forced upon such members by being rejected by the other surrounding groups; but rather, it may come by their choice. Whatever the reason, it portrays a type of allegiance to one's sectional group. If not judiciously handled, this situation may lead to the deterioration of a national spirit in favor of sectionalism and we cannot accept that as a success in cross-cultural communication.

Let us emphasize at this point that being a member in an exclusive cultural group is not bad per se. What is bad is when that group accentuates the group interest beyond the national. The problems that Nigeria faced soon after independence had this root. The following is listed among the causes of instability of the Nigerian Federation soon after independence: "Tribalism, tribal discrimination, nepotism and corrupt practices, particularly in appointments to public offices and in the distribution of amenities."[76]

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[76]Nigeria: 12-State Structure: The Only Way Out (Published by the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ministry of Information, 1968), p. 5.

It is not laudable either to read that most leaders of the three majority ethnic groups pursued an increasingly acrimonious policy of regional confrontation, regardless of the true needs and the true interests of the people of the country as a whole.[77]

In a critical analysis of a particular ethnic group Union, one reads the following:

> The Ibo Union of Lagos inaugurated in 1934 later merged with similar organizations throughout Nigeria to form the Ibo Federal Union. But instead of the laudable aim of advancing education[78] this organization had other undeclared aims as well—Politics. In December, 1948, an all-Ibo conference was held in Port Harcourt where the union was organized into a political unit in accordance with the N.C.N.C. Freedom Charter. Thus tribalism in the guise of cultural pursuit was introduced into Nigerian politics.[79]

The North is not lacking in example either. Plotnicov[80] notices cleavages in the population, ethnocentrism, and parochialism at all levels from the general allegiance to pan-Africanism or the wider concept of

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[77] Path to a Just and Lasting Solution (Issued by the Embassy of Nigeria, Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 4.

[78] It was Ibibio people who first formed their Union which operated for the sole purpose of educational advancement. The Ibos, as the neighbors of the Ibibios followed that example. It was believed that the Ibo Union was also going to serve the same purpose of fostering the education of their people.

[79] Unity in Diversity, op. cit., p. 9.

[80] Leonard Plotnicov, Strangers to the City, op. cit., Chapter 3.

negritude, to a limited Nigerian nationalism, or tribal loyalties, down to the ultimate in parochialism--the unquestioning support of one's natal townspeople against one's fellow tribesmen.

Administrative records abound in complaints of all sorts against specific ethnic groups. Expressions of "tribal" pride are just as common. Solidarity is evinced in "tribal" union membership and in the non-Northerner's avoidance of inter-tribal marriage. Most of these unions are publicly projected as "cultural" groups; but they frequently affiliate with national political parties and largely determine how their members will vote in elections. It is not surprising that many times the "cultural" unions exert pressure upon employers and other top personnel to discriminate against non-members of their groups in jobs and other amenities.

To give credit when and to where it belongs, we have to reiterate that the sectional clubs are not bad if they operate for the general good, in which case it could be open to outsiders. In some well organized ones, the members contribute money regularly into a pool. In order of membership seniority (unless in emergency), each member collects this weekly or monthly contribution in his turn. An accurate record is kept until every member gets his share. This is a workable alternative to private loan

negotiation. The amount of money depends on the numerical strength of the members and how much each contributes.

This method of raising money capital, as commented by Kenneth Little,[81] apparently originated in a traditional practice. The institutions concerned have been termed "rotating credit associations,"[82] and as means of assisting small-scale capital formation they exist widely throughout the world.[83] They are common throughout West Africa under various names. Among the Yoruba they are called Esusu; in Freetown, Liberia, Asusu; Susu in Kumasi; among the Ibibio of South-Eastern Nigeria, Osusu; Adaski among the Hausa of Northern Nigeria;[84] Djana among the Fang

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[81] Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization (Cambridge: The University Press, 1965), p. 51.

[82] C. Geertz, "The Rotating Credit Association: A Middle Rung in Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 10, No. 3.

[83] See Shirley Ardener, "The Comparative Study of Rotating Credit Associations," Unpublished M.S. In England they are known as "Christmas Clubs or Slate Clubs." Similar clubs are found in China, Malaya, Java, Sarawak, Vietnam, India, South Africa, etc.

[84] M.G. Smith, "Co-operation in Hausa Society," Information, Vol. X, 1957, pp. 1-20.

of the Southern Cameroon;[85] in Dahomey,[86] Ndjonu; in Leopoldville,[87] Bandoi; and Tontines in Porto Novo.[88]

After an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the modern cultural organizations, an honest conclusion cannot escape the fact that Nigeria's communication models or systems have not been successful in bridging cultural gaps. We may, however, admit that efforts at progress have been demonstrated in the sense that integration of cultures is facilitated by application of modern means of communication. But in terms of effectiveness, there is still much to be desired.

The political leaders and others in influential positions have always as individuals taken cognizance of this defect. Many of them, including the former President

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[85] J.C. Pauvert, "La probleme des classes sociales dans l'Afrique equatoriale," Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, Vol. XIX, 1955, p. 89.

[86] J. Guilbot, "Petite etude sur la main d'oeuvre a Douala," Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire, Memoires, No. 1, 1947.

[87] Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain, "Food and Leisure Among the African Youth of Leopoldville," Communications From the Cape Town University School of African Studies, No. 25, 1950, p. 101.

[88] C. Tardits, Porto Novo (Paris: 1958), p. 36.

of the country, Dr. Azikiwe,[89] have been denouncing it in the public as expressed in the following lines:

> . . . Like seasoned freedom fighters whose love of their fatherland transcends the love of self or the love of party, we have every right to expect them to impress the nation that they are statesmen and not mere politicians. After all, politics can only have happy meaning to the people of this country, if only politicians would use their newly-won power as an anvil on which to forge national unity and not as an instrument for beating the drums of hate and disaffection.

Even the Nigerians outside the country equally tend to owe much allegiance to their cultural affiliations at the expense of national unity. Aware of this phenomenon, Umoh[90] placed the following recommendation first in the list of seven in his address to the students' union: "Our Union should do everything possible to rid itself of counterfeit loyalties to tribalism, guilty conscience of nepotism, unbridled feelings for sectionalism, and devastating extolment of statism. All—in the name of one united and indestructible Nigeria."

We need not continue to list the numerous personalities who have at various times spoken out against this

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[89]Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, "Our Nation Swoons in Despair," Selected Speeches of President Azikiwe; A speech broadcast to the nation on March 23, 1964 (Published by the Daily Times of Nigeria, Lagos).

[90]Sunday Umoh, "The President's Annual Report of the Nigerian Students' Union of Southern California," Unpublished speech delivered at Los Angeles, July 28, 1968.

state of affairs not only in Nigeria but also in the whole of Africa. Such a list would undoubtedly include Kwame Nkrumah[91] along with others. What seems to matter at this point is why our communications system should be so ineffective in bridging the cultural gap.

Perhaps one can trace the defect to the beginning days of colonial rule. The "Indirect Rule" was the functional system of the day, which made the masses depend on the qualified chiefs, emirs and other representatives to transmit information and knowledge from the colonial lords to them. This, in effect, laid a foundation to the theory designated by Lazarsfeld, et al[92] as "The Two-Step Flow of Communication." The proposition is that the influences stemming from the mass media (or whatever channel) first reach "opinion leaders" who, in turn, pass on the information about what they read or hear to their every-day associates for whom they are influential. Experience has confirmed that every society has its own opinion leaders; more so in a society where illiteracy is high.

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[91]See Kwame Nkrumah, "Positive Action in Africa," in Africa Speaks, edited by James Duffy and Robert A. Manners (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 48-58.

[92]Paul E. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, 2nd Edition), p. 151.

Commenting on this type of phenomenon, Elihu Katz[93] expresses that the influence of the opinion leaders is broadly related: (1) to the personification of certain values (who one is); (2) to competence (what one knows); and (3) to strategic social location (whom one knows). Social location, in turn, divides into whom one knows within a group; and "outside."

If we ask ourselves why influence is successfully transmitted, the simple correct answer is because those influenced want to be as much as possible like the influential. Marsh and Coleman[94] have a relevant study to empirically illustrate the fact that leaders are, in a certain sense, the most conformist members of their groups. They uphold whatever norms and values are central to the group. The leaders of Nigeria cannot be honestly exempted from this generalization. One must then wonder whether our failure is not a result of the leaders' behaviors.

Nigeria has been totally exposed to Westernization with all its vices and virtues, mass media communication not excluded. The country's Constitution is one of the

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[93]Elihu Katz, "The Two-Step Flow of Communication: An Up-to-Date Report on an Hypothesis," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 21, Spring 1957, p. 73.

[94]See C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman, "Farmers Practice Adoption Rates in Relation to Adoption Rates of Leaders," Rural Sociology, Vol. 19, 1954, pp. 180-183.

most modern in the world, providing for all that is necessary to keep her citizens happily together, and prohibiting what would abridge the comforts of life,[95] such as discrimination, deprivation of life or one's rights without due process, inhuman treatment, slavery and forced labor, deprivation of personal liberty, property and pursuit of happiness, and so on.[96] There are publications on our languages[97] both in literature form and for instructional purposes.[98] All this is an eloquent testimony of our ability or effort to march abreast with the outside world.

What seems to undermine the country's dignity, in the author's point of view, is the fact that all the ethnic groups within the confines of the country are rather separate and distinct. This is not to advocate the elimination of any language, culture or custom that the natives choose to uphold. But at the same time, it is hard to say

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[95] B.O. Nwabueze, The Machinery of Justice in Nigeria (London: Butterworths, 1963), p. 185.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Lionel Brett (Ed.), Constitutional Problems of Federalism in Nigeria (Lagos: Times Press, 1960), pp. 42-60.

[98] See Peter Ladefoged, A Phonetic Study of West African Languages (Cambridge: The University Press, 1968). See also Elizabeth Dunstan (Ed.), Twelve Nigerian Languages, op. cit.

that the integration of the diversities has been perfected without making a mockery of oneself in the opinion of communication scholars.

In citing the Scriptures, Ernest Holmes[99] says, "According to the Scriptures, mind and body must be kept pure--must be kept 'single' to the good--in order that perfect, abiding sight may be attained." Following this analogy, one can see that the failure of the various ethnic groups to be receptive of one another shows the country and the components of each cultural group as two distinct entities. Oneness has been sacrificed for pluralism. It seems right to attribute this to a weakness in multi-cultural communications systems. Whether the fault lies with the influentials or influencees is a question that calls for more investigation.

V. CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTION

The word "conflict" has been variously defined by various authorities. There is one point of view that conflict is a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their

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[99]Ernest Holmes, The Science of Mind (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1965), p. 229.

rivals.[100] Much study on the subject has shown many emphases with which "conflict" is defined. Simmel[101] looks at it as one of the central forms of interaction, and this thought has been developed in America by Park and Burgess.[102] According to Simmel, "If every interaction among men is a sociation, conflict must certainly be considered as sociation . . . . Conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity, even if it be through the annihilation of one of the conflicting parties." Along with viewing it as a form of interaction, Park and his friend equate conflict to competition. Some authorities, however, differ at this point. These dissenting authorities see conflict as a dissociation process. One in this group is G.A. Lundberg,[103] who finds that conflict is characterized by a suspension of communication between the opposing parties. In corroboration with this assessment, Wilson and Kolb[104] likewise define conflict as a disjunctive process.

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[100] L.A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 8.

[101] G. Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, translated by K.H. Wolff and R. Bendix (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), p. 13.

[102] E. Park and E.W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 574.

[103] G.A. Lundberg, The Foundations of Sociology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 275.

[104] L. Wilson and W.L. Kolb, Sociological Analysis (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1949), p. 714.

There is an attempt to distinguish conflict from competition by some who regard conflict as a form of social interaction. By the assertion of Park and Burgess,[105] conflict, as distinct from competition, is always conscious and involves direct communication:

> Both are forms of interaction, but competition is a struggle between individuals, or groups of individuals, who are not necessarily in contact and communication,while conflict is a contest in which contact is an indispensable condition. Competition is unconscious. Conflict is always conscious. Both competition and conflict are forms of struggle. Competition, however, is continuous and impersonal; conflict is intermittent and personal.

Research of literature in the field shows that it is not only the above mentioned that have noted this distinction. Others have also attempted to distinguish between conflict and competition, mainly in terms of the means used by goal-oriented antagonists. While defining conflict as "all activity in which men contend against one another for any objective," MacIver[106] proceeds to distinguish between what he terms "direct conflict" and "indirect conflict" (which is roughly equivalent to competition). Direct

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[105] E. Park and E.W. Burgess, op. cit.,p. 574: Quoted by Julius Gould and William Kolb, A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, Compiled under the auspices of UNESCO (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

[106] R.M. MacIver, Society (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937), p. 51.

conflict occurs, according to MacIver, where individuals or groups thwart or impede or restrain or injure or destroy one another in the effort to attain some goal. Indirect conflict occurs where individuals or groups do not actually impede the efforts of one another but nevertheless seek to attain their ends in ways which obstruct the attainment of the same end by others.[107]

While it is not necessary to further deliberate on the definition of conflict, the author finds it appropriate to incorporate the work of R.M. Williams, Jr.[108] in the others already cited. He defines conflict as a struggle over values (whether distributive or non-distributive) in which the immediate aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. "Conflict," he continues, "results from conscious pursuit of exclusive values." In conclusion, he amplifies that competition, in contrast to conflict, is focused upon reaching a goal rather than removing[109] competitors.

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[107] Ibid.

[108] R.M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 43.

[109] In the author's opinion, this point of view is not totally correct. Some competitors at times may not be sure of a goal, but aim at removing competitors. This may be unethical; but it is common among the competitors in the business world who believe that their economic security lies in the elimination of competitors.

The Virtues and Weaknesses of Conflict

There is the tendency of many people, particularly the laymen in social sciences, to generally give "conflict" a negative connotation. As soon as that word is pronounced, they shrug and think of only the negative aspects of it, forgetting the fact that there are two sides to everything. We cannot escape conflicts in life. It lives with us from the moment of our birth till the last second of our breath. Conflict has come into the world to stay, and there is no running away from it. Man must, therefore, avoid overlooking this argument as a mere Aristotelian syllogism.

Conflicts can be either functional or dysfunctional depending on the approach to its resolution. The attitudes of the parties involved determine the outcome. It is possible to convert what should be a functional conflict into its dysfunctional character, and vice versa. This is beyond the realm of doubt or need of demonstration.

Generally, most people do not like conflicts and would like to avoid them by all means. This may explain why every speech communication has an inherent characteristic of persuasiveness. Yet since people are distinct and unique individuals, they like to stick to their respective sentiments, idiosyncrasies, philosophies and points of view. The result is the inevitability of social conflicts.

When people fail to reconcile conflicting issues in a peaceful way, the result is disagreement, hatred, distrust, enmity, war and destruction in which case the stronger party attempts to eliminate the weaker one. Then conflict is viewed as a valueless phenomenon in the human kingdom. Expediency should warn people not to approach conflicts with untrammelled exasperation or fiendish glee.

Even when a conflict ends in a war--a situation to be always dreaded--some good things may indirectly result from the war. For instance, the conquered nation will realize its relative strength or weakness and build itself (if circumstances permit) to a position of strength. The conqueror may also realize its loss, though victorious in the battle, and learn to avoid similar situations or predicaments for the interest of peace in the future.

Conflicts between two factions already loaded with inbred dislike, hatred and disdain for each other are those that commonly end in open or physical confrontation, war and destruction. This is very common in interpersonal relationships. Analyzing this situation in the concentration camp, Dr. Frankl[110] stated that whenever the degraded

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[110]Victor E. Frankl, Man's Search for Meaning (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963), p. 100.

majority and the promoted minority came into conflict (and there were plenty opportunities for this, starting with the distribution of food), the results were explosive.

Similar examples on a wider scale can be shown in the relationship of the black people in America with the police department,[111] inter-racial encounters on the basis of color,[112] and the causes of riots[113] and looting. Even on the international level, wars[114] erupt when irreconcilable political ideologies conflict.

Evidences abound also to illustrate that functional conflicts can produce useful results. In this case we are referring to situations where the disagreeing factions can reconcile their differences through peaceful negotiation or discussion of the problem. They compromise on a decision as to what course of action to take. At times a decision thus reached is better than a unilateral decision imposed upon the disadvantaged or weaker party. A good and recent

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[111] William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1969), p. 79.

[112] William K. Tabb, The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970), pp. 21-30.

[113] Joe Walker, "Exploitation and Racism Caused Ashbury Park Riot," Muhammad Speaks, Vol. 9, No. 46, July 31, 1970.

[114] The war between North and South Vietnam is a classical example. Many military coup-d'etat in developing countries follow this pattern of political ideological conflicts.

case to support this contention is seen in the action of the U.S. Senate. The consecutive rejection of two supreme court judge nominees of President Nixon raised a heated debate between the two parties--the Democrats and the Republicans. The two candidates were Clement Haynsworth, Jr., and Judge G. Harrold Carswell.[115]

Before the actual voting out of these two candidates, the senators had vehemently disagreed in their opinions. They nevertheless took their time to carefully deliberate on their points of differences and finally arrived at a conclusion or decision by voting. This was a simple but an ideal or effective method of conflict resolution resulting in a better choice of a candidate by the President for the general good. This typifies a case of a functional conflict and justifies the maintenance of opposition parties in democratic political theories.

Conflicts per se are not always bad. It is the inability of man and his unwillingness to reconcile that makes conflict sound a curse to humanity. The tool we need to develop for handling conflict situations is ability to communicate meaningfully with our opponents. We have to learn and accept that our individual points of view will not always, and may never, be the best. Disagreements and

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[115] Time, April 20, 1970, p. 13.

oppositions from others constitute the basic ingredients of our daily lives. Therefore, men must accept conflicts as a "first step towards construction, rather than as a means of destruction, granted that the conflict is presented in good faith."[116]

To conclude this point of view, it is worthwhile quoting Simmel's[117] impressive essay and analysis that conflict is constructive:

> Conflict is designed to resolve divergent dualisms; it is a way of achieving some kind of unity. This is roughly parallel to the fact that it is the most violent symptom of a disease which represents the effort of the organism to free itself of disturbances and damages caused by them. Conflict itself resolves the tension between contrasts.

Parties to a Conflict

Since conflict is a phenomenon of human life it is no wonder that the parties to a conflict must be humans. Like communication, the levels of conflict are plural, and rightly so. To enumerate these levels, logic suggests beginning with the conflict that involves only one person. We shall designate this level as "intrapersonal."

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[116] Sunday Umoh, "A Comprehensive Self-Analysis Paper," Unpublished M.S., 1970.

[117] George Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, op. cit., p. 15, Quoted by Elton B. McNeil (Ed.), The Nature of Human Conflict (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 99.

Intra-personal conflict. This is a simple case where an individual may be in conflict within himself. It is a psychological state which, perhaps, may be equally termed "frustration." However, the author sees this as an instance of intra-personal conflict. The individual struggles within himself trying to resolve the conflict and obtain some gratification. This, of course, depends on certain conditions that plunged an individual into this state. Many times when people behave in an extraordinary, irrational or unusual pattern, it is because of this internal conflict within them. It can lead an individual into destructive impulses.

The words of Eric Berne[118] regarding frustration (herein referred to as intra-personal conflict) are worth quoting here:

> A too intense kind of frustration seems to awaken a definite amount of cruel desire, and if this is not satisfied at the time, it may remain with the Id instincts continually striving to obtain satisfaction throughout the individual's life.

Inter-personal conflict. This refers to a case where two persons as separate parties are involved, for

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[118]Eric Berne, M.D., A Layman's Guide to Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), p. 99.

instance, a conflict between a husband and his wife, a father and his son, a mother and her daughter, or between two friends. In this case, each has the opportunity to confront the other either in some kind of verbal dog-fight, or in a fist fight. It is, however, their choice to make their conflict either functional or dysfunctional. Because of the limited number of people involved, this type of conflict can be resolved without many people hearing of it.

Person-to-group conflict. In this case a single individual confronts the group. An example would include a situation where the members of a given organization and a single member, say the auditor, may have conflicting interests. Once again, whether this conflict becomes functional or dysfunctional depends on the method applied in seeking a resolution. Because of the number of people involved, such a case carries much publicity. Examples of this class are not uncommon in human societies. In many court cases, including but not limited to violation of traffic laws, we usually hear the citation, "The people of California versus Mr. Defendant."

Intergroup conflict. There is no doubt that this is the most publicized of the conflicts. The reason is

self-evident. The large number of the people[119] in each side makes it not a hidden issue. In the same vein, it is the most difficult to be settled. At times international interference in the name of humanitarians,[120] peace-keeping agencies,[121] and fact-finders,[122] and so on, obstructs a quick resolution when those various bodies begin to take sides. Examples of other nations siding with the parties in conflict are very common, of which the United States and Russian involvement in the Middle East is classical.

As seen in this discussion, inter-group conflict may involve members of the same ethnic group, race, culture and country, as well as members of different ethnic groups, color, creed and countries. What determines the application of the term "inter-group" is the number of people (more than one on each side) involved in the conflict.

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[119]The two World Wars, the Korean War, the Cuban Crisis, Vietnam, and the Middle East are cases of conflicts involving a large number of people.

[120]See Paul Unongo, American Intervention in Nigeria Will Be Resisted, Unpublished, University of Lagos, 1968.

[121]The United Nations and the Congo: Some Salient Facts (New York: United Nations, February, 1963).

[122]Hon. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Michigan, Chairman), Hon. J. Herbert Burke (Florida), Report of Special Fact-Finding Mission to Nigeria, February 7-20, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 12, 1969).

In discussing the conflicts in Nigeria, this work concentrates on the last three of the above four classifications. It is, however, to be noted that these classifications are the author's invention. Perhaps some other authority would use different and/or more categories.

Elements of Conflict

At least four things must exist or evolve in any conflict situation. These four[123] things may be designated as: (1) source, (2) impulse, (3) object, and (4) aim. How these four elements play their parts can best be explained with an illustration of a conflict situation.

Take, for instance, a case in which one man (Mr. S) fells the fruit tree of another person (Mr. O). This may have happened either intentionally or accidentally. Mr. O finally discovers that Mr. S is the one who destroyed his fruit tree and did not even care to notify him, the owner. Inflamed with a tumultuous rage, Mr. O bitterly hates Mr. S who is now quite aware of the fact of this strained relationship between them. Mr. O's hatred does not stop with angry words. His aim is to kill Mr. S if he could have the opportunity.

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[123]Elton B. McNeil, The Nature of Human Conflict, op. cit., p. 31.

In this hypothetical illustration, we can see the four elements. There is the SOURCE (Mr. O) of the feeling, the IMPULSE (hatred), the OBJECT (Mr. S) toward whom the impulse is directed, and the AIM (killing) of the impulse.

Nevertheless, something can happen to alter this situation and produce a formula which is no longer threatening to the self-esteem of Mr. O, or to the respect others have for him. For instance, he may change the "source" somehow and not disturb the other elements. He does not wish to kill Mr. S any more. He can equally alter the impulse by forgiving and loving Mr. S instead of hating him. It is possible that the object can be transformed so that he hates the neighboring ethnic group who steal their cattle and wage war against them instead of Mr. S who might have come to apologize for the wrong he did.

Another compromise likely to resolve the conflict is to admit that he is still angry with Mr. S, but instead of killing him, would like him to pay for the tree that he felled. In each instance, a slight change in how Mr. O perceives the reality of hating his friend, Mr. S, purifies his thought and makes it fit the norm of peaceful co-existence. From this analysis, we can clearly see how a conflict could be resolved by altering its basic elements. But the key to the solution lies in how we communicate our feelings through the surrounding circumstances to the

opposing parties, and how much attention the parties pay to the voice of reason.

We shall now examine a few specific conflicts in Nigeria to see what part cultural diversities played in their resolution.

Nigerians and Their Conflicts

"Conflict is a theme that has occupied the thinking of men more than any other, save only God and love."[124]

The above quotation is enough and sufficient as a summary that conflict does not characterize only one nationality. The few cases of conflict considered in this work are not expected to lack parallels in other countries. But as we consider the title and purpose of this study, our reason for concentrating on Nigeria becomes justifiable on grounds of the country's cultural pluralism.

Chapter III of this work has attempted to treat the characteristics of the Nigerian peoples in detail, their histories and patterns of life particularly prior to the twentieth century. Evidences of conflicts were common both on inter-personal (intra-group) and inter-group levels. Some of these conflicts have covered pages of historical records and will never be forgotten. The examples in this

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[124]Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games and Debates (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 12.

group include "The Holy War of Usman dan Fodio," "The Yoruba Civil War," "The Struggles of the Songhai Empire," the "Mali Empire," and so on, which many historians[125] have fully analyzed. There are also many cases of conflicts that have not been, and will never be, recorded. Minor skirmishes (sometimes major in that lives were lost) between groups within a clan can account for this category. An example would be the preponderance of oral testimony[126] that the people of "Afaha" and "Ndu-Eduo" groups within Nsit clan in South-Eastern Nigeria used to be clashing in matters of territorial boundaries.

Disregarding all these ancient conflicts, the author has decided to concentrate his analysis on the events taking place during his life time. Personal perfect knowledge is the rationality of this decision. Since it is impossible to diagnose all the conflicts that deserve attention in this treatise, only a few significant ones are treated. Logic suggests starting with conflicts that are national in scope to those regional, sectional or personal.

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[125] See Michael Crowder, A Short History of Nigeria; also, C.R. Niven, A Short History of Nigeria (London: 1937); A Short History of the Yoruba Peoples (London: 1958); also H.R. Palmer, History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu, (1571-1583) by his Iman, Ahmed ben Fartua (Lagos: 1926).

[126] The grand-parents of the author have been giving the accounts and details of some of these clashes from their experiences and what they heard from their parents.

The Nigerian political parties. During the civilian government[127] in Nigeria, what startled many other democratic countries was the multiplicity of political parties. Circumstantial evidences indicate that not all of these political parties were formed with an objective of national good, but rather, as an affront against a party (or parties) that originated among some particular ethnic group; and in fact operated with such a point of view. One is not surprised to see the number of political parties mentioned on a single page of Tilman and Cole's work.[128] While this work does not suggest an authoritarian or a unitary government for Nigeria, one cannot ignore with impunity that time-worn adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth."

Dr. Ukpong[129] succinctly elaborates that with the possible exception of the N.C.N.C.,[130] all other parties

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[127]At the time of writing this paper, Nigeria is under military government.

[128]Robert O. Tilman and Taylor Cole (Eds.), The Nigerian Political Scene (Durham, N.C.: Published for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Duke University Press, 1965), p. 79.

[129]Michael B. Ukpong, "Interactional Analysis of the Relationship of Socio-Political Leaders' Behaviors to Nigerian Conflicts and Civil War," Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, United States International University, San Diego, California, 1970, p. 101.

[130]This party was formerly known as National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Later on, when the Cameroons left Nigeria, it became National Council of Nigerian Citizens.

were formed for internal struggles. Even though the Northern Peoples' Congress (N.P.C.) was not motivated by ethnical concern in the beginning, before its transformation into a political party, it was partly motivated by ethnic interest, that is, to keep the Northern Region for the Northerners so that the South could not meddle in their "conservative, almost traditionally primitive feudalism and authoritarianism."

It is with a great weight of doubt that the N.P.C. can be said to have been formed for the purpose of aiding the attack on colonialism. This statement can be substantiated from the fact that many Northerners were greatly frenzied when N.P.C. candidates, supported by the Northern emirs, were defeated by the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U.) candidates. Yet all these candidates, as can be expected, were from the North. But the difference was in their political ideologies.

In a similar vein, the Action Group (AG), which was based in the Western Region, did not appear to envision colonialism as a hindrance to political maturity and social consanguinity. But rather, Dr. Azikiwe, the leader of the N.C.N.C. was their threat because he was/is of Eastern origin although he lived and worked at Lagos--in the West. We may not escape the obvious fact that the Action Group directly and indirectly got its genesis from Egbe Omo

Oduduwa, an all-Yoruba socio-politico and ethno-cultural society.

Nevertheless, good conscience dictates that we credit the birth and life of the N.C.N.C.--Azikiwe's party and based in the Eastern Region--to the Ibo Union, another ethno-cultural organization. However, in spite of some weaknesses, the N.C.N.C. deserves recognition as the only party that aimed at tracking down colonialism and devastating its mentality.

Objectively viewed, it proves not easy to try to reconcile the ideological divergencies of the Nigerian political parties since they are culturally radicated.

Zik was indeed in the forefront in the race of Nigerian Nationalism with a liberal view towards Africanism. And a close examination of some of his concrete statements testify to this point:

> Though I have eaten the sweet mango of business success, and the delicious orange of popularity of my own people; yet am I one of the rebellious sons of Africa because my people have been made to suffer the pangs of bitterness.[131]
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> I am becoming convinced day by day that the new Africa is destined to become a reality. No force under the heavens can stem it. Even my death cannot postpone its crystallization. If because I am an instrument of destiny through which imperialism in

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[131]Lois Mitchison, Nigeria: Newest Nation (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1962), p. 90.

> West Africa is to be challenged and liquidated, and if in this mission I am compelled to pay the supreme penalty, then there is no need for me to quake or to quiver.[132]

Yet when Zik was in Yorubaland, hardly was he recognized or accepted in spite of all he did with the aim of winning independence for the country. At one time, Dr. Ukpong points out, his name was even excluded for no justifiable reason, from the voters' list, and this fetched him a technical disqualification.[133] One cannot find clearer evidence of unjust discrimination than this. Why did it happen? The answer is that Zik was not a Yoruba, but wanted a political recognition among the Yoruba. Thus, repeated cases of Ibo-Hausa-Yoruba political strifes can be best defensible in terms of psycho-cultural discrimination.

It was natural for Zik to react to that situation. His method was simple. He threatened to leave politics after sixteen years. With the concept that one should be regarded a victim of vanity if one regarded oneself as an indispensable star which must so shine as to eclipse other stars, he declared his intention to stay out of politics

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[132] An excerpt from a speech which Zik made before his political colleagues of the Mambi Party, at the Palladium, Accra, on January 12, 1937, after his conviction for seditious libel; Quoted in Zik: Selected Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: The University Press, 1961), p. 57.

[133] Michael B. Ukpong, op. cit., p. 102.

for five years. He stated that he had been in the forefront of Nigerian politics for sixteen years, and felt that others should be given equal chance. "But it is obvious that our people are not ready and I must not impose on an unready people, so I beg to take my exit."[134] He, however, added that he would be back when the people are ready, and if they need him.[135]

Azikiwe's[136] strategy worked. He actually intended to have his stay in politics confirmed by friends and foes by delivering that "exit" speech. When his speech was debated in Lagos, he was encouraged "to stay" by a vote of 700 to 85.[137] Ibo people (Zik's ethnic group) formed the majority in this debate.

From nation to region. The frustration of his being rejected in the West forced Zik to return to the East where his ethnic group (Ibo) is the majority.[138] It was time to

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[134]Richard L. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 86.

[135]Daily Times, December 28, 1950.

[136]The nickname or a short form of Azikiwe is "Zik."

[137]Daily Times, January 8, 1951.

[138]The minorities in the Eastern Region include the Efik or Ibibio, Ijaw, Ekoi, Annang, Ogoni, Ikwere, and so on.

see how his "detribalization" program would stand the test. Unfortunately it did not.

Before Zik returned to the East, Professor Eyo Ita, a minority group member of Efik origin was at the head of the Eastern Regional Government. As soon as Zik came, he rallied his majority Ibo people behind him and for his support, and overthrew Eyo Ita's government. The same type of frustration that Zik faced while in the West became the lot of the minorities in the Eastern Region. Membership in the minority group became a curse while the Ibos harvested the benefits of majority.

In the meantime, Obafemi Awolowo had undertaken to reorganize the Action Group, a party which later became interested in the plight of the minority cultural groups in the East. These minorities, sharing a common destiny of undue discrimination and mental anguish from the majority domination, joined in a unanimous plea for a separate state from the Ibos[139]—"The COR State."[140] The Action Group (AG), the party of the West, which came into the East as an opposition to N.C.N.C. became the instrument for vocalizing and amplifying the sentiments of the Eastern

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[139]See Nigeria: Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the fears of Minorities and the means of allaying them (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, July 1958).

[140]Robert O. Tilman and Taylor Cole, op. cit., p. 79.

minorities. Individuals as well as groups became affected by the majority-minority conflicts. Cohesive tendencies became stronger on the basis of ethnicity to the extent that people were tempted to classify individuals according to the groups to which they belonged rather than as individuals. Nothing seems to strain social relationships more than this.

Just a few years ago, June, 1967, during the Civil War in Nigeria, the Provincial secretary for Calabar,[141] an Ibo man, called a mass meeting and addressed the Calabar people in these words:

> You Calabar people; you say you want a State of your own: Let me tell you that by the time the Federal troops come here to enforce this mad idea, there will be no one left but grass and weeds, for we shall have flattened your land and killed all you, Efiks.[142]

Region versus nation conflict. During the Regional governments, the Western Region was the smallest of the three in both land mass and population. This was prior to 1963. But when the coalition government of the Northern and Eastern political parties came into effect, the West

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[141] Calabar is the present capital or administrative headquarters of the South-eastern State.

[142] The New York Times, Monday, July 8, 1968.

served as an opposition. History has already recorded the desirability of creating more states in the country.

Dr. Azikiwe, the former President of the country, in his "Political Blue-Print" in 1945 advocated the division of Nigeria into eight states. Chief Awolowo, in his "Path to Nigerian Freedom" in 1947 advocated the division of Nigeria into as many as 40 states.[143] During elections, the Action Group which campaigned on a platform urging the creation of states won victories in the areas, such as the present Central-west, Benue-Plateau, South-Eastern, Rivers, and North-Eastern States where the clamor for separate states was loud. In spite of all this signs and symptoms, the East-North Coalition Government failed to move in the right direction.

Instead of creating states in the larger regions, they created the Mid-West State out of the former Western Region, in 1963, thus making the two divided states relatively smaller and weaker to a greater extent than before. It was impossible for the Yorubas to see this move as a patriotic action of the Federal Government handled by the Ibos and the Hausas. But rather, a conflict situation

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[143] The Collapse of Ojukwu's Rebellion (Lagos Federal Ministry of Information, 1968), p. 6. See also Nigeria Answers Questions, p. 2. Also Towards One Nigeria, No. 2, p. 10; also Resolution by the Executive Council of the S/E State of Nigeria, February 17, 1969.

between a region and the nation was crystallized, and rightly so. How can a reasonable person fail to attribute this resulting conflict to culturally-founded ill feelings, biases and discrimination?

What followed this episode was an inevitable civil disorder, social mistrust and a national political chaos that ridiculed the whole country in the eyes of the world. This furnishes us with another good example of a dysfunctional conflict.

Inter-personal conflict. An influential member of Parliament in the Eastern Region found enough and sufficient cause in 1955 to accuse Dr. Zik, then Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, of public misconduct and abuse of his office.[144] The name of that bold legislator is Effiong O. Eyo, from Ibibio (minority) group. Zik's specific offense was investing public funds in a private bank--"African Continental Bank" of which he was the proprietor and his family members were the principal shareholders.

A commission of inquiry,[145] the "Foster-Sutton Tribunal" investigated the charge and reported that Zik's

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[144] Daily Times, December 15, 1955.

[145] See The Eastern House of Assembly Debates, March 20-28, Vol. II, 1956 (Third Session, first Meeting), pp. 385-390.

primary motive was to make available an indigenous bank with the object of liberalizing credit for the people of the country. They added that his conduct as a minister had "fallen short of expectations of honest reasonable people."[146] Since he did not relinquish his interest in the bank when a proposal to invest public funds in it was made, he was found guilty of misconduct.

It was the opinion of reasonable prudence that Zik should have resigned. But he did not. Once again, his people being the majority in the Parliament did not put pressure on him to resign. Unfortunately, this episode steadily led to a premature dissolution of the entire Parliament.

After a fresh election and another return of the N.C.N.C. into power in the following year, Zik showed his vengeance upon the minorities by failing to reappoint all the deserving ministers and parliamentary secretaries to their portfolios. Once again evidence of injustice, unfair play and discrimination on the basis of cultural ethnicity showed itself. Tension was high among these underprivileged minorities who implacably clamored the more for their separate state from their dominating majority neighbors.

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[146] Report of the Foster-Sutton Tribunal of Inquiry, op. cit., pp. 28-42.

The reader can now decide for himself whether this conflict was functional or dysfunctional on its face value.

Ethno-cultural group versus the nation. "The tragedy in Nigeria grows deeper--at least in terms of human suffering."[147] "When 3,000 innocent humans are dying weekly of starvation it should be possible to cut through red tape, protocol and even sovereignty to bring them relief by all available channels."[148] "The argument about how or why it started seems sometimes as irrelevant now as they are confusing."[149]

Between May 27, 1967, and January 12, 1970, statements such as those quoted above used to be featuring in many editorial lines of newspapers, magazines, periodicals and Parliamentary debates. Oral discussions followed a similar import. The two dates are important as the commencing and concluding dates of the bloody, secessionist,[150] Civil[151] War whose death toll was set at two

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[147] The Christian Science Monitor, Editorial, July 9, 1968.

[148] The New York Times, Editorial, July 14, 1968.

[149] From the speech of Mr. Reginald Maulding (Conservative member for Barnet), British Parliamentary Debates on the Nigerian Situation in the House of Commons (London: Tuesday, 27th August, 1968), p. 1.

[150] The Washington Post, August 14, 1968.

[151] Nigeria Roundup, Vol. I, No. 5 (New York: Office of the Consulate General of Nigeria), December 24, 1969.

million.[152] Some called it Africa's most brutal war.[153] "Rebellion"[154] was usually used by Nigerians, while the Ibos referred to it as "genocide."[155] In fact, so many words were used to describe the affair that it becomes meaningless to attempt to cite all.

Whatever the epithet used, the truth is that Nigeria had faced an historical conflict within its territorial boundaries during the given period. So much has been published about this particular conflict that the author is contented to mention it in passing or in summary, even though it may be the most important, destructive, and demoralizing of all the other conflicts previously considered in this work. Let it suffice in summary that the Ibos of Eastern Nigeria rebelled against the Federal Government and declared secession for the whole of the Eastern Region in the name of the "Republic of Biafra."[156]

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[152] Los Angeles Times, January 13, 1970.

[153] Statement of Senator James B. Pearson of Kansas, September 25, 1968.

[154] Nigeria News Bulletin (Embassy of Nigeria, Washington, D.C.), February, 1968.

[155] Genocide (Biafra: Ministry of Information), November 19, 1968.

[156] See M.B. Ukpong, op. cit., for the details of this Civil War.

Since there are always two sides to every story, the readers should also expect to read the history of this war from either an author that supported the Federal Government or the one on the rebel side. Therefore, the determination of the veracity of the accounts will depend on the readers' ability to reason logically. It is always the nature of man not to be quick to see his own fault; but rather will try to blame someone else. Yet in the final analysis, both cannot be right or wrong. The truism is that one must be right while the other is wrong except in matters of unusual circumstances.

The Result of the War

There is an old English adage to the effect that every misfortune is a blessing in disguise. Amaku,[157] a popular Efik author, has a similar statement in his book which seems to bring out more meaning or a clue to the proper interpretation and understanding of that adage: "Kpukpru idiok nkpo idihe idiok; Eti nkpo ediworo kpasuk do." The meaning that he conveys is that all things that appear to be bad are not really bad because they bring forth good things. This statement directly agrees with our analysis of conflict in the early pages of this chapter. However,

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[157]E.N. Amaku, Efik Primer for Primary Schools, Vol. 5 (Calabar, Nigeria).

if a conflict takes the life of a person, to that man the misfortune is not a blessing; and cannot be. Perhaps we could conclude that the direct sufferers in a painful situation can hardly claim to be the beneficiaries of the misfortune. Those who learn a lesson from the explosive episode may claim to have benefitted.

With this view, how are we to rate the Nigerian Civil War? The negative part of it is that the country has lost thousands of precious lives which means a loss of, or decrease in, human talents. In material terms, the country has also lost a lot in terms of money and other resources.

Yet on the constructive side of the conflict, the creation of more states which was the greatest desire of the minorities had been hastened. Also the country now knows of its relative strengths and weaknesses in matters of war and political crises. Nevertheless, it would be rather naive to regard a conflict of such a magnitude and intensity in death toll and material resources as functional. Certainly it was not, but rather it has been a leading example of a dysfunctional conflict.

Summary

This work has thus far shown the nature of conflicts that abound in a country infested with a multiplicity of

cultures. Social cohesion consciously follows cultural boundaries. In our analysis of all the conflicts--minority versus majority, political party versus political party, region versus nation, person versus person, ethnic group versus the nation, etc.--we have not been able to classify even one as absolutely functional.

Possibly the intra-group conflicts are those likely to be functional. This would involve people of the same ethnic group. But as soon as we cross cultural boundaries, all we face so far has been a series of dysfunctional conflicts. Why has this been the case? The obvious answer in the author's mind is that the country's cross-cultural or multi-ethno-cultural communications system is still either unfounded or inexplicably feeble, inappropriate and inadequate.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

I. ANALYSIS

This study has been chiefly analytically descriptive in scope. To find out the opinions of those directly wrapped up in the system, reason and expedience justify direct contact with Nigerians themselves. The author must admit from the outset that personal interviews could not be conducted with a majority of the respondents. This could only have been possible if money for travelling from the United States to Nigeria were available. But unfortunately, it was not. Therefore, the respondents were to be reached only by mail.

Perhaps personal interviews could have affected their responses to some little extent. However, the questions were so clearly stated that it is safe to believe that a face-to-face contact with the respondents should have made no significant difference. The Nigerian respondents around San Diego and Los Angeles, nevertheless, were contacted in person. The author, of course, still takes cognizance of the fact that the number of women respondents and polygamists is relatively small. This is the obvious problem

that should have been solved by personal contact. The same observation applies to the fact that no responses came from people over 50 years old, and the non-educated elements.

Sample Population

Every effort was exerted to obtain responses from all the regions and states of Nigeria. Because of the difficulty of mail correspondence, the responses from some of the states (particularly the Northern States) were relatively very few. Albeit, all the twelve states of Nigeria have been represented in this treatise, and a total of 100 respondents (see the breakdown in the analysis below) could be reached. This includes men and women of all walks of life between the age of 15 through 50. As already pointed out, the age limit was not set at 50 in the questionnaire. Why no responses came from people over this age group may not be guessed here.

Statistical Method

As analytically descriptive as this study is, it does not lend itself to much sophisticated statistical analysis that would involve such terms as "regression analysis," "chi square," "coefficients," "limits," etc.[1]

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[1]See Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964).

As a matter of fact, the questions were not designed for such. Furthermore, a sophisticated statistical analysis would require an expert in the field to interpret. His judgment, therefore, would be final and must be accepted without question.

The author lays much emphasis on simplicity and clarity in this research. With this view in mind, he decides to use the "direct percentage" method in interpreting his findings from the questionnaire. By this method, any student--even on the secondary school level--can understand the comparisons without much difficulty.

The Questionnaire

There are 36 questions subdivided into four major parts (see the Appendix). Each part, as we shall see, is purposely designed to deal with a specific area. These four parts are labelled A, B, C and D, respectively.

Part A. This part contains eight questions designed to stress the ethnic or cultural group to which the individual belongs or where he spends most of his life. Some of the questions may be more significant or more important than others; yet none is without a merit.

Question 1: Do you understand English?

a.	Yes	:	100%
b.	No	:	0%

Question 2: Citizenship?

a.	By birth	:	100%
b.	By marriage	:	0%
c.	By naturalization	:	0%
	Total	:	100%

What is striking in this question is the fact that out of the 100 respondents, none is a woman married from outside Nigeria, and none is a naturalized citizen. This seems to stress either the reluctance with which Nigerians marry from outside the country, or the unwillingness of girls outside the country to be married by Nigerians. It may be necessary in future to research and pinpoint the cause.

On the question of naturalization, many reasons can also be advanced. It may be that the attitude of Nigerians towards non-citizens does not encourage them to take out naturalization papers. It may also be that some aspects of Nigerian culture are discouraging to strangers. We must realize that "a system of social stratification manifests permanence; it has a continued resistance through several generations, usually many; it changes slowly."[2] Thirdly, we may examine the government policy and naturalization laws and ordinances.

There is yet another question to be raised. Could it have been by chance that none of these questionnaires strayed into the hands of citizens of this group? Or could

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[2]Arthur Tuden and L. Plotnicov, Social Stratification in Africa (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 109.

they have chanced to lay hands on the questionnaires but refused to respond?

Question 3: Region of birth?

a.	Eastern Region	: 40%
b.	Lagos	: 15%
c.	Mid-Western	: 10%
d.	Western	: 11%
e.	Northern	: 24%
	Total	: 100%

Here we see that more respondents came from the Eastern Region than any other. One reason could be the fact that the author is from this region; and a lot of the respondents are those who might have had a personal knowledge of acquaintance with the author. Secondly, the name of the author as it appeared on the letter that accompanied the questionnaire can be readily recognized by Nigerians to be of Eastern origin. This may stimulate more excitement and cooperation from the Eastern Region than from the rest. Once again, such a behavior may illustrate a cultural bias on the part of the respondents. It must be stressed that the questionnaires mailed to the Eastern Region were not more in number than what was mailed to any of the other regions.

Question 4: Native of Which of the 12 States?

1.	Rivers	: 10%	7.	Kwara	: 5%
2.	South-East	: 22%	8.	North-Western	: 2%
3.	East Central	: 8%	9.	North Central	: 5%
4.	Mid-West	: 10%	10.	Kano	: 3%
5.	Western	: 11%	11.	North-Eastern	: 3%
6.	Lagos	: 15%	12.	Benue-Plateau	: 6%
		Total :			100%

Once again the South-East State has the highest number; this is the author's state. This question was intended to show if and whether Nigerians born in one region or state do claim permanent residence in another state. It is quite obvious that they do not. This confirms what was brought out earlier in this work that Nigerians stick to their regions of birth as their cultural homes. Even if they leave these homes for gainful employment in other areas, they still retain their native homes and must return thither at retirement.

Question 5: Age

a.	Under 20 years	:	12%
b.	20-30	:	40%
c.	30-40	:	33%
d.	40-50	:	15%
e.	over 50	:	0%
	Total	:	100%

This question was designed to show the age group of the respondents. As already noted, nobody over 50 years old responded. The reason might be that people in this group who could be reached are not educated and therefore could not answer the questions without some interviewer who could record their answers. Perhaps another reason could be laid upon the fact that many people are not usually interested in giving their correct ages (particularly the Africans) in questionnaires even anonymously if the age bracket tends to show that they are old.

Question 6: Language spoken most fluently

a.	Efik/Ibibio	:	22%
b.	Hausa	:	20%
c.	Ibo	:	8%
d.	Yoruba	:	36%
e.	Other	:	14%
	Total	:	100%

In this question the aim was to show the language distribution among the respondents. It is noteworthy that the number speaking a particular language corresponds to the number in the regions of birth shown in Question 3. The 14 per cent that we have for "other" shows the Eastern Region reduces by 10 (the number for Rivers State in Question 4), and a reduction of 4 from the North which had a total of 24 in Question 3.

The languages listed in this question are the four main languages in the country. This tabulation reveals that nearly all the respondents came from these main linguistic groups. Only 4 per cent represents the minorities in the Northern States.

Question 7: Able to speak Nigerian languages other than the native ones?

a.	One other language	:	35%
b.	Two others	:	8%
c.	Three or more	:	0%
d.	None other	:	57%
	Total	:	100%

This question is self-explanatory. The aim was to find out the percentage that can speak more than one Nigerian

language. We must here be reminded that several authors have asserted that there are "about 250 national or ethnic groups in the country--each with its own distinct language." Commenting on this statement, Awolowo[3] expresses his doubts: "Until it is officially or otherwise authoritatively confirmed, we should dismiss this figure as both fantastic and unreliable."

From our findings, we discover that only very few can speak more than two Nigerian languages, and none can speak four. A large fraction (57 per cent) can speak only their native languages while 35 per cent can speak two Nigerian languages.

Question 8: Region where one spends most time in the year?

a.	East	25%
b.	North	21%
c.	West-Midwest	24%
d.	Lagos	22%
e.	Outside Nigeria	8%
	Total	100%

Here we can see that Lagos draws more people from other regions than the rest. The number in the East reduces more

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[3]Obafemi Awolowo, Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution, op. cit., p. 24. He mentions 10 linguistic groups and their population figures in millions that make up 80 per cent of the nation: Hausa/Fulani (13.6); Yoruba (13); Ibo (7.8); Efik/Ibibio (3.2); Kanuri (2.9); Tiv (1.5); Ijaw (.9); Edo (.9); Urhobo (.6); Nupe (.5).

than in any other region. This implies that either the Easterners are more qualified for jobs outside their region, or their region is not developed enough to absorb the qualified applicants for gainful employment. A third question is whether the Easterners are more expeditious than the rest, and therefore like to venture out of their region. Whatever the reason(s) might be, it will require some more research in this respect.

In the final analysis, the questions in Part A have helped us to establish one salient fact that Nigerians hold tenaciously to their cultural affiliations irrespective of where they may be, and the length of time.

Part B. In this section comprising Questions 9-19, the emphasis is on the attitude of the people in social affairs towards other cultural groups. Much attention is paid to language communications which easily identify people and the various groups to which they belong.

Question 9: Language usually used in social "get-togethers?"

a.	English	: 58%
b.	Native language of place of meeting	: 10%
c.	Native language of majority in meeting	: 32%
d.	Other	: 0%
	Total	: 100%

It is here revealed that even though English is the acknowledged official language, the tendency is to speak

more of the native languages as the number of the people in the meeting increases. The place of the meeting is not as significant as the cultural group(s) that constitute the assembly. The tendency to use the native language, however, is not without effect on those who cannot understand. This effect is shown in Question 12.

Question 10: Which one is easier to learn?

a.	Another Nigerian language	: 21%
b.	English	: 65%
c.	Do not know	: 14%
	Total	: 100%

Quite a large number of people assert that it is easier to learn English than other Nigerian languages (excluding one's native language). This question was intended to show how the respondents who speak more than one Nigerian language compare such languages with English in terms of difficulty. Interestingly, English appears easier.

How can one account for this? It appears to the author that the obvious reason is the fact that English is compulsory in the classroom; while other native languages are neglected. The result is that children or people know much of English even before they come in contact with other citizens who speak a different language. When two people from different ethnic groups meet, they are thus able to communicate in English. This situation eliminates the desire or necessity to endeavor to learn other cultural

languages. Since the effort at learning is seldom taken seriously, it takes one a longer period to master the other ethnic language. The impression, therefore, is that English is easier to learn than Nigerian languages. There is no empirically, statistically significant evidence that English is easier to learn than the Nigerian languages.

Question 11: Choice of a social (including marriage) or business partner who does not speak your native language.

a.	yes	:	53%
b.	no	:	37%
c.	no opinion	:	10%
	Total	:	100%

This question is probably the most important one in this group. Its purpose is to show how much confidence Nigerians in the secrets of their hearts have towards members of other cultural groups. Their answers reflect the type of relationship likely to exist if uncontrollable circumstances happen to link them together. Experience can illustrate that any relationship founded on distrust and lack of confidence is likely to founder at the slightest difficulty that confronts the partnership or group.

More than a third of the respondents (37 per cent) admit that they would not choose business partners (including marriage from outside their cultural group. Of course, this fact has already been stressed elsewhere in Chapter IV

of this work. Fifty-three per cent say they would; and only 10 per cent gave no opinion.

This analysis, no doubt, suggests accepting a lot of the hypotheses of this study.

Question 12: Attitude at the language you do not understand when spoken by a group of Nigerians with you in their midst.

a.	Much bothered	:	18%
b.	Bothered a little	:	37%
c.	Not bothered at all	:	35%
d.	Happy	:	10%
	Total	:	100%

This question was intended to show how many people would get easily offended when a conversation is carried on in their presence by people speaking a language they do not understand. Of course, by Western standard this would be regarded as bad manners.

If we add those who claim that they would be much bothered (18 per cent) to those who would be bothered a little (37 per cent) we have 55 per cent that will be bothered as against 45 per cent who say that they would not be bothered. This may explain the reluctance of some expressed in Question 11 to enter into business or social partnership with those who do not speak their native language.

Question 13: Marital status

a.	A married man?	:	36%
b.	Married woman?	:	14%
c.	Unmarried man?	:	38%
d.	Unmarried woman?	:	12%
	Total	:	100%

This question was purposely designed to show both sex and marital status at the same time instead of having two separate questions. We can see here that all the married men who responded did not get their wives to fill out the questionnaire also, otherwise the number of married women should closely approach the number of married men. The reason might be that some of the married women are not educated and their husbands did not bother to interpret the questions to them.

A second reason may be that some married women still play inferior roles to their husbands. And this is not unusual in Africa; hence they regard this type of affair to be the sole responsibility of their husbands. Thirdly, it may be the general reluctance on the part of the women to show interest in matters of this nature. Finally, it may have been that some married couples received only one copy of the questionnaire.

It is, however, interesting to note that almost an equal number of married as unmarried men had the opportunity to fill out this questionnaire. The analysis further shows that a total of 26 women responded as against 74 men. This is not actually bad; but more responses could have been obtained from women if the researcher could conduct face-to-face interviews.

Question 14: Number of wives for married men?

a.	one wife	: 83.3%
b.	more than one	: 16.7%
	Total	: 100%

It must be noted here that this percentage is calculated from the 36 married men shown in Question 13. Only one-sixth of the married respondents claim to be polygamists. One can also deduce the fact that polygamy is actually dwindling in Nigeria. This, perhaps, is the result of copying Western culture, which equally makes modern girls refuse to marry a polygamist.

Question 15: Ethnic groups of the wives of the polygamists?

a.	All wives from husband's ethnic group	: 83.3%
b.	All wives from one ethnic group	: 0%
c.	From different ethnic groups	: 16.7%
d.	None from husband's ethnic group	: 0%
	Total	: 100%

Once again it must be noted that this percentage is calculated from the six polygamists revealed in Question 14. It is noteworthy that even polygamists do not like marrying from outside their cultural groups.

Question 16: Whether the wives of the monogamists come from the husband's ethnic group.

a.	yes	: 90%
b.	no	: 10%
	Total	: 100%

This question was designed to show whether young men of today are interested in marrying from outside their ethnic groups. The percentage is calculated from the 30 men who claimed to be monogamists. Once again we notice that only 10 per cent marry from outside their ethno-cultural groups.

The analyst cannot help referring here to Question 11 in which 53 per cent indicated that they could choose social partners from outside their cultural groups. The findings in this question eloquently contradict the assertions of Question 11. It means that their answers to Question 11 are something to be accepted in theory and not in practice. The truth is evident. Nigerians still prefer marrying from their cultural groups to marrying from outside the group.

Question 17: Parental (or relatives') attitudes towards their sons marrying from outside their ethnic groups.

a.	Very happy	: 0%
b.	Opposed but later accepted	: 50%
c.	Still opposing	: 50%
d.	No reaction	: 0%
	Total	: 100%

This percentage is calculated from the 4 cases that admit marrying from outside their cultural groups.

It is a fact that parents still have a great influence in Africa upon the marriages of their sons. Many of them do not generally favor their inter-cultural marriages. That is why this question was necessary. In the 4 cases thus analyzed, we see that opposition has been their lot.

Question 18: For inter-cultural marriages—incidents of family conflicts rooted in cultural difference.

a.	Very often	: 0%
b.	Rarely	: 25%
c.	Never	: 75%
d.	Not sure of cause	: 0%
	Total	: 100%

Here again, the percentage is calculated on 4 cases. Seventy-five per cent report no conflicts and 25 per cent report conflicts rarely arising from cultural differences. It means that the fear of inter-cultural marriages not succeeding is really unfounded. But why many people are still reluctant to marry inter-culturally is either unknown or still uncertain. We may hope that time will solve this problem.

Question 19: Whether the inter-cultural couples regret the marriages.

a.	yes	: 25%
b.	no	: 75%
	Total	: 100%

The one case of regret is obviously the same case in Question 18 that experienced conflicts, though rarely. Of course, this is insignificant because people who marry intra-culturally occasionally experience conflicts in the family that at times lead to separation or divorce.

This question was intended to reveal whether inter-cultural couples have sufficient causes to regret their marriages so as to serve as a piece of warning to those

who may be contemplating affinal relationships. However, we must admit that a sample of only 4 couples in this category is so insignificant that these findings may be discarded as not being truly representative. This indicates a weakness in this section of the research. Of course, the researcher must not be blamed for it; but rather, it would be advisable to conduct a more reliable research in this respect when it is possible to personally interview a sufficient number of couples in this group.

Nevertheless, the answers of the questions in Part B have clearly indicated that there is no absolute intercultural confidence in social relationships. What people may express verbally is one thing, and what they actually practice, another.

Part C. Questions in this group were designed to emphasize business relationships and how much they are affected by cultural differences.

Question 20: Conducting business (including buying and selling) with fellow Nigerians through an interpreter.

a.	Very often	:	10%
b.	Sometimes	:	53%
c.	Never	:	32%
d.	Always avoid	:	5%
	Total	:	100%

We can see from these responses that more businesses are conducted through interpreters than without them. What

may explain this situation may be that illiteracy is more than 50 per cent in the country, and yet people like to travel to crowded cities because of modern facilities of transportation.

Five per cent admit that they always deliberately avoid situations that would involve a business transaction through interpreters. It requires no verbal magic to convince the audience that this avoidance results from the fear that they may not have a fair deal if they cannot express themselves directly to the parties involved.

Question 21: *Whether business transactions through interpreters were deemed fair.*

a.	Yes	: 66.6%
b.	No	: 25%
c.	Not sure	: 8.4%
	Total	: 100%

Some people may purposely cheat customers who cannot understand them well. Even the interpreters may favor one party against the other. In any event, the person that indulges in an unfair play is aware of what he is doing. That is why this question was necessary.

In Question 20, we discovered that a total of 63 people admitted doing business through interpreters. *Therefore*, the *percentage* calculation in *Question* 21 was based on that figure (yes: 42; no: 16; not sure: 5). The analysis shows that only 66.6 per cent claim that such deals were satisfactory and fair. Twenty-five per cent

were sure that some party to the transaction suffered a disadvantage; while 8.4 per cent were not sure of the fairness of the deal. This type of relationship is enough to discourage business between parties who have difficulties in direct communications.

Question 22: Which ethnic group do you like <u>least</u> as a business partner?

a.	Efik/Ibibio	:	6%
b.	Hausa	:	9%
c.	Ibo	:	14%
d.	Yoruba	:	19%
e.	Other	:	22%
f.	No answer	:	30%
	Total	:	100%

This question was intended to show whether Nigerians are truly naturally prejudiced against some cultural groups which could imply their unwillingness to associate with such groups. Once again I listed only the major ethnic groups. Interestingly, the Yorubas are the most disliked (19 per cent), followed by Ibo (14 per cent). Twenty-two per cent recorded for others (these would be the minority groups) is hard to identify. One must note that a large number (30 per cent) gave no answer.

Whatever the case, this question has shown that some people have prejudices against some ethno-cultural groups in the country.

Question 23: Reason for liking least.

a.	From hearsay about them	:	10%
b.	From your personal knowledge	:	70%
c.	Because of their language being difficult	:	7.1%
d.	No particular reason	:	12.9%
	Total	:	100%

This percentage is calculated from a total of 70 who admitted liking some group least in Question 22. The purpose was to see why they do not like such groups. A vast majority (49) base their reasons on their personal experiences with the groups concerned. This is quite logical. However, 12.9 per cent (9) simply dislike some other ethnic groups without any particular reason. This may be hard to understand; but since individuals have their own peculiarities, not much can be done.

Other reasons include the language difficulty of some groups (5), and what news is circulated about the groups (7).

Question 24: Which group (omit yours) do you like <u>best</u> for business partnership?

a.	Hausa	:	30%
b.	Efik/Ibibio	:	10%
c.	Ibo	:	11%
d.	Yoruba	:	11%
e.	Other	:	10%
f.	No answer	:	28%
	Total	:	100%

This question is the counterpart of Question 23 and is, therefore, self-explanatory.

Question 25: Reasons for liking the group best?

a.	From hearsay about them	: 3%
b.	From your knowledge of them	: 60%
c.	Their language fascinates you	: 32%
d.	Just like them for no reason	: 5%
	Total	: 100%

In Question 24, we noted that the Hausas are the most liked group. In Question 25, we see that 32 per cent claim to be fascinated by the language of the group they like. It can be logically concluded here that the Hausa language is the most fascinating to many Nigerians. We may be brought back to this point as we continue to analyze this questionnaire.

Question 26: Occupation

a.	White-collar employee	: 27%
b.	Blue-collar employee	: 20%
c.	Self-employed	: 12%
d.	Student	: 28%
e.	No job	: 13%
	Total	: 100%

This question reveals that the questionnaires were fairly distributed among the many classes of people. Not much difference exists between the number of students and others that responded. But it indicates that Nigerians depend more on salaried employment (47) than on self-employment (12).

There may be many reasons to suggest why very few people are self-employed. This work is not going further

into that. Cognizance must also be taken of the high rate of unemployment (13 per cent). Once again we are going to ignore the reasons for unemployment in this treatise. Such a topic would surely require a thorough independent investigation and analysis.

Question 27: Incidence of misunderstanding or conflict arising from the speaking of various languages at place of business.

a.	Very often	: 20%
b.	Sometimes	: 45%
c.	Never	: 23%
d.	Don't take note	: 12%
	Total	100%

This question was meant to show those who are aware of conflicts stemming from cultural differences at their places of employment. A total of 65 (20 and 45) admit that problems have been arising from using different languages. This further confirms that even though English is the official language, many people tend to use more of their native languages than English unless circumstances specifically require English.

Question 28: Language usually preferred by business associates.

a.	English	: 59%
b.	Native language	: 31%
c.	Not easy to tell	: 10%
	Total	: 100%

Once again we can see from this question that many people feel more comfortable with their native languages than they do with English even in their official businesses.

Question 29: Have you ever been denied a job or legal right as a result of cultural discrimination?

a.	Yes	:	*40%*
b.	No	:	*41%*
c.	Not sure	:	*11%*
	Total	:	100#

This question is perhaps the most important in this group. It was intended to reveal how many people have ever experienced that people in official capacities practice undue discrimination against applicants, subordinates anu even their equals from other linguistic groups. The result is as interesting as it is revealing. Almost the same number (40) assert that they have been such victims as those who claim not to have been discriminated against (43).

Many times we tend to conclude that it is the members of the majority groups in whatever region that discriminate against the minorities. Yet the fact is that whenever some members of the minority groups chance to hold a responsible position, some of them in turn tend to favor their ethnic group members. The ultimate consequence is the high rate of cultural discrimination right through the country.

The analysis of this question alone, backed up with other findings from the rest of the questions, suggests our

downright acceptance of the hypotheses propounded at the beginning of this work.

If we did not include part (c) which shows 17 per cent not sure, it is evident that we would have at least 50 per cent of the respondents acknowledging that they have been discriminated against in one respect or another. With such a high rate of cultural discrimination, one cannot help but accept our hypotheses.

Question 30: Ever witnessed or participated in an inter-group conflict that could be avoided but for multi-lingual communications?

a.	Yes	:	537*
b.	**No.**	:	**47#**
	Total	:	100?$

This question was related to Question 27 and was purposed to strengthen the findings of that question. Certainly, it does. The Mye3" and "no" are represented in the ratio of 53 per cent to 47 per cent, respectively.

Part D. Questions in this group were specifically designed to help the researcher in formulating his recommendations. As can be seen, they are different in scope and content from the questions of the first three parts—A, B and C.

Question 31: Liking English as official language?

a.	**Yes**	;	63#
b.	No	:	*31* *f°*
	Total	;	100^

Although many people are very free with their native languages even in official places, yet there is a preponderance of opinions suggesting that Nigerians would rather stick to English as their official language than accept any linguistic language in such a capacity.

Question 32: Recommend a language (not English) for official use.

a.	Ibo	5*
b.	Yoruba	10%
c.	Hausa	40%
d.	Efik/Ibibio	5*
e.	None	37%
f.	Other	3%
	Total :	100%

This question should remind us of our discussion of Questions 24 and 25 above. Many people liked Hausa best, and there was a high percentage of fascination at language given as a reason for liking a group. Here we can now conclude categorically that the Hausa language has truly been the most impressive of the Nigei'ian languages. It would be interesting and worthwhile to conduct a detailed research to find out the reason(s).

Nevertheless, we must also note that if we add all the other choices (of which "none" with 37 per cent is the highest), then Hausa does not command up to 50 per cent of the recommendations. This means that English would still be preferred.

Question 33: Do you like the reading of the national news in only the three main languages?[4]

a.	Yes	11%
b.	No	80%
c.	No opinion	9%
	Total	100%

There is no need to expatiate on this result since a change has already been effected (see footnote).

Question 34: Liking to have your native language abolished?

a.	Yes	8%
b.	No	92%
	Total	100%

This again does not call for any elaboration. A great majority would not like to have their languages abolished, if ever such were possible. Many respondents have written very interesting comments on this matter (see Appendix).

Question 35: Did multi-ethno-cultural affiliations play a part in the Nigerian Civil War?

a.	Very much	25%
b.	A little	41%
c.	Not at all	26%
d.	Not sure	8%
	Total	100%

Very many theories, as already noted, were propounded about the Nigerian Civil War. The rebels during the war claimed that it was a war to genocide one particular ethnic group--the

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[4]Between the time that this questionnaire was sent out and the time of publishing this work, it has been reported that the reading of the news in only the three main languages has been discontinued or changed to nine languages.

Ibo--out of jealousy and hatred because of their achievements. In fact, many foreign countries, including France, Gabon, Tanzania, Zambia, Ivory Coast, and even America, supported that view directly or indirectly.

This special question was included to find out whether the Nigerians themselves felt that cultural diversity played any major role in the war even though the question of genocide was an unfounded issue. As shown in the responses, a total of 65 per cent felt that multi-language system played a part in aggravating the situation. Twenty-six per cent claimed that cultural differences played no part at all, and a very small fraction--8 per cent--were not sure. Judging from this result, the researcher does not hesitate to conclude that ethnic diversities really featured in the bloody conflict.

Perhaps this question should have been better placed among group B. However, it does not lose its significance by being included in Part D since it is connected with a dreadful historical event that ought to be avoided or prevented if only appropriate recommendations can be advanced and implemented by the subsequent ruling class.

Question 36: Which of these would you recommend?

a.	Abolish all native languages	: 10%
b.	Officially recognise all	: 40%
c.	Leave things as they are	: 43%
d.	Other	: 7%
	Total	: 100%

In casual discussions, many Nigerians have acknowledged the social ills in our society. This question was intended to give the respondents the opportunity to air their views as to what could be done to make the country a better place to live in. Yet the highest fraction (43 percent) supports leaving things as they are. The next highest fraction (40 percent) believes that all the languages[5] in the country should be officially recognized.

The suggestion to abolish all native languages—the view of 10 per cent)—does not appear to be feasible either. The others (7 per cent) comprise respondents who either said nothing in this respect, or suggested adoption of one of the Nigerian languages, a question already analyzed in No. 32.

The analysis of the responses to the questionnaire is thus concluded at this point. A critical reader must have discovered that no question was asked about religious affiliations. Religion, of course, is a very important aspect of culture. The author deliberately omitted questions of religion because there is almost no evidence that religion has caused any significant conflict among the Nigerians. The allegation that the Civil War had a

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[5]See the list of the various languages as submitted by the different state governments by my request in the Appendix.

religious root was totally unfounded and disproved even by the international fact-finders. In the previous pages of this work, much has already been convincingly said about religion to warrant its exclusion from the questionnaire.

As a matter of fact, the composition of the Federal Public Service Commission that operated till the overthrow of the civilian government by the army, can well illustrate the inter-religious harmony in Nigeria. This commission was one of the highest independent bodies representative of all the component parts of the Federation as shown in the following table.

TABLE XII

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION, 1966*

Name	Position	Religion	Ethnic Group
Alhaji Sule Katagum	Chairman	Islam	Fulani (North)
Sir Samuel Manuwa	First Commissioner	Christian	Yoruba (West)
Alhaji Yusufu Jega	Second Commissioner	Islam	Hausa (North)
Dr. L.O. Uwechia	Third Commissioner	Christian	Ibo (East)
Chief M.E.R. Okorodudu	Commissioner	Christian	Itshekiri (Mid-West)

*Source: "Unity in Diversity," p. 6.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

> In every modern democracy conflict among different groups is expressed through political parties which basically represent a democratic translation of the class struggle. Even though many parties renounce the principle of class conflict or loyalty, an analysis of their appeals and their support suggests that they do represent the interests of different classes.[6]

From the above quotation, we ought to be convinced that the social struggles or conflicts that Nigerians encounter within the country--whether they be based on culture, political party, class status, or otherwise--are not unique to Nigeria. However, it is sad to remark that a lot of the conflicts in Nigeria have been rather dysfunctional. Since this study has tried to pinpoint the cause or causes of these dysfunctional conflicts which, by no means, are happily welcomed by the society, it is fitting that the author propose some recommendations that may alter the unacceptable conditions.

To this end, a few recommendations are listed below. These recommendations are primarily aimed at a harmonious integration of the various cultures in order to attain a peaceful co-existence. They are not intended as a panacea for the ills of any single ethnicity. The "soundness" of the "whole" in this respect implies the "soundness" of

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[6]Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), p. 230.

the "components." There is a popular Latin phrase which states, "Mens sana in corpore sana."

Home Training

Some parents, out of ignorance, usually look upon the schools to mold their children into respectful and respectable citizens. They ignore or neglect their parental responsibility to lead and instruct their children, both by words and by deeds to owe adequate regards to other ethnicities. Many parents often transmit their inter-cultural prejudices to their children "through overt aversions, casual remarks and anecdotes."[7]

What such parents are essentially doing is warning their children to beware of people from other ethnocultural groups, and that without any reason to justify this indoctrination. Other parents, still, may refuse to give appropriate answers even when their children ask them questions connected with inter-cultural relationship. They expect the inquisitive ones to learn from schools. Parents in these two classes are actually spoiling inter-cultural relationships of the posterity even before their formation.

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[7]Sunday Williamson Petters, "Education: Key to National Unity," Inter-Link: The Nigerian-American Quarterly Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 1, January-March, 1966.

It, therefore, becomes necessary that the enlightened elements in every society undertake to reach and instruct such parents who are thus innocently retarding our national harmony, unity and advancement.

Language Teaching in Schools

The fast or slow pace by which any twentieth century nation is developing must be invariably attributed to education. Education embraces technological advancement which, among other things, reveals itself in improved means of transportation and communications. Nigerians are now able to travel to and fro to any corner of the country. This implies inevitable interaction with other citizens who may understand neither English nor the native language of the traveller. It should therefore be the responsibility of the government to make the study of the country's languages compulsory in schools--primary and secondary.

One may ask whether the learning of the languages would abate the inter-ethnic tensions. The answer, according to the author, is "yes." First of all, tension is greater when one does not understand another in the slightest bit. Learning the language will at least facilitate verbal communication.

Secondly, and in a rather indirect way, the learning of one's language is likely to facilitate a deeper

understanding and appreciation of one's culture. John Dewey[8] emphasizes that school subjects are not learned in isolation. "Perhaps the greatest of all pedagogical fallacies is the notion that a person learns only the particular thing he is studying at the time." He continues to add that collateral learning in the way of formation of enduring attitudes, of likes and dislikes, may be and often is much more important than the spelling lesson, geography, or history that is learned.

Adult Education

In many a Nigerian community, the adults who did not attend schools when they were young seem to have irretrievably lost their chances of learning to read and write. This implies that they may never be able to express themselves in simple English unless they happen to live in crowded cities where pidgin English is common. You can correctly imagine the problems and the type of relationship likely to evolve when individuals of this category contemplate inter-cultural interactions.

Without further elaboration, it is here recommended that the government should embark on an adequate or effective adult education scheme that will put an end to the

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[8]John Dewey, Experience and Education (London: Collier-Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1969), p. 48.

frustration of the illiterates, and improve their communicative skills. This will help to foster our national solidarity.

Internal "Peace Corps" or "Job Corps"

Classroom education alone cannot be looked upon as the omnipotent antidote to all of the country's social, political or inter-cultural disharmony. Actually, the learning of a foreign language without the opportunity to practice speaking is as useless or meaningless as never learning at all. It is hereby recommended that at the completion of their secondary school education, the applicants—particularly for teaching and civil service appointments—should be made to serve in states other than those of their birth.

This arrangement, it is hoped, will create excellent opportunities for the young minds to meaningfully get used to the practices of other cultures, and appreciate them. After a fixed period, they can have their choices as to where to serve. "In any community, there must be some congruence between what different people do, believe, and feel, otherwise social order would be impossible."[9]

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[9]Anthony F.C. Wallace, Culture and Personality, 2nd Edition (New York: Random House, Inc., 1970), p. 25. See also Margaret Mead, "The Concept of Culture and Psychosomatic Approach," Psychiatry, Vol. 10, 1947, pp. 72-76.

It is on this premise that we have to justify this approach which also supports the theses of such authors as Emile Durkheim[10] that society depends for integration upon the "common sentiments" of its members, and of many others, including Erich Fromm,[11] John Honigmann,[12] and Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux.[13]

Ethnic Group Organizations

Cultural organizations, per se, should not be discouraged but encouraged providing that they are nationalistically patriotic in scope. This implies that they should not be unreasonably and unjustifiably exclusive. However, sex may not be considered here. All the people, irrespective of their ethnicities, who are willing and able to abide by the constitutions and the by-laws of any organization, should be granted membership privileges. It will, therefore, be necessary to file the constitutions, by-laws, and other relevant papers of such organizations with the government.

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[10] Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1958).

[11] See Erich Fromm in S. Stansfeld Sargant and Marian W. Smith (Eds.), Culture and Personality (New York: Viking Fund Publications, 1949), p. 5.

[12] John J. Honigmann, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1954), p. 220.

[13] Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux (Eds.), The Study of Culture at a Distance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

Nevertheless, if the organizations are such that promulgate local religious practices and rituals that have been traditionally exclusive, then the membership should be left unadulterated. By this, the author does not advocate reversion to paganism or idol worship of our forefathers. But we have to be cognizant of the fact that our national Constitution provides for, and upholds, the principle of religious freedom and toleration. This constitutional (if not inalienable) right must remain inviolate.

The cultural organizations, therefore, should be designed, planned, directed and engineered towards the overall good of the nation, and not be manipulated for selfish, discriminatory and unpatriotic ambitions of a set group.

Political Parties

Closely related to ethno-cultural organizations are the political parties. In the past, Nigeria had accommodated very many political parties. Even though these parties were known, regarded, accepted and treated as political parties, in effect some of them were, for all practical purposes, serving the interests of some particular ethnic group instead of the nation (see the earlier discussion in Chapter IV).

The obvious fact is that any political party must unavoidably originate from one ethnic group or another. But how the parties function after their birth or inauguration is the question. The weakness, in the author's seasoned opinion, lays in the huge number of these parties. The more the number, the less they can be effectively surveyed, checked and constructively criticized by the government.

Dr. Ukpong[14] suggests a two-party system for Nigeria. An indication is thus portrayed that this author is not alone in finding fault with having too many[15] parties. There is no suggestion nor support, however, in this work for a one-party or a two-party system. The researcher is not convinced that any one of those two systems can efficiently handle the complex problems of cultural disunity that has been cankering our national stability for the past many years.

To fight the defect in the political fabric, this work suggests or recommends that the number of political parties in Nigeria should not be less than three, and not more than four. The fewness will facilitate a more

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[14] Michael B. Ukpong, op. cit., p. 234.

[15] The notion of "too many" is, however, a matter of subjective interpretation by individuals.

efficacious diagnosis and government scrutiny for unnationalistic practices and unfair play. At the same time, it will facilitate constructive coalitions if circumstances so demand.

Marriage Practices

Traditionally, Nigerian males pay or give bride-prices to their parents-in-law at the time of marriage. This custom varies on cultural lines. No national law has been enacted by the Federal Government to regulate this system. The result is that some cultures expect and charge more[16] from their sons-in-law than others. Do these differences not affect prospective bridegrooms' decisions towards marriage?

Apart from the economic considerations, many young people have been influenced against cross-cultural marriages within the country by their elder relatives, including parents whose roles in the marriages of their offspring have traditionally been very significant. This work circumspects the atmosphere that surrounds Nigerian

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[16] In a recent interview with an Ibo friend, the author confirmed what he read in a book that Ibo marriages generally cost more than £250 ($700.00) in bride-price alone. Among the Ibibios, the average is £30 ($84.00). Recently the North-Central State has passed a law, £10 ($28.00) for spinsters, and £5 ($14.00) for divorcees.

inter-cultural marriages with a grave concern and makes the following recommendation.

The system or custom of bride-price should be overhauled or revamped, and a national standard set. Secondly, the youths of today should take definite stands in selecting their mates, heeding less to their parents' negative attitude, but instructing them the more--with practical examples--that given normal conditions, the marriage with one cultural group stands equal chance of success as with another. With this done, the next generation should see more national harmonious unity than the present.

Leaders' Attitudes

By experience, we are sure that every group of people in every nation has its influential members, herein referred to as "leaders." The expression "to follow the leader" is not a strange or a new ideology to the human sentiments. Directly or indirectly, the majority of the people follows their leaders till they themselves become leaders to be in turn followed by the rest. Of course, it does not mean that everybody is born to be a leader. In the story of Sohrab and Rustom we read, "For some were born to do great deeds and live; and others to be obscured and die."

One can easily understand the behavior of a society by intelligently analyzing the attitude of their leaders.

In this respect it is recommended that our leaders--whether on national, local, group or family levels--should eloquently exhibit exemplary attitudes towards cultural integration in all their spheres of influence, position and authority.

Penalty for Infraction

It is not necessary to make a law unless it can be honored or respected. In fact to pass a law that is not, or cannot be, enforced is worse than not making it at all because it reveals the weakness of the government which should have been left hidden if the law were not made. Aware of the disunity, disharmony and instability that plague Nigeria because of unbridled loyalty to sectionalism, devastating adherence to felonious nepotism, and counterfeit jingoism of discrimination practitioners, the Federal Government ought to take a stand.

Actually, the effectiveness or efficiency of a government is predicated on its instant ability to identify, and its potential capacity to arrest, the cause(s) of social maladies before a chronic stage is reached. It can now be said with considerable accuracy that responsible individuals (and hence the government) have identified some of the causes of the country's ills. The treatment must, therefore, be of a paramount concern.

This research recommends at this point that appropriate legislation should be made to cope with and

combat unwarranted practices of disuniting cultural affiliations. And stiff penalties should be the lot of convicted offenders. We cannot help but hope that this will reduce the extent of the nation's internal disruptive conflicts and put the citizens back into the path of an efficient allocation and utilization of their national resources. Failure to heed this precaution will be tantamount, in the author's opinion, to licentiousness for the deliberate malefactors.

Let no impression be given that this work has exhausted the list of possible recommendations. In fact, what is enumerated thus far constitutes only a small percentage of what could be recommended.

III. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was sufficiently amplified in Chapter I to ward off ambiguity and uncertainty from the readers' minds. This treatise has accordingly not deviated from that purpose.

As a contemporary independent sovereignty in the comity of nations, Nigeria has been adequately examined starting from its natural geographical location to the behaviors of individual citizens. This examination, of course, had the hypotheses enunciated also in Chapter I as the focal point around which the study has revolved.

We have discovered that the cultural diversities, complementary as they are in many respects, present a phenomenon that dates in antiquity. Nigeria may have more ethnic groups, than many other countries, inhabiting its confines. But we cannot relentlessly conclude that it is unique simply *because of this multiplicity of cultural heritage.*

Our study or knowledge of the world shows that there are many other countries--industrialized and less developed--that endure or enjoy complementarity of cultural diversities. Take Switzerland for example. At least four ethnicities can be identified there. These include people of the Romansch, German, French and Italian descent and origin. Both Canada and Mexico are examples of countries in other continents with a multi-lingual or multi-cultural complex. Bolivia and Guiana in South America; Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon and India in Asia; Gilbert and Ellis Islands, Mariana, Papua and New Guinea in Australia, Spain and Yugoslavia in Europe--all these are but a few examples *of countries in this category.*

In Africa, one can safely and honestly conclude that there are more countries with multi-cultural or multi-ethno-lingual complex than the unilingual ones (see the Appendix). *Therefore, Nigeria should not call for sympathy.*

This research, nevertheless, has shown that the various ethnic groups in Nigeria have succeeded to stick

very tenaciously to their traditional cultures. Very little change has resulted from its contact with, and influence from, Westernization. This does not on the corollary imply that Easternization has affected it either. The cultures in Nigeria have been geneologically transmitted. And there is every likelihood that this trend shall persist for many subsequent generations.

It catches the eye that these ethno-cultural diversities have affected the social, political, economic and business progress and development. Most of the conflicts faced within, and by, this country and its citizens stem from inability to placably integrate the diversities. Consequently, many people seem to accept unflinchingly their allegiance to their cultural groups, directly and indirectly, as the "authors and finishers" of their material comforts and psychological satisfaction.

The demarcation of the various cultural boundaries in accordance with ethno-linguistic groupings, though natural, accentuates majority-minority sentiments and leads to cultural discrimination, prejudices, biases and nepotism. It also affords the opportunity for one to prefer one group to another even though the geographical locations of all the groups are not coterminous.

These testimonies have been flagrantly borne out by the questionnaire of this research. Such being the case,

the author has been led to accept the hypotheses. A democratic government is essentially a government of "quantity" and not "quality." On this theory a vote of 51 "yes" against 49 "no" is enough to pass a bill or accept a legislative motion. It makes no difference whether the 49 "no's" were geniuses while the 51 "yes's" were morons. Once these 100 individuals have been duly constituted and authorized to vote, their votes carry equal weight. And this is what the general public understands. Thus the modern electronic computer machine is not necessary to tell the public that 51 is larger than 49.

Fortunately, the respondents to the questionnaire numbered 100. The author finds it very meaningful to use the percentage method to decide on whether to accept or reject an hypothesis. There is every justification for excluding the use of a mechanized computer from this work because the questions in the questionnaire were absolutely non-correlated in content.

A set of nine significantly important recommendations is presented in this study which is purely analytically descriptive. This list is by no means exhaustive. Each of the nine recommendations is given in a synoptic fashion which could be elaborated into volumes.

To an inquisitive and a disciplined scholar, this study raises an inevitable question, "And so what?"

At this juncture, it is obvious that even though this work is concluded here, more channels, avenues or topics of further research have been left wide open. At present, the twelve states of Nigeria are primarily demarcated along cultural boundaries with the hope of solving some of the problems that were culturally-based during the regional governments. Certainly, the new states still contain minority groups.

Should we not now ask, "Is the 12-state structure the best possible method of handling the nation's ethno-cultural problems at the moment, or should there be more states than twelve?" With this a topic for further research is already formulated as the author of this work continues to think and meditate.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: Please answer all the questions from Parts A to D by marking an "X" against your choice. For instance, if the answer that you choose is (c) check it as shown here:(X)There is every promise that your answers will be kept strictly confidential. It is not required that you write your name on the paper, unless you choose to do so. Your cooperation will be much appreciated if you undertake to translate these questions to your friends or relatives who cannot understand English and record their answers. It is obvious that such answers will be equally (if not more) interesting.

Your name and address (optional) _____

_____

_____

PART A

1. Do you understand English? (a) Yes (b) No
2. Are you a Nigerian (or do you live in Nigeria) as a citizen?
   (a) by birth (b) by marriage (c) by naturalization
   (d) other_____
3. Your region of birth (a) Eastern (b) Lagos (c) Northern (d) Western or Midwestern (e) Other (specify country)____
4. Native of which of the 12 States of Nigeria_____
5. Your age is (a) under 20 years (b) 20-30 (c) 30-40 (d) 40-50 (e) over 50 years?
6. Which Nigerian language can you speak most fluently?
   (a) Efik/Ibibio (b) Hausa (c) Ibo (d) Yoruba
   (e) other_____
7. Can you speak (a) one other Nigerian language? (b) 2 others? (c) 3 or more others? (d) none other?_____
8. In which region do you spend most of your time in a year? (a) East (b) North (c) West or Midwest (d) Lagos (e) outside the country_____

PART B

9. Which language do you usually use in social "get-togethers?" (a) English (b) native language of the place of the social gathering? (c) native language of the majority in the gathering? (d) other (specify)_____

10. If you speak English and any other Nigerian language (answered in #7) which one did you find easier to learn? (a) the Nigerian language (b) English (c) you don't know_____
11. Would you like to choose somebody as your social (including marriage) or business partner who does not speak your native language? (a) yes (b) no (c) no opinion_____
12. When a group of Nigerians start speaking their native language which you don't understand while in their company, do you feel (a) much bothered (b) bothered a little (c) not bothered at all (d) happy for the opportunity to hear another language_____
13. Are you (a) a married man? (b) a married woman? (c) unmarried man? (d) unmarried woman?_____
14. If you are a married man, do you marry (a) one wife? (b) more than one?_____
15. If you marry many wives, do they all come from (a) your ethnic group? (b) all of them are from one ethnic group? (c) different ethnic groups? (d) none is from your ethnic group?_____
16. If in a husband and wife relationship, are both of you natives of the same ethnic group? (a) yes (b) no
17. If you (both husband and wife) are not from the same ethnic group, what has been the attitude of your parents and relatives toward the marriage? (a) very happy (b) opposed, but later learned to accept it (c) still opposing (d) no reaction
18. How often do you face family conflicts arising from ethnic differences? (a) very often (b) rarely (c) never (d) not sure of cause of conflicts
19. Do you regret the marriage? (a) yes (b) no (c) not applicable.

PART C

20. Have you ever conducted a business (including buying and selling) with a fellow Nigerian through an interpreter? (a) very often (b) sometimes (c) never (d) you always avoid such situations
21. If your answer to #20 is positive, did you regard the deal as fair to both parties? (a) yes (b) no (c) was not sure
22. Which of these would you least like as a business partner? (a) Efik/Ibibio (b) Hausa (c) Ibo (d) Yoruba (e) other_____
23. Why? (a) because of what you hear about them (b) from your personal knowledge about them (c) their language is too difficult (d) no particular reason, you just don't like them.

24. Which of these would you like best (omit your ethnic group) (a) Hausa (b) Efik/Ibibio (c) Ibo (d) Yoruba (e) other_____
25. Why? (a) because of what you hear about them (b) from your own experience (c) their language fascinates you (d) no particular reason, you simply love them
26. Your occupation? (a) white-collar worker (b) blue-collar worker (c) self-employed (d) student (e) no job
27. How often does the speaking of many languages cause misunderstanding at your place of business? (a) very often (b) sometimes (c) never (d) you don't take note
28. Which language do your business associates usually prefer? (a) English (b) native language of the place of business (c) not easy to tell
29. Have you ever been denied a job or your legal right because your native language was different from that of those in authority? (a) yes (b) no (c) not sure
30. Have you ever witnessed or been a party in an inter-ethnic conflict which would not have arisen if only one language were the means of communication? (a) yes (b) no

PART D

31. Do you like the use of English as official language in Nigeria? (a) yes (b) no
32. Which Nigerian language would you recommend for official use? (a)_____(write in)
(b) a language not yet in use in the country_____
(c) none
33. Do you like the reading of the national news in only Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba? (a) yes (b) no (c) no opinion
34. Would you like the use of your own ethnic language to be abolished in favor of some other language? (a) yes (b) no
35. Do you think that a multi-language system had any part to play in the issues of the Nigerian civil war? (a) very much (b) to a little extent (c) not at all (d) not sure
36. Which of these would you recommend? (a) all native languages should be abolished (b) all should be officially recognized (c) let's keep things as they now are (d) other (write in)_____

NOTE (Use the back for reasons and whatever comments, if any)

THANK YOU

Sunday M. Umoh

APPENDIX B

COMMENTS FROM RESPONDENTS

1. A.I.U. Ekoriko, Survey Department, Calabar: "I am already intending a lady and she comes from my ethnic group; but I am not opposed to marrying from other ethnic groups. I shall marry one wife only, I hope.

My parents, like most parents in my area, are opposed to intertribal marriages. I believe education alone can eradicate the fear we entertain for intertribal marriages. Few such marriages were ever given the chance to succeed in the past.

Rather than recommend a Nigerian language, I should call for more foreign languages, like French, to be included in our syllabus. In due course when illiteracy is brought to a minimum, and we imbibe national consciousness, people will start to advocate for a national language. At the moment, such a proposal will pull the country apart further."

2. Anonymous: "There is a need for a national language so as to eliminate waste of money and time."

3. T.O. Owolawi, Brooklyn, N.Y.: "Sir, my only comment on your research is to wish you my best wishes. Good luck to you. You are a symbol to Nigerian Unity."

4. Ibrahim Harruna, Ijora, Lagos: "A lingua-franca should be established from one of the languages."

5. Anonymous: "Adopt one language."

6. Anonymous: "My profession is such as would make me choose a partner because of his proved professional ability and not because of his tribal affiliations. I know there are several suitable ones among all the tribes enumerated."

7. Bassey Agbara, Los Angeles, California: "Let one Nigerian language--either Yoruba or Hausa--be chosen as official for the country."

8. Anonymous: "The question of group preference depends on many things. Individual aspect is different from group aspect. Conflict does occur in human societies and language cannot be used as the cause of it. English is preferable till we agree to adopt one language as official. Then the other languages can still be used on local basis and in family circles."

9. S.B. Umoh, Suru Lere, Lagos: "I would not like the use of my ethnic language to be abolished because it would be tantamount to our race being extinct and dead, so to say. Besides, our children who may be taught English or any other language can only learn if they can master their own language and give expression to it before imbibing another language which will obviously need interpretations.

Researches into the culture, philosophy of life and human psychology can best be carried out if and when the research fellows understand to an extent the language of the

local people. To better appreciate this, it would be necessary to remind us of what difficulties and problems and even risks the early explorers of the Rivers Niger, the Nile, and even Nigeria encountered before the latter expeditions succeeded.

The use of language to translate the English Bible into the vernacular had contributed to a very large extent to the high religious and moral life of our people, even till today. That the Efik Bible was first published about 1868 is a true testimony to this.

Lastly, it must be asserted that knowledge of the local language is indispensable in carrying out researches and building a body of knowledge in the fields of Botany, Analytical Chemistry, Preventive or Curative Medicine, Herbalism, and local trade and commerce."

10. M. Ibrahim, Ahmadu Bello University, Kano Campus, Kano: "Part B, No. 15: Now I have married only one wife from my ethnic group; but I will marry a second wife from any other Nigerian ethnic group. I am sure my marriage will be successful and happy.

Part C, No. 22: I like all the ethnic groups equally and to me they are all brothers.

Part D, No. 32: I would like to recommend Hausa to be Nigerian official language because Hausa language is the only widely spoken native language in Nigeria. Hausa is

the only native language which can be learned easily. Hausa is not my native language but I have learned Hausa just within six months.

No. 36: Let the six Northern States adopt Hausa as their official language; the Western States, Yoruba; the Eastern States, Ibo; and the Mid-west, Ijaw. But at the Federal level English should remain as the official language. Let all Nigerian universities introduce the Faculty of African Languages in which Yoruba, Hausa and Ibo are taught up to a degree level."

11. Ufot Charlie Ndono, F.M.W.H., Mechanical Workshops, Ijora, Lagos: "In Part C, Nos. 20-23, the choice of a business partner is a matter of individual opinion. It all depends on the extent of the trust you can accord on the individual concerned and not necessarily from where he comes. People often do their businesses with people of the same ethnic group and yet the business may fail, while others succeed. What matters is the understanding among the partners or associates in the business.

About marriage, it is a matter of individual choice. Anybody can marry anywhere depending on the choice of those concerned. Marriage disagreement does not depend on being from different ethnic groups, but much on mutual love and understanding."

12. Festus F. Eribo, Suru Lere, New Lagos: "The difference between my answers in Nos. 34 and 36 is that while I would not support the abolition of my own ethnic language in favor of any other Nigerian language, I would certainly favour, for purposes of unity, the abolition of all Nigerian languages in favour of English."

13. Anonymous: "About the use of English as the official language in Nigeria--Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups with different languages and dialects. If at all a national language is to be set up, which one will be used among these languages? Even if the national language is to be chosen among the three main ones, i.e., Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, there will still be the difficulty of choosing. I am sure each group among the groups that speak the four main languages would speak in support of his own language to be used.

Apart from that, English has already been established here in the country as the language used in our offices, schools, markets, etc. Moreover, the textbooks used in schools, hospitals, newspapers at the national level are written in English. But trying to introduce a new language in Nigeria, which is possible, would definitely take a very long time indeed. That is why I feel English should remain our national language."

14. Anonymous: "In fact, there is obviously no point in spending a great deal of time and money in instituting a national language that will replace English. But I am strongly of the opinion that teaching the main languages of Nigeria (Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba) in schools along with English is essential. This will, however, bring us closer to ourselves since English has been traditionally established."

15. M. Idi Zurmi, Abdullah Bayero College, Ahmadu Bello University, Kano: "I would like to say that being a student of Nigerian Languages plus two foreign ones—French and English—I sincerely don't have any prejudice against any ethnic group. I so love all Nigerian languages that each of them is of special interest to me.

On Question No. 34, if we were to have one Nigerian language as our official language, and I find that my language is either 'least spoken' over the country, that is, spoken by only a small group of us, for example, Tsekeri; or else we lack the personnel to teach it to the rest of the country, why should I not favor a more popularly spoken one, so long as it is 'our own' language?

I wholeheartedly wish you the best of luck in your studies. We hope you will bring home what you have acquired there."

APPENDIX C

LINGUAL SYSTEMS IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES (1966)

Country	Language	Constitution	Population (App.)
1 Algeria	Unilingual	Unitary	10,453,000
2 Botswana	Multilingual	"	543,000
3 Burundi	Bilingual	"	3,000,000
4 Cameroun	Multilingual	Federal	5,550,000
5 Central African Republic	"	Unitary	1,227,000
6 Tchad	"	"	2,675,000
7 Congo	"	"	864,000
8 Congolese Republic	"	"	14,150,000
9 Dahomey	"	"	2,105,000
10 Egypt: U.A.R.	Unilingual	"	26,059,000
11 Ethiopia	Multilingual	"	21,800,000
12 Gabon	"	"	440,000
13 Gambia	"	"	315,000
14 Ghana	"	"	6,726,815
15 Guinea	"	"	3,500,000
16 Ivory Coast	"	"	3,400,000
17 Kenya	"	"	9,104,000
18 Liberia	"	"	1,250,000
19 Libya	"	"	1,559,900
20 Malagasy	"	"	5,657,601
21 Malawi	"	"	2,921,000
22 Mali	"	"	4,485,000
23 Mauritania	Multilingual	"	880,000
24 Mauritius, etc.	"	"	733,600
25 Morocco	Unilingual	"	13,100,000
26 Niger	Multilingual	"	2,870,000
27 Nigeria	"	"	56,000,000
28 Ruanda	"	"	3,000,000
29 Senegal	"	"	3,109,840
30 Sierra Leone	"	"	2,183,000
31 Somalia	"	"	1,990,000
32 South Africa	"	Quasi-Fed.	15,982,664
33 Sudan	"	Unitary	12,109,000
34 Tanzania	"	Federal	10,000,000
35 Togo	"	Unitary	1,579,000
36 Tunisia	Unilingual	"	4,198,000
37 Uganda	Multilingual	"	6,538,175
38 Upper Volta	"	"	4,500,000
39 Zambia	"	"	3,732,700

Country	Language	Constitution	Population (App.)
Dependencies:			
40 Angola	Multilingual	Unitary	4,145,266
41 Lesotho (Basuto-land)	"	"	641,674
42 Cape Verde Islands	"	"	148,331
43 Mozambique	"	"	5,732,317
44 Portuguese Guinea	"	"	510,777
45 Reunion	"	"	347,000
46 Rhodesia	"	"	4,207,300
47 St. Helena, etc.	Unilingual	"	4,624
48 Sao Tome and Principe	"	"	60,159
49 Seychelles	Multilingual	"	46,682
50 Fr. Somaliland	"	"	67,000
51 S.W. Africa	"	"	525,064
52 Spanish Guinea	"	"	246,000
53 Spanish Presidios	Unilingual	"	187,000
54 Swaziland	Multilingual	"	287,000

Source: Awolowo, Thoughts on Nigerian Constitution, pp. 170-172.

APPENDIX D

Copy of the letter sent to each State Government on September 16, 1970; addressed to the Ministry of Home Affairs and Information in each of the twelve States:

Gentlemen:

I do appreciate the multiferous duties incumbent upon your office to discharge in the interest of our dear fatherland. Yet I do have the confidence that you can spare a few moments for further, though indirect, acts of patriotism. I am writing a dissertation for a Ph.D. degree on "The Relationship of Multi-Cultural Communication to Social and Business Behavior in Nigeria." A thorough research, of course, is necessary. But unfortunately, I cannot financially afford to come home for it.

I, therefore, respectfully request your office to officially furnish me with some information necessary to make this study a meaningful one. I am requesting information concerning the native languages spoken in your State. It will be easier if given in a tabular form as shown below:

State	Languages in the State	Dialects
(Rivers)	(1)_____	a)_____ b)_____etc c)_____etc
	(2)_____if any other	a)_____ b)_____etc

Note: The difference between language and dialect is that people can speak the same language but have different dialects. That is, people of different dialects within the same language group can understand one another. But people of different languages cannot understand one another.

May I, Sirs, point out that time is of essence in this study. I would, therefore, appreciate your immediate attention, action and assistance as soon as possible. Any comments from your office on the topic of this dissertation will be gladly entertained, and will constitute an integral part of the appendix of the finished work.

May I thank you once again for your co-operation and the badly needed assistance in this matter as I wish you a very successful year in the task of our nation building.

Yours truly,

Sunday M. Umoh

APPENDIX E

LANGUAGES

Names of languages in the States as supplied by each State Government. Four States--Lagos, Benue/Plateau, Mid-West and Kano States--are not represented here because they did not respond to the author's request.

The following information was signed by I. Ade Yusuf for Permanent Secretary, Home Affairs and Information Dept., North Western State, Sokoto: Ref. No. DIS/3/T.1/25 and dated 22nd February, 1971

I. State: North Western

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Hausa	(a) Sokotonci (b) Zazzaganci (c) Katsinanci
2. Nupe	(a) Gannaganna (b) Dibo (c) Kakanda (d) Lapai (e) Kupa (f) Kede (g) Basa (h) Kami
3. Gwari	(a) Kwange (b) Matayi (c) Gwandara (d) Gurnmanci
4. Fulani	
5. Gunganci	
6. Kamukanci	
7. Ura	
8. Ungwai	
9. Panganci	
10. Bauchi	
11. Kadara	

Languages Spoken	Dialects
12. Kwaro	
13. Dakkaranci	
14. Dukkanci	
15. Kambaranci	

"I am to point out, however, that the enclosed paper is by no means exhaustive on the subject:

II. The following was signed by Yahaya Ahmed for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and Information, North Eastern State, Maiduguri; Ref. HAI/EDU/1/61, dated 15th February, 1971.

"I am directed to refer to your letter of 26th January, 1971, and forward herewith a list of languages spoken received from Sardauna Province. I am still waiting for other provinces to submit languages spoken in their respective areas, so that I would forward them to you immediately."

Languages spoken in Gwoza District of Sardauna Province:

Languages Spoken	Towns or villages speaking
1. Waha	Gwoza/Wakane, Hidkala, Uvaha, Wala, Luva, Facikwe, Zaladiva and Amdaga
2. Afkabiye	Guduf, Gava, Cikide and Cinine
3. Azahvana	Kurana, Johode, Kwalika and Boko
4. Mandara	Kirawa, Ashigashiya, Gamargu Vale, Pulka, Warabe and Boko

Languages Spoken	Towns or villages speaking
5. Barbarei	Kirawa, Ashigashiya, Bita, Gwoza Town, Madube, Izge and Takwambare
6. Margi	Izge, Malkwaya, Kwamnda, Batuku and Innage
7. Matakam	Lahpane, Kirwar Kuhgum and Ashigashiya
8. Ngoshe Sama	Ngoshe Sama
9. Fulfulde	Gwoza Town, Hidkalar, Uvaha, Ngoshe Sama, Gwoza/Makance
10. Malgwe	Madube, Bita and Mai'abba

Sardauna (District):

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Fillanchi	(a) Wuitawa (b) Mbewe (c) Kilba (d) Kesu (e) Kiri (f) Iso (g) Volarbe
2. Chambachi	(a) Chamba (b) Leho (c) Dakka (d) Jangani

Kurmi (Division):

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Tigon	(a) Akonto (b) Nzuande (c) Boko
2. Ichen	
3. Ndoro	

III. The following was signed by Ibrahim Hamisu for Permanent Secretary, Information Division, North Central State, Kaduna: Ref. PRE/81/145; dated 19th October, 1970.

"Below is the list of languages spoken by natives of this State. It might interest you to know that only Hausa is broken into dialects in the State."

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Hausa	(a) Katsina dialect (b) Daura dialect (c) Zaria dialect
2. Kaje	
3. Kuturmi	
4. Kagoro	
5. Fulani	
6. Jaba	
7. Gwari	
8. Kagoma	

IV. The following was signed by Kola Bamgbelu for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ibadan, Western State of Nigeria: Ref. INF 88/142; dated 22nd October, 1970.

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Yoruba	(a) Ekiti (b) Ondo (c) Oyo (d) Ijesa (e) Oshun (f) Egba (g) Egbado (h) Ijebu and Ijebu Remo (i) Awori (j) Ilaje (k) Ikale

"In addition to Yoruba which is spoken and understood virtually by all the indigenous people of the state, a very tiny minority numbering about .01 per cent of the population speak the following languages":

2.	Kakumo Ibaram-Efifa Northern Akoko language	Auga and Ishe (spoken at Oyin, Udo, Uro, Arigidi, Erusu and Ahan) all in Akoko Division
3.	Edo	
4.	Ijaw-Arogbo	(a) Ukpe (b) Isua (c) Ikpeimi, all in Okitipupa Division

V. The following was signed by I. Amaefule for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information and Home Affairs, Enugu, East Central State: Ref. 94/11/529, and dated 28th October, 1970.

"I am directed to say that it gives us great pleasure to supply you the information you asked for, hereunder in tabular form. I am to state, further, that although I have given you three dialects as the main ones of the Ibo Language, the indigenous people of East Central State of Nigeria speak Ibo as their one language, and there is no misunderstanding as a result of any of the above-mentioned dialects."

Language Spoken	Dialects
1. Ibo	(a) Onitsha (b) Owerri (c) Abakaliki

VI. The following was signed by Mike Olobayo for Chief Information Officer, Information Division, Ilorin, Kwara State; dated 17th October, 1970.

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Yoruba	(a) Igbomina (b) Ekiti (c) Kabba (d) Yagba (e) Ibolo
2. Igbirra	(a) Igbirra Koto (b) Ogori
3. Igala	(a) Bassange (b) Bassankomo (c) Ogugu (d) A'wo (e) Apanyan
4. Nupe	(a) Kakanda
5. Babarge	(a) Batomu (b) Busansi

VII. The following was signed by O.B. Fubara for Permanent Secretary, Information Division, Port Harcourt, Rivers State: Ref. INF/61/53; dated 19th January, 1971.

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 8, 1971 and to supply the attached information."

Languages (by Division)	Dialects
1. Ahoada	(a) Ikwerre (b) Etche (c) Ogba (d) Engenni (e) Abua (f) Egbema (g) Ekpeye
2. Brass	(a) Nembe (b) Kolokuma (c) Ogbia (d) Epie-Atisa
3. Degema	(a) Kalabari (b) Ibani (Bonny) (c) Okrika (d) Odual
4. Ogoni	(a) Khana (b) Gokana (c) Tai (d) Eleme

VIII. The following was signed by U.U.A. Ebe for Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs and Information, Calabar, South-Eastern State of Nigeria; Ref. MHS/AD/181/Vol. 3/45; and dated 26th February, 1971.

"I am directed to refer to your letter dated 12th October, 1970 and the subsequent reminder of 6th January, 1971, and supply below the information required in respect of the above subject. I am to say that the list of the languages and dialects is not exhaustive but the major language groups have been included."

Languages Spoken	Dialects
1. Efik	1. Qua 2. Efut
2. Ibibio	1. Ibibio (proper) 2. Anang 3. Oron 4. Eket
3. Biase Community Language	1. Ubaghara 2. Equip-Ipa 3. Umon 4. Ehom 5. Erei
4. Ogoja Community Language	1. Nkim/Nkum/Akajuk 2. Bekwara 3. Ukelle 4. Boki 5. Iyalla 6. Mbube 7. Bette 8. Utugwang 9. Okorogong 10. Ukpe 11. Beshiri 12. Bendi 13. Bubang 14. Obanlikwu 15. Utanga/Becheve 16. Bebue 17. Bumezi 18. Okorotung 19. Sankwala 20. Mbebe 21. Yakurr 22. Agbo 23. Bahomuno 24. Etung 25. Ofutop 26. Akparabong 27. Ikom 28. Nkum 29. Nde 30. Boki 31. Abanyum 32. Nnam

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